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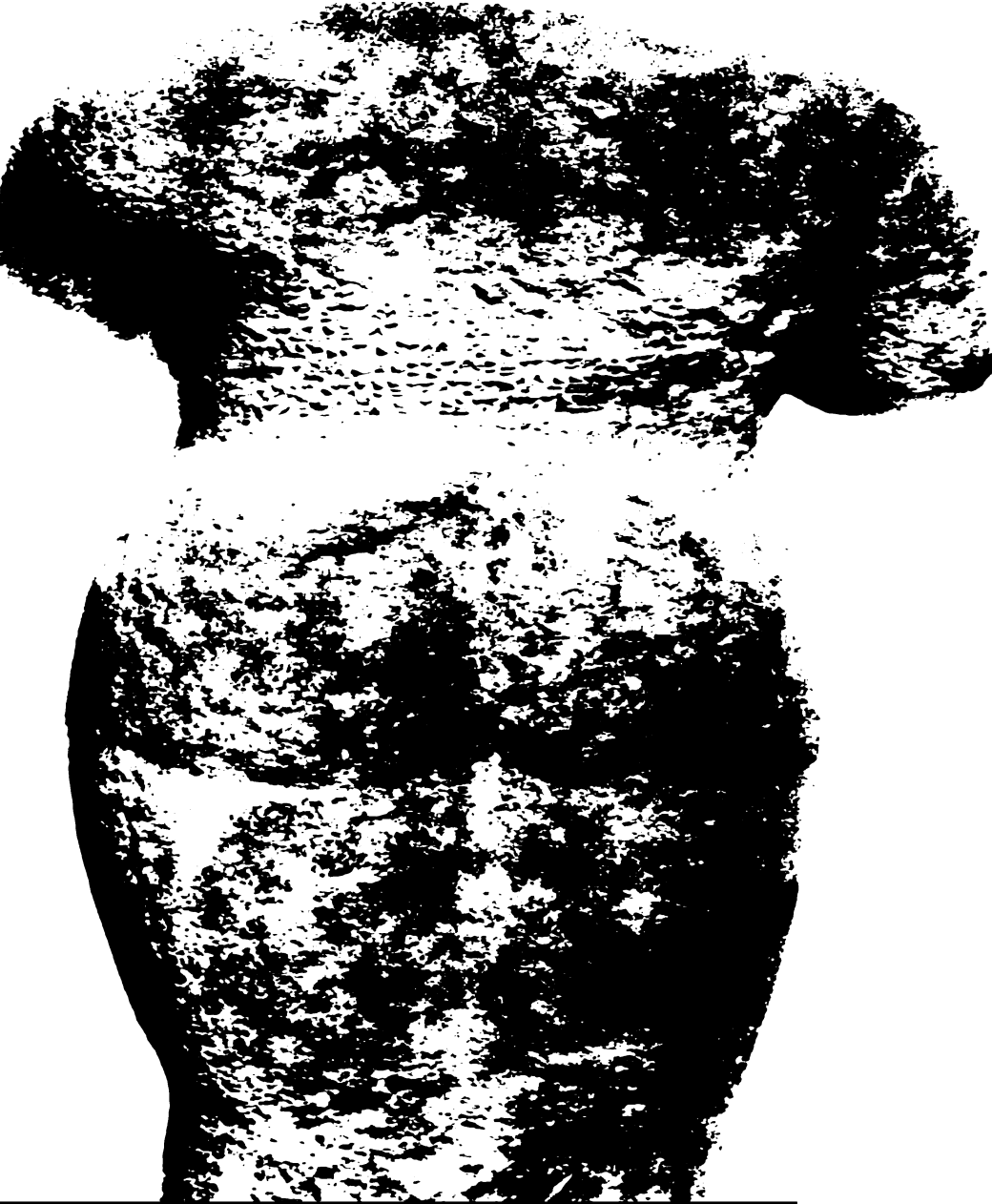
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*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
of Great Britain and Ireland*

Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland



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OF
THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
ART. I.—Schools of Buddhist Belief. By T. W. RHYS DAVIDS	1
ART. II.—The Lineage of "The Proud King." By ROBERT CHALMERS, B.A., M.R.A.S.	39
ART. III.—A Collection of Kammavācās. By HERBERT BAYNES, M.R.A.S.	53
ART. IV.—Bhūridatta Jātaka Vatthu. By R. F. ST. ANDREW ST. JOHN, M.A.	77
CORRESPONDENCE.	
1. A Remnant (?) of Buddhism in India. By Cecil Bendall	140
2. Tsonkhapa. By H. Wenzel	141
NOTES OF THE QUARTER.	
1. Contents of Foreign Oriental Journals	143
2. Obituary Notices	145
3. Notes and News	162
4. Notices of Books	170
5. List of Additions to the Library, since Oct., 1891..	182
ART. V.—The Book of the Apple, ascribed to Aristotle. Edited in Persian and English by D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.....	187
ART. VI.—Marwari Weather Proverbs. By VIDYĀ BHĀSHKAR PANDIT LĀLCHANDRA, of Jodhpur (Marwar), M.R.A.S.	253

	PAGE
ART. VII.—Some Remarks on the <i>Bárf</i> TEXTS edited by Baron Victor Rosen in Vols. I and VI of the Collections Scientifiques de l'Institut des Langues Orientales de Saint-Pétersbourg. By EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.R.A.S.	259
ART. VIII.—Four Cuneiform Texts. By S. ARTHUR STRONG, M.A.	337
 CORRESPONDENCE.	
1. The New Bilingual Hittite Inscription. By A. H. Sayce	369
2. A Burmese Anecdote. By R. F. St. Andrew St. John.....	371
3. A Burmese Anecdote. By R. Morris	371
4. The Beginnings of Persian History. By H. H. Howorth	372
5. The Hundred and Tenth Psalm. By G. Margoliouth	375
6. Yüan Chwang or Hiouen Thsang? By Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids	377
7. The Pummelo. By G. Bonavia.....	379
8. The Kammavâcâs. By Herbert Baynes	380
 NOTES OF THE QUARTER.	
1. General Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society ..	381
2. Contents of Foreign Oriental Journals	383
3. Obituary Notices	384
4. Notes and News	388
5. Notices of Books	397
6. Additions to the Library	405
 NOTES OF THE QUARTER.	
1. General Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society ..	409
2. Contents of Foreign Oriental Journals	418
3. Obituary Notices	418
4. Notes and News	421
5. Notices of Books	429
ART IX.—Catalogue and Description of 27 <i>Bárf</i> Manuscripts. By E. G. BROWNE, M.A., M.R.A.S. ..	433

CONTENTS.

vii

	PAGE
ART. X.—Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian, Hindustani, and Turkish MSS. in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society. O. CODRINGTON, M.D., Hon. Librarian	501
List of the Tibetan MSS. and Printed Books in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society. By H. WENZEL, Ph.D.	570
ART XI.—Life and Labours of Mr. Edward Rehatsek. By F. F. ARBUTHNOT, M.R.A.S.	581
 CORRESPONDENCE.	
1. By G. Bühler	597
2. By W. W. Rockhill	598
3. Bimbohana. By Richard Morris	602
4. A New Variety of the Southern Maurya Alphabet. By G. Bühler	602
List of Additions to the Library.....	610
ART. XII.—The Sabiri and the Saroguri. By Sir HENRY H. HOWORTH, Esq., K.C.I.E., M.P., M.R.A.S. ..	613
ART. XIII.—Catalogue and Description of 27 Bábí Manuscripts. By E. G. BROWNE, M.A., M.R.A.S. (<i>Continued from p. 499.</i>)	637
ART. XIV.—Dusratta's Hittite Letter. By Major C. R. CONDER, D.C.L., LL.D., R.E.	711
ART. XV.—The Mines of the Northern Etbai or of Northern Æthiopia. With a Map, Water-colour Drawings and Photographs, by the Scientific Expedition to the Northern Etbai. By ERNEST A. FLOYER, M.R.A.S.	811
ART. XVI.—On Hiuen-Tsang instead of Yüan Chwang, and the necessity of avoiding the Pekinese sounds in the quotations of ancient proper names in Chinese. By Dr. TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE, late Professor of Indo-Chinese Philology (University College)	835



	PAGE
ART. XVII.—A Babylonian Ritual Text. By C. J. BALL, M.R.A.S.	841
The Ninth International Congress, of Orientalists, 1892	855
 CORRESPONDENCE.	
Note on Ancient Remains of Temples on the Bannu Frontier. By Frederick Pincott	877
 NOTES OF THE QUARTER.	
1. Contents of Foreign Oriental Journals	879
2. Obituary Notices	880
3. Notes and News	884
4. Notices of Books	889
5. Additions to the Library	896
 GENERAL INDEX OF THE JOURNAL, 1889-1892	 1-22
LIST OF MEMBERS	1-28
 ALPHABETICAL LIST OF AUTHORS.	

JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. I.—*Schools of Buddhist Belief.* By T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

I HAVE received several interesting communications on my article, published in our Journal for last July, on the Sects of the Buddhists. The Rev. J. E. Carpenter has given me additional figures in Yuan Tshang which had escaped my notice. These numbers bring up the totals given by the Chinese author of the adherents of the different schools, as summarized on p. 420, to 200,000 instead of 182,000. But they leave the conclusion, which was drawn from those numbers, as it stood.

Professor Bühler writes, that besides the references given on p. 410 to inscriptions mentioning one or other of the schools, there are a few other references known to him in inscriptions as yet unpublished. On a consequent application from me he has been kind enough to send a second letter in which the details are given, and it is here printed in full.

Mr. Bouverie-Pusey, who takes much interest in the question, has pointed out to me a possible explanation of Yuan Tshang's mistake in assigning the Sthavira school to the Mahāyanists. When his informants, as stated in the 'Vie de Hiouen Tshang,' p. 192, were questioned by him, they may have been willing to leave on his mind the impression that they belonged to the same school as he himself did.

Mr. Bouverie-Pusey also suggests that use might be made of Wassilief's translation of the Tibetan version of the tract assigned to Vasumitra—more especially as he has translated it in full with copious notes. I have accordingly read it through again to see what could be made out of

it, and am obliged to say that I still think Rockhill's summary of the Tibetan notices of the Buddhist schools is the more intelligible of the two. But the fact is that short tracts like those attributed to Vasumitra and Bhavya and Vinita Deva are really of very little use without a larger knowledge which would supersede them except as guides to the memory. Even the Kathā Vatthu, which is some centuries older, and nearer, therefore, to the time when these discussions raged: which is also most probably written either in the very language, or at least in a dialect closely allied to the dialects, in which they were conducted; and which besides, being more than twenty times as long, is able to devote more space to making the questions at issue clear,—is hard enough to understand. It is easy therefore to realize why it is that these translations of translations of earlier and shorter treatises should be so much more difficult to use to any profit. What we want is not short summaries of the opinions of all the various schools, but substantial works expounding the views of individual schools at length, and in their own words. When the magnificent edition of the standard book of the Lokuttara-vādins, which we owe to the self-denying scholarship and industry of M. Senart, shall be completed, all these works, the Kathā Vatthu itself not excepted, will be superseded on that point. We shall go to the Mahāvastu to find out what the Lokuttara-vādins thought.

And so let us hope that before the Pāli Text Society shall have been able to complete its important task of placing in the hands of scholars a complete edition of the Buddhist Piṭakas, together with the interpretation put upon them by the oldest and sole surviving school (which has also kept most closely to them)—by that time let us hope we shall be able to compare with that interpretation the divergent ones of other now extinct Hīnāyana schools in equally complete editions of their works too.

As I mentioned on p. 413 of the former article, the Mahāvastu is the only work we have available in a critical edition that purports to belong to any special school. It

is true that a much discussed passage¹ of a Chinese author (whose name is restored by Bunyiu Nanjio² to Jñāna-gupta, and by Beal³ to Jñāna-kuta *sic*), the Lalita Vistara is apparently stated to be a book of the Sabbatthivādins. But that book calls itself (see the last page of the Calcutta edition) a Mahāyāna work! How is this to be reconciled? The passage referred to occurs in the colophon to the *Fo-pan-hin-tsi-chin*, of which work Beal's book, strangely entitled "The Romantic Legend of Sakya Buddha," is a kind of abstract. The Chinese title is restored by Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio (*loc. cit.*) to Buddha-pūrvacaryā-saṅgraha-sūtra, and he adds below Abhinishkramaṇa-sūtra, which is the only restoration used by Beal. The colophon says in Beal's version, "It may be asked: 'By what title is this book to be called?' to which we reply the Mahāsaṅghikas call it *Ta-see* (Mahāvastu). The Sarvastavadas (*sic*) call it *Ta-chong-yen* (Lalita Vistara). The Kasyāpiyas (*sic*) call it *Fo-wong-yin-un* (former history of Buddhism). The Dharmaguptas call it, etc., etc." And Wassilief's translation (*loc. cit.*) is practically the same.

From this Wassilief draws the conclusion that "under different names they understood the same book." If that be so, it is certainly not the Lalita Vistara, for the analysis given by Beal is quite different from that work. But Foucaux draws the conclusion that the passage refers to different books, and regards it as a proof that they all existed towards the second century after the death of the Buddha (!).

Now the Chinese title which Wassilief (and following him also Beal) restores here to Lalita Vistara is entirely different from the Chinese titles so restored by Bunyiu Nanjio in his Catalogues Nos. 159 and 160. It is therefore, to say the least, most doubtful whether it is the Lalita Vistara at all

¹ See Foucaux, "Lalita Vistara" (the Guimet edition), pp. vii, viii. Wassilief, "Buddhismus," p. 123. Beal, "Legend of Sakya Buddha," p. v; and Senart, "Mahāvastu," vol. i. p. iii. M. Senart refers to "des autorités chinoises," but the two passages he gives in the note refer to the same authority.

² Catalogue of Chinese Books, No. 680.

³ *loc. cit.* p. 1.

which is here referred to. Even if it were, it would be entirely unwarranted to conclude that because a Chinese writer of 587 A.D. thought it belonged to the Sabbatthivādins that it did certainly so belong; much less than because it did, it must have been written, as M. Foucaux thinks this passage proves, at the time when that school first arose (that is to say, in the second century after the Buddha's death). Surely it is better to leave so uncertain, and so late, a statement in its own obscurity, and to trust rather to the published text of the *Lalita Vistara* itself, and regard it therefore as a *Mahāyāna* book.

We cannot, therefore, refer to any work emanating from any school differing from the Sthaviras, save only to the one book of the Lokuttara-vādins. Meanwhile—until we have such works—the three Tibetan tracts and the Pāli treatise are of use for showing us the kind of thing we ought to look for. I have spent some days in trying to piece together the various statements the Tibetans make as to the Sabbatthi-vādins, hoping that this would serve as a specimen of what might be reaped from them in the way of positive information. But the results are too unsatisfactory—contradictory, as it seems to me, on some points and simply unintelligible, even with the help of the *Kathā Vatthu*, on others—to be fit for publication.

But I have put together a table of their statements as to the names and interdependence of the Hīnayāna schools, without attempting to harmonize their divergent and contradictory data. I have simply added in brackets the number of each corresponding name in the Theravāda list given in my last article.

As the matter seems to be of interest, I have added also a complete synopsis of the questions discussed in the *Kathā Vatthu*. This I had prepared for my own use only, as an assistance in writing the introduction to the second volume of my *Milinda* (in which some of the questions are discussed), and had not intended it for publication, except eventually as part of an edition of the whole text. It is drawn up from a MS. in my own collection, a very faulty

one, I am sorry to say. One or two points may already be noticed. Those questions dealt with in chapters one and two are discussed at so much length that the two chapters make up about one-third of the book. Incidentally to the principal theses a number of other questions, subsidiary to the main issue, are put and settled. Including these, the number of questions put in the *Kathā Vatthu* is about a thousand. In one or two cases (II. 2 and XXII. 5) these questions are mentioned in the titles of the main thesis, and are included therefore in my synopsis. For the interpretation of the real meaning of the question put, which is often by no means certain from the words employed, much help has been derived from the commentary, as published by the late Prof. Minayeff for the Pāli Text Society.

TABLE I.

THE HĪNA-YĀNA SECTS ACCORDING TO TIBETAN TRANSLATIONS.

Vasumitra.

1. Thera-vādino (Hemavattikā) (1 and 19).
2. Hetu-vādino (32).
3. Sabbatthi-vādino (8).
4. Vajjiputtakā (2).
5. Dhammuttarikā (4).
6. Bhaddayānikā (5).
7. Sammittiyā (7).
8. Channāgarikā (6).
9. Mahiṅsāsakā (3).
10. Dhammaguttikā (9).
11. Kassapikā (Sovassikā) (10).
12. Saṅkantikā (Suttantavādino) (11 and 12).
13. Mahāsaṅghikā (13).
14. Ekavyohārikā (15).
15. Lokottaravādino.
16. Kukkutikā (14).
17. Bahussutikā (16).

18. Paññatti-vādino (17).
19. Cetiya-vādino (18).
20. Pubbaselikā (Uttaraselikā) (22).
21. Aparaselikā (23).

Bhavya.

1. Hemavatikā=Therā (1 and 19).
2. Sabbatthivādino (8).
3. Vibhajja-vādino (29).
4. Hetu-vādino (27).
5. Muruntakā.
6. Vajjiputtakā (2).
7. Dhammuttarikā (4).
8. Bhaddayānikā (5).
9. Sammittiyā (7).
10. Avantikā.
11. Kurukulakā (Gokulikā) (14).
12. Makiṇṣāsakā (3).
13. Dhammaguttikā (9).
14. Suvassikā.
15. Kassapikā (10).
16. Uttariyā.
17. Saṅkāntikā (11).

-
18. Mahāsaṅghikā (13).
 19. Ekavohārikā (15).
 20. Lokuttara-vādino.
 21. Bahussutikā (16).
 22. Paññatti-vādino (17).
 23. Cetiya-vādino (18).
 24. Pubbaselikā (22).
 25. Aparaselikā (23).

Bhavya's 'others say.'

1. Therā (1).
2. Sabbatthi-vādino (8).
4. Mūla-sabb°.
5. Suttantikā (11).

3. Vajjiputtakā (2).
 6. Dhammottariyā (4).
 7. Bhaddāyaniyā (5).
 8. Sammitiyā (7).
 9. Chan-nāgarikā (6).
10. Vibhajja-vadino (29).
 11. Mahiṇsāsakā (3).
 12. Kassapiyā (10).
 13. Dhammaguttikā (9).
 14. Tāmrasātiyā.
15. Mahāsaṅghikā (13).
 16. Pubba-selikā (22).
 17. Uttara-selikā (23).
 18. Rājagiriya (20 and 24).
 19. Hemavatā (19).
 20. Cetiya-vādino (18).
 21. Saṅkānti-vadino (P).
 22. Gokulikā (14).

Bhavya's 'again others say.'

1. Therā = Hemavatā (1).
2. Sabbatthi-vādino.
3. Vajjiputtakā (2).
 4. Sammitiyā (7).
 5. Dhammuttariyā (4) } = Mahāgiriya.
 6. Bhaddayāniyā (5) }
 7. Channāgarikā (6).
8. Vibhajja vādino.
 9. Mahiṇsāsaka (3).
 10. Dhammaguttikā (9).
 11. Tāmrasātiyā.
 12. Kassapiyā (10).
13. Mahāsaṅghikā (13).
 14. Ekavyohārikā (15).
 15. Gokulikā (14).
 17. Bahussutikā (17).
 16. Paññatti-vadino (16).
 18. Cetiya-vādino (18).

The questions put.

- 1 = I. 1. Puggalo upalabbhati saccikatthena parama-
tthenāti ?
- 2 2. Parihāyati Arāhā arahattā ti ?
- 3 3. Natthi devesu brahmacariyavāso ti ?
- 4 4. Odhiso kilesaṃ jahatīti ?
- 5 5. Jahati puthujjano kāmarāga-vyāpādan ti ?
- 6 6. Sabbam atthīti ?
- 7 7. Atītaṃ khandhā ti ?
- 8 8. Atītaṃ atthīti ?
- 9 9. Sabbe dhammā satipaṭṭhānā ti ?
- 10 10. Atītaṃ atthīti ?
- 11 = II. 1. Atthi Arāhato asuci-sukka-visatṭhīti ?
12 (Atthi Arāhato parūpahāro ti ?)¹
- 13 2. Atthi Arāhato aññāṇan ti ?
- 14 Atthi Arāhato kaykhā ti ?
- 15 Atthi Arāhato parivitāraṇā ti ?
- 16 3. Samāpannassa atthi vacībhedo ti ?

¹ This question comes at the end of the other, and is included in it, but it has apparently nothing to do with the argument. The whole section is called (not after the principal subject, but after this subsidiary point) the Parūpahāra-kathā.

Kathā Vatthu.

- I. 1. Is there in the truest and highest sense a soul? No.
Opponents Sammitiyā, Vajjiputtakā (Mil. I. 40-45, 48, 86, II. 85).
2. Can an Arahāt fall from Arahātship? No.
Contra Sammitiyā, Vajjiputtakā, Sabbatthi-vādino and some of the Mahāsaṅghikā.
3. Can a god enter the Path or the Order? No.
Contra Sammitiyā.
4. Can a converted man get rid of evil without going through the four stages of the Path? (Relying on Dhṛ. 239.)
Contra Sammitiyā and others.
5. Can an unconverted man get rid of all lust and ill will? No.
Contra Sammitiyā.
6. Does everything exist? No. (There is nothing that is not transient. Everything becomes.)
Contra Sabbatthi-vādino (hence their name).
7. Did the Skandhas exist in the past? No.
8. Did anything (as it now is) exist in the past? No.
Contra 'some did and some did not' say the Kassapikā.
9. Do all qualities rest on memory? No.
Contra the four subdivisions of the Andhakā (Compare Mil. I. 122).
10. Have all things now existing existed the same in the past? No.
Contra the Andhakā.
- II. 1. Can an Arahāt be guilty (unwittingly and through the action of the Māras) of indecency? No.
Contra the Pubbaseliyā and Aparaseliyā (Comp. XXIII. 2).
2. Can the Arahats have ignorance, doubt and error? No (relying on M.V. I. 1, etc.).
Contra the Pubbaseliyā (Mil. II. 98).
3. Does a converted man on attaining the first Jhāna burst out into the exclamation "All is sorrow"? No (relying on S. VI. 2-4=Th. I. 256-7=Divy. 300, 569=Mil. II. 60).
Contra the Pubbaseliyā (See XI. 4).

10

QUESTIONS DISCUSSED IN THE

17

4. Dukkāhāro maggaṅgaṅ magga-pariyāpanno
ti ?

18

5. Ekaṅ cittaṅ divasaṅ tiṭṭhatīti ?

19

6. Sabbe saṅkhārā anodhikatvā kukkulā ti ?

20

7. Anupubbābhisamayo ti ?

21

8. Buddhassa bhagavato vohāro lokuttaro ti ?

22

9. Dve nirodhā ti ?

23 = III.

1. Tathāgata-balaṅ sāvaka-sādhāraṇaṅ ti ?

24

2. Tānāṭṭhāne yathābhūtaṅ nāṇaṅ Tathāgata-
balaṅ ariyaṅ ti.

25

3. Sarāgaṅ cittaṅ vimuccatīti ?

26

4. Vimuttaṅ vimuccamānaṅ ti ?

27

5. Aṭṭhamakassa puggalassa diṭṭhi-pariyuṭṭhānaṅ
pahīnaṅ ti ?

28

6. Aṭṭhamakassa puggalassa natthi saddhindri-
yaṅ ti ?

29

7. Maṅsa-cakkhuṅ dhammupatthaddhaṅ dibba-
cakkhuṅ hotīti ?

30

8. Maṅsa-sotaṅ dhammupatthaddhaṅ dibba-sotaṅ
hotīti ?

31

9. Yathākammūpagaṅ nāṇaṅ dibba-cakkhuṅ ti ?

32

10. Atthi devesu saṅvaro ti ?

4. Is the perception of sorrow that follows on such an exclamation part and parcel of the Excellent Way? No.
Contra Pubbaseliya.
 5. Can one thought last a day (That is, is thought exempt from the law of impermanence)? No.
Contra Andhakā.
 6. Are the Confections all as ashes? No (relying on Mahāvagga I. 21).
Contra Gokulikā.
 7. Is insight attained to in a certain specified order? No (relying on Cullav. IX. 1-4).
 8. Was the Buddha extra-ordinary as regards the ordinary affairs of Life? No.
Contra Andhakā.
 9. Are there two sorts of Nirvāna? No.
Contra Mahiṅsāsakā and Andhakā.
- III.
1. Are the ten powers of the Tathāgata common also to his hearers? No.
Contra Andhakā.
 2. Are the nine last of them (as well as the first) part of the Excellent Way? No.
Contra Andhakā.
 3. Can one whose heart is lustful be set free? No.
Contra Andhakā.
 4. Can a man set free by Jhāna be afterwards set free by the Path? No (relying on D. 2. 97).
 5. Does a man get rid, by the mere entry on the Path, of doubt and wrong views? No.
Contra Andhakā and Sammitiyā.
 6. Is a converted man at once in possession of the five moral organs (Indriyāni)? No.
Contra Andhakā.
 7. Can the eye of flesh, through strength of Dhamma, become the Heavenly Eye (which perceives the rebirths of others)? No.
Contra Andhakā and Sammitiyā (Mil. I. 179-185).
 8. The same of the ear of flesh.
 9. Is the Divine Eye nothing more than the knowledge of other people's rebirths? No. (It sees the moral cause) (relying on Th. I. 996, 7).
 10. Is there moral restraint among the gods (in the heavens above that of the thirty-three)? No.

12

QUESTIONS DISCUSSED IN THE

33

11. Asañña-sattesu saññā atthīti ?

34

12. Nevasaññā-nāsaññāyatane na vattabban saññā
atthīti ?

35 = IV. 1. Gihi 'ssa Arahā ti ?

36

2. Sahā uppattiyā Arahā ti ?

37

3. Arahato sabbe dhammā anāsavā ti ?

38

4. Arahā catuhi phalehi samannāgato ti ?

39

5. Arahā chahi upekhāhi samannāgato ti ?

40

6. Bodhiyā buddho ti ?

41

7. Lakkhaṇa-samannāgato Bodhisatto ti ?

42

8. Bodhisatto Kassapassa bhagavato pāvacane
okkanta-niyāmo carita-brahmacariyo ti ?

43

9. Arahanta-sacchikiriyāya patipanno puggalo
tihi phalehi samannāgato ti ?

44

10. Sabba-saññojana-pahānaṃ Arahattaṃ ti ?

11. Have the so-called Unconscious Gods consciousness? No.
Contra Andhakā.
12. The same of the gods in the Nevasaññā-nāsaññā world.
- IV. 1. Can a layman be an Arahāt? No. (He can become, but cannot remain, one.)
Contra Uttarāpathakā (see Mil. 2. 57-59, 96-98).
2. Is there any one who is born as an Arahāt (in the Heavens of Pure Abode)? No.
Contra Uttarāpathakā.
3. Are all the qualities of an Arahāt free from the Āsavas? No.
Contra Uttarāpathakā.
4. Is the Arahāt gifted with the fruits of all four stages of the Path at once? No.
Contra Uttarāpathakā (see IV. 9).
5. Has the Arahāt six forms of equanimity (one for each of the five senses and one for the mind)? No, it is the same for all.
Contra Uttarāpathakā.¹
6. Does Bodhi (wisdom, insight) lead to Buddhahood? Not necessarily. There is a kind of Bodhi which leads to Arahātship.
Contra Uttarāpathakā.
7. Is every one endowed with the 32 marks a Bodhisat? No (quoting D. 30).
Contra Uttarāpathakā.
8. Did the Bodhisat (that is, Jotipāla, M. 81) adopt the method and conduct necessary for Buddhahood at the command of Kassapa the Buddha? No (quoting Mahāvagga, I. 6. 7, 8, and I. 6. 23-26).
Contra Andhakā.
9. Does the realization of Arahātship include the fruits of the three lower stages of the Path? No.
Contra Andhakā (compare IV. 4).
10. Is the breaking of all the Fetters at once the same thing as Arahātship? No (they must be broken gradually).
Contra Andhakā.

¹ That this is their view follows from the opening words of the Commentary on IV. 7.

- 45 = V. 1. Vimutti-ñāṇaṃ vimuttan ti ?
- 46 2. Sekhassa asekhā-ñāṇaṃ atthīti ?
- 47 3. Pathavi-kasiṇa-samāpatti-samāpannassa vipa-
rīte ñāṇan ti ?
- 48 4. Aniyatassa niyāma-gamanāya atthi ñāṇan ti ?
- 49 5. Sabbhaṃ ñāṇaṃ patisambhidā ti ?
- 50 6. Na vattabhaṃ sammuti-ñāṇaṃ saccārammaṇaṃ
yeva na aññārammaṇan ti ?
- 51 7. Ceto-pariyāye ñāṇaṃ attārammaṇena annāram-
maṇan ti ?
- 52 8. Anāgate ñāṇaṃ atthīti ?
- 53 9. Paccuppanne ñāṇaṃ atthīti ?
- 54 10. Sāvakassa phale ñāṇaṃ atthīti ?
- 55 = VI. 1. Niyāmo asaṅkhato ti ?
- 56 2. Paticca-samuppādo asaṅkhato ti ?
- 57 3. Cattāri saccāni asaṅkhatanīti ?
- 58 4. Ākāsañcāyatanāṃ asaṅkhatan ti ?
- 59 5. Nirodha-samāpatti asaṅkhatā ti ?

- V. 1. Is a man who has the knowledge of emancipation an Arahāt? No (there are emancipations the knowledge of which has not that result).
Contra Andhakā.
2. Can an Asekha (one who is not yet an Arahāt) have the knowledge of an Arahāt? No.
Contra Uttarāpathakā.
3. Can he who has successfully accomplished the Meditation on the Earth be said to have a false view? No.
Contra Andhakā.
4. Is an unconverted man, when good, capable of entering the career of a Bodisat? No.
Contra Uttarāpathakā.
5. Is every kind of knowledge (*ñāṇa*) the same as analysis (*Paṭisambhidā*)? No.
Contra Andhakā.
6. Are there two kinds of truth (*sacca*) or only one? Two.
Contra Andhakā.
7. Is the knowledge of other people's thoughts to be attained by meditation? No.
Contra Andhakā.
8. Is there such a thing as knowledge of the future? Of the immediate future yes, but not otherwise (quoting M.P.S. I. 28 = Mahāv. V. 28).
Contra Andhakā.
9. Is there such a thing as knowledge of the present? No (the moment anything is known it is already past).
Contra Andhakā.
10. Have disciples as well as Buddha the power of knowing who will be converted? No.
Contra Andhakā.
- VI. 1. Is the Noble Path self-existent? No.
Contra Andhaka (relying on A. 3. 22).
2. Is the Chain of Causation self-existent? No.
Contra Pubbaseliya and Mahiṅsāsakā (relying on S. XII. 20).
3. Are the Four Truths self-existent? No.
4. Is the Realm of the Infinity of space self-existent? No.
5. Is the Attainment of Cessation self-existent? No.
Contra Andhakā and Uttarāpathakā.

- 60 6. Ākāso asaṅkhato ti ?
- 61 7. Ākāso sanidassano ti ?
- 62 8. Paṭhavi-dhātu sanidassano ti ?
- 63 = VII. 1. Natthi keci dhammā kehici dhammehi saṅga-
hītā ti ?
- 64 2. Natthi keci dhammā kehici dhammehi sampa-
yuttā ti ?
- 65 3. Natthi cetasiko dhammo ti ?
- 66 4. Cetasiko dhammo dānaṃ ti ?
- 67 5. Paribhogamaṇaṃ puññaṃ saṅvaddhatīti ?
- 68 6. Ito dinnena tattha yāpentīti ?
- 69 7. Paṭhavi kamma-vipāko ti ?
- 70 8. Jarāmaṇaṃ vipāko ti ?
- 71 9. Natthi ariya-dhamma-vipāko ti ?
- 72 10. Vipāko vipākadhamma-dhammo ti ?
- 73 = VIII. 1. Cha gatiyo ti ?
- 74 2. Atthi antarā-bhavo ti ?

6. Is space self-existent? No.
Contra Uttarāpathakā and Mahiṅsāsakā
(compare Mil. 2. 103, foll.).
7. Is space visible? No.
Contra Andhakā.
8. Is the Earth-element visible? No.
Contra Andhakā.
- VII. 1. Are there not some qualities included in other
qualities? Yes.
Contra Rājagirikā and Siddhatthikā.
2. Are there not some qualities united with other
qualities? Yes.
Contra Rājagirikā and Siddhatthikā.
3. Are there not mental qualities? Yes (quoting
D. X.).
Contra Rājagirikā and Siddhatthikā.
4. Is it only mental giving (charity) that is a
real gift? No.
Contra Rājagirikā and Siddhatthikā.
5. Does the merit which arises out of the en-
joyment of a gift by the donors tend to
increase? Yes (relying on S. I. 7. 5 and
A. IV. 51).
Contra Rājagirikā, Siddhatthika and Sam-
mitiyā.
6. Do the dead benefit by gifts given in the
world? No.
Contra Rājagirika and Siddhatthikā.
7. Is the Earth a result of Karma? No.
Contra Andhakā.
8. Are old age and death results of Karma? No.
Contra Andhakā.
9. Is there no result of the Excellent Way save
the putting away of evil? Yes (there is
the acquisition of moral qualities, positive
good as well as negative).
Contra Andhakā.
10. Does one result of Karma produce another?
No.
Contra Andhakā.
- VIII. 1. Are there six future states? No, only five.
Contra Andhakā and Uttarāpathakā.
2. Is there an Intermediate Realm (where beings
await rebirth)? No.
Contra Pubbaseliyā and Sammitiyā.

- 75 3. Pañc' eva kāma-guṇā kāma-dhatū ti ?
- 76 4. Pañc' ev' āyatanā kāmā ti ?
- 77 5. Rūpino dhammā rūpa-dhātū ti ?
- 78 6. Arūpino dhammā arūpa-dhātū ti ?
- 79 7. Saḷāyatanako attabhāvo rūpa-dhātuyā ti ?
- 80 8. Atthi rūpaṅ arūpesūti ?
- 81 9. Kusalena cittena samutṭhitaṅ kāya-kammaṅ
rūpaṅ kasalan ti ?
- 82 10. Natthi rūpa-jīvitindriyan ti ?
- 83 11. Kammahetu Arahā arahattā parihāyatīti ?
- 84 = IX. 1. Ānisaṅsa-dassāvisea saññojanaṅ pahānan ti ?
- 85 2. Amatārammaṅ saññojanan ti ?
- 86 3: Rūpaṅ sārammaṅan ti ?
- 87 4. Anusayā anārammaṅā ti ?
- 88 5. Ñāṅaṅ anārammaṅan ti ?
- 89 6. Atitārammaṅaṅ cittaṅ anārammaṅan ti ?

3. Are the five constituents of lust also elements of lust? No.
Contra Pubbaseliyā.
 4. Have lusts five realms? No.
Contra Pubbaseliyā.
 5. Are those qualities which have form also elements of form? No.
Contra Andhakā.
 6. The same of qualities which have no form.
 7. Is every being with the six senses dependent on the element of form? No.
Contra Andhakā.
 8. Have the beings in the Formless Worlds a form? No.
Contra Andhakā.
 9. Is a bodily act due to a virtuous thought necessarily beautiful in form? No.
Contra Mahiṅsāsaka and Sammitiyā.
 10. Is there vitality in form? Yes.
Contra Pubbaseliyā and Sammitiyā (see Mil. I. 89).
 11. Will an Arahāt fall from Arahātship through the result of an evil deed, such as abuse of an Arahāt, committed in a previous birth? No.
Contra Pubbaseliyā and Sammitiyā (compare I. 2 and Mil. 2. 20-22).
- IX.
1. Can a man, by insight into the advantages of Arahātship, but without insight into the dangers attendant on the Saṅkhāras, put away the Fetters? No.
Contra Andhakā.
 2. Is the meditation on the ambrosia (of Arahātship) a Fetter? No.
Contra Pubbaseliyā.
 3. Has form a basis? No.
Contra Uttarāpathakā.
 4. Are the seven evil inclinations (*anīsayā*) without basis? No.
Contra Andhakā and some Uttarāpathakā (see XI. 1).
 5. Has knowledge no basis? It has.
Contra Andhakā.
 6. Is a thought which has its basis in past events therefore without a basis? No.
Contra Uttarāpathakā.

- 90 7. Sabbaj cittaṃ vitakkānupatitan ti ?
- 91 8. Sabbaso vitakkayato vicarayato vitakka-vipphāro saddo ti ?
- 92 9. Na yathā vitakkassa vācā ti ?
- 93 10. Na yathā vitakkassa kāyakamman ti ?
- 94 11. Atītena samannāgato ti ?
- 95 = X. 1. Uppatte siye pañcakkhandhe aniruddhe kiriya-pañcakkhandho uppajjati ti ?
- 96 2. Magga-samaṅgissa rūpaṃ maggo ti ?
- 97 3. Pañca - viññāṇa - samaṅgissa atthi magga-bhāvanā ti ?
- 98 4. Pañca viññāṇā kusalā pi akusalā pīti ?
- 99 5. Pañca viññāṇā sābhogā ti ?
- 100 6. Magga-samaṅgī dvīhi silehi samannāgato ti ?
- 101 7. Sīlaṃ acetasikan ti ?
- 102 8. Sīlaṃ na cittānuparivattati ti ?
- 103 9. Samādāna-hetu sīlaṃ vaḍḍhatīti ?
- 104 10. Viññatti sīlan ti ?
- 105 11. Aviññatti dussilyan ti ?
- 106 = XI. 1. Anusayā avyākātā ahetukā citta-vippayuttā ti ?

7. Is every thought followed by reasoning? No.
Contra Uttarāpathakā.
8. Does every reasoning and argument diffuse itself in speech? No.
Contra Pubbaseliyā.
9. Does every speech correspond to a previous thought (train of reasoning)? Yes.
Contra Pubbaseliyā.
10. The same of every act.
11. Is a man now in possession of what he once had, or eventually will have? No.
Contra Andhakā.
- X. 1. Can five Skandhas arise when the five already arisen have not ceased? No.
Contra Andhakā.
2. Is the Path the outward form of him who walks therein? No.
Contra Mahīṣāsakā Sammitiyā and Mahāsaṅghikā.
3. Is there attainment of the Path to him who has the five Viññānas? No (quoting D. 2. 64).
Contra Mahāsaṅghikā (see XII. 1).
4. Are the five Viññānas both good and bad? No.
5. Are they accompanied by reflection? No.
6. Has he who has the Path two different moralities? No.
Contra Mahāsaṅghikā (relying on 'Virtues the base,' etc., Mil. 1. 53).
7. Is morality independent of thought? No.
Contra Mahāsaṅghikā.
8. Is not morality consequent on thought? Yes.
9. Does that morality which is the result of acquirement tend to increase? No (relying on S. I. 5. 7 and A. 4. 47).
Contra Mahāsaṅghikā.
10. Is Intimation (Viññatti) a moral action? No.
Contra Mahāsaṅghikā.
11. Is not to practise Intimation a wrong action? No (relying on A. 4. 47).
Contra Mahāsaṅghikā (see Mil. 2. 33-37).
- XI. 1. α Are the seven evil inclinations (*Anusayā*) immoral (neither good nor bad)? No.
 β or do they arise without a cause? No.
 γ or are they independent of thought? No.
Contra Mahāsaṅghikā and Sammitiyā (see IX. 4).

- 107 2. Aññāṇe vigate nāṇa-vippayutte citte vattamāne
na vattabbaṃ nāṇīti ?
- 108 3. Nāṇaṃ citta-vippayuttan ti ?
- 109 4. Idaṃ dukkhan ti vācaṃ bhāsato idaṃ dukkhan
ti nāṇaṃ pavattatīti ?
- 110 5. Iddhi-balena samannāgato kammaṃ tiṭṭheyyāti ?
- 111 6. Citta-santati samādhīti ?
- 112 7. Dhamma-tṭhitatā parinipphannā ti ?
- 113 8. Aniccataṃ parinipphannā ti ?
- 114=XII. 1. Kāyindriya-saṅvaro kamman ti ?
- 115 2. Sabbhaṃ kammaṃ savipākaṃ ti ?
- 116 3. Saddo vipāko ti ?
- 117 4. Saḷāyatanāni vipākā ti ?
- 118 5. Sattakkhattuparamo puggalo sattakkhattupara-
matā niyato hotīti ?
- 119 6. Na vattabbaṃ kolo puggalo kolaṅkolatā ni-
yato ti ?
Na vattabbaṃ bijī puggalo ekabijatā niyato ti ?
- 120 7. Diṭṭhi-sampanno puggalo sañcicca paṇā jivitā
voropeyyāti ?

2. Is he whose ignorance has been dispelled by the knowledge of the Path not to be called wise? Yes.
Contra Mahāsaṅghikā.
 3. Is knowledge independent of thought? No.
Contra Mahāsaṅghikā.
 4. Does the knowledge that 'all is sorrow' follow on an exclamation to that effect? No.
Contra Andhakā (see II. 3 and IX. 8).
 5. Can every one who has the power of Iddhi live for a Kāpa? No (relying on M.P.S. III. 54 and A. 4. 182).
Contra Mahāyaṅghikā.
 6. Is a continuation of thought Samādhi? No.
Contra Sabbatthivādā and Uttarāpathakā.
 7. Is the persistence of qualities (in S. 12. 20) produced? ¹ No.
Contra Andhakā.
 8. Is the transitoriness of all things something that is, like the things themselves, produced? No.
Contra Andhakā.
- XII. 1. Is restraint of the bodily organs an act of Karma? No.
Contra Mahāsaṅghikā (misunderstanding D. 2. 64).
2. Has every Karma a result? No.
Contra Mahāsaṅghikā.
 3. Is speech a result (of Karma)? No.
Contra Mahāsaṅghikā.
 4. Are the six organs of sense a result (of Karma)? No.
Contra Mahāsaṅghikā.
 5. Is a converted man restrained (from evil) by the inherent nature of his condition? No.
Contra Uttarāpathakā.
 6. The same of the Kolanakolo and the Ekabijī. (These are the stages immediately after conversion. See A. 3. 86. 2.)
 7. Would a person who holds wrong views also commit murder? No.
Contra Uttarāpathakā.

¹ There is a difference of reading here. The Commentary has *parinippaṇṇā* and *parinippaṇṇā*. My MS. of the text has *parinabbāṇā* (sic) and *parinibbattā*.



- 121 8. *Diṭṭhi-sampannessa puggalassa pahīnā duggatīti?*
- 122 9. *Na vattabbaṃ sattamakassa puggalassa pahīnā duggatīti?*
- 123 = XIII. 1. *Kappaṭṭho kappañ titṭheyyāti?*
- 124 2. *Kappaṭṭho kusalaṃ cittaṃ na paṭilabbheyyāti.*
- 125 3. *Anantarā-payutto puggalo sammatta-niyāmo okkameyyāti?*
- 126 4. *Niyato niyāmaṃ¹ okkamati?*
- 127 5. *Nivuto nīvaraṇaṃ jahatīti?*
- 128 6. *Sammukhībhūto saññoyajanaṃ jahatīti?*
- 129 7. *Sampanno assādeti jhāna-nikanti jhānarammanā ti?*
- 130 8. *Atthi asāta-rāgo ti?*
- 131 9. *Dhamma-taṇhā avyakatā ti?*
- 132 10. *Dhamma-taṇhā na dukkha-samudayo ti?*
- 133 = XIV. 1. *Akusala-mūlaṃ patisandahati kusala-mūlaṃ ti?*
- 134 2. *Saḷāyatanaṃ apubbaṃ acchimaṃ mātu kucchimīṃ saṅghātīti?*

¹ The Commentary reads *niyama* throughout.

8. Can a man holding wrong views be sure of escape from rebirth in states of woe? No.
Contra Uttarāpathaka.
- XIII. 9. Has not a converted man escaped it?
1. Does a Kappattho remain for the whole Kalpa in the same condition? No.
Contra Rājagirikā.
2. Can a man in purgatory do good? Yes.
Contra Uttarāpathakā.
3. Is it impossible for a man who has once committed a mortal sin to enter the Path? No.
Contra Uttarāpathakā.
4. Can a Niyato enter the Path? No.
Contra Pubbaseliyā and Aparaseliyā.¹
5. Can any one when still entangled by the obstacles be rid of them? No (quoting D. 2. 97).
Con. Uttarāpathakā (by a play on the word).
6. Can a man bound by the Fetters be rid of them? No (relying on A. 4. 47, and D. 2. 97).
7. Can a man practising Jhāna be rightly said to enjoy it? and is his desire to attain it the same as making it the object of his thought? No.
Contra Andhakā.
8. Is there such a thing as desire for the distasteful? No.
Contra Uttarāpathakā (misunderstanding passages where the Arahat is said to find a pleasure even in pain).
9. Is craving after qualities not to be condemned as immoral? No, it should be (relying on M. V. I. 6. 20).
Contra Pubbaseliyā.
10. Is craving after qualities not the cause of sorrow? No (quoting M. V. I. 6. 20).
Contra Pubbaseliyā.
- XIV. 1. Does nature transmigrate into vice? No.
Contra Mahasaṅghikā.
2. Has a new being all its six senses at the moment of conception? No (relying on S. X. 1).
Contra Pubbaseliyā and Aparaseliyā (see XXII. 6).

¹ This is really a dispute on the meaning of Niyato.

- 135 3. Cakkhu-viññāṇassa anantarā sota-viññāṇan
upparijjatīti ?
- 136 4. Ariya-rūpaṇ mahābhūtānaṇ upādayāti ?
- 137 5. Añño kamarāgānusayo añño kamarāga-
pariyuṭṭhānan ti ?
- 138 6. Pariyuṭṭhānaṇ citta-vippayuttan ti ?
- 139 7. Rūpa-rāgo rūpa-dhātuṇ anuseti rupa-dhātu-
pariyāpanno ti ?
- 140 8. Diṭṭhi-gataṇ avyākatan ti ?
- 141 9. Diṭṭhi-gataṇ apariyāpannan ti ?
- 142 = XV. 1. Paccayatā vavatthitā ti ?
- 143 2. Avijjā - paccayā saṅkhārā na vattabbaṇ
saṅkhāra-paccayā pi avijjā ti ?
- 144 3. Addhā parinipphanno ti ?
- 145 4. Khano parinipphanno layo parinipphanno
muhuttaṇ parinipphannan ti ?
- 146 5. Cattaro āsavā anāsavā ti ?
- 147 6. Lokuttarānaṇ dhammānaṇ jarā lokuttarā ti ?
- 148 7. Saññā - vedayita - nirodha - samāpatti loku-
ttarā ti ?

3. Does the sensation of sound arise simultaneously with the sensation of sight? No.
Contra Uttarāpathakā.
 4. Is the outward form of an Arahāt caused by the four elements? No.
Contra Uttarāpathakā.
 5. Is inclination to lust a different thing from being under the power of lust? No.
Contra Andhakā.
 6. Is the being possessed (by lust, etc.) something independent of the mind? No.
Contra Andhakā.
 7. Does the desire for future life in the worlds of form follow on, (and is it contained in) the habit of dwelling in thought upon form? No.
Contra Andhakā (see XVI. 10).
 8. Is the wrong view that the world is eternal rightly called *avyākata* (undefined)? No (relying on M. 63).
Contra Andhakā and Uttarāpathakā.
 9. Is he who has attained to Jhāna free from wrong views? No.
- XV. 1. Is the quality of being due to a cause a fixed one? No.
Contra Mahāsaṅghikā.
2. Is it right to say that though Ignorance is the cause of the Saṅkhāras, the Saṅkhāras are not the cause also of Ignorance? No.
Contra Mahāsaṅghikā.
 3. Is time diffused? No (relying on A. 3. 67). (See Mil. I. 77. 78.) (The question apparently means, is it the same time that is past, present and future?)
 4. Are the moments, minutes, etc. (subdivisions of time) diffused? No.
 5. Are the four Great Evils (*āsavā*) free from evil? No.
Contra Hetuvādā (on the ground that there being only four, there are none left over for them to be implicated with).
 6. Are the decay and death of transcendental qualities themselves transcendental? No.
Contra Mahāsaṅghikā.
 7. Is the attainment of coma an extraordinary affair? No.
Contra Hetuvādā.

- 149 8. Saññā-vedayita-nirodha-samāpatti lokiyā ti ?
- 150 9. Saññā - vedayita - nirodha - samāpanno kālaṃ
kareyyāti ?
- 151 10. Saññā-vedayita-nirodha-samāpatti asanna-
sattūpikā ti ?
- 152 11. Aññaṃ kammaṃ añño kammūpacayo ti ?
- 153 = XVI. 1. Paro parassa cittaṃ niggaṇhātīti ?
- 154 2. Paro parassa cittaṃ paggaṇhatīti ?
- 155 3. Paro parassa sukhaṃ anuppadetīti ?
- 156 4. Adhigayha manasi karotīti ?
- 157 5. Rūpaṃ hetūti ?
- 158 6. Rūpaṃ sahetukan ti ?
- 159 7. Rūpaṃ kusalan ti ?
- 160 8. Rūpaṃ vipāko ti ?
- 161 9. Atthi rūpaṃ rūpāvacaran ti ?
- 162 10. Rūpa-rāgo rūpa-dhātu-pariyāpanno ti ?
- 163 = XVII. 1. Atthi Arahato puññūpacayo ti ?
- 164 2. Natthi Arahato akāla-maccūti ?
- 165 3. Sabbam idaṃ kammato ti ?
- 166 4. Indriya-baddhaṃ yeva dukkhan ti ?
- 167 5. Thapetvā ariya-maggaṃ avasesā saṅkhārā
dukkā ti ?

8. Is the same an ordinary matter? No.
Contra Hetuvādā.
9. Will a person who has attained to it die in the ordinary way? No.
Contra Rājagirikā.
10. Does the attainment of it involve rebirth in the Realm of Unconsciousness? No.
Contra Hetuvādā.
11. Is Karma something different from the accumulation thereof? No.
Contra Andhakā and Sammitiyā.
- XVI. 1. Can a man subdue another's mind? No.
Contra Mahāsaṅghikā.
2. Can a man exert another's mind? No.
Contra Mahāsaṅghikā.
3. Can a man insure another's bliss? No.
Contra Hetuvādā.
4. Does attention act through comprehension? No.
Contra Pubbaseliyā and Aparaseliyā.
5. Is form a cause? No.
Contra Uttarāpathakā.
6. Does form go with its cause? No.
Contra same.
7. Is form good? is it bad? Neither.
Contra Mahāṅgāsakā and Sammitiyā.
8. Is form a result (of Karma)? No.
Contra Andhakā and Sammitiyā.
9. Does form belong to the Realm of Form? No.
Contra Andhakā.
10. Is the desire for life in the Realm of form included in the element of form? No.
Contra Andhakā (see XIV. 7).
- XVII. 1. Does an Arahāt lay up merit? No.
Contra Andhakā.
2. Can an Arahāt die before he has worked out the Karma of his previous actions? Yes.
Contra Rājagirikā and Siddhatthakā.
3. Is Karma itself the result of previous Karma? No.
Contra Rājagirikā and Siddhatthakā.
4. Is all pain connected with the organs of sense? No.
Contra Hetuvādā.
5. Is the Excellent Way to be excepted from the saying, 'All Saṅkhāras involve sorrow'? No.
Contra Hetuvādā.

- 168 6. Na vattabbaj saṅgho dakkhiṇaj paṭiggaṇ-
hātīti ?
- 169 7. Na vattabbaj saṅgho dakkhiṇaj visodhetīti ?
- 170 8. Na vattabbaj saṅgho bhūñjati pivati khādati
sāyatīti ?
- 171 9. Na vattabbaj saṅghassa dinnaj mahap-
phalan ti ?
- 172 10. Na vattabbaj Buddhassa dinnaj mahap-
phalan ti ?
- 173 11. Dāyako va dānaj visujjhati no paṭiggā-
hako ti ?
- 174=XVIII.1. Na vattabbaj Buddhō bhagavā manussa-
loke aṭṭhasīti ?
- 175 2. Na vattabbaj Buddhena bhagavatā dhammo
desito ti ?
- 176 3. Natthi Buddhassa bhagavato karuṇā ti ?
- 177 4. Buddhassa bhagavato uccāra-passāvo ativiya
aṅṅe gandha-jāte adhigaṇhātīti ?
- 178 5. Ekena ariya-maggena cattāri sāmāññaphalāni
sacchi-karotīti ?
- 179 6. Jhānā jhāna-samaṅgī ti ?
- 180 7. Atthi jhānantarikā ti ?
- 181 8. Samāpanno saddaj suṇatīti ?

6. Can it be rightly said that the Sangha receives no gift? No (relying on A. 34 and A. 52).

Contra Mahāsuññata-vādā and Vetulyakā.

7. Or that the Sangha purifies a gift? Yes.

Contra the same.

8. Or that the Sangha has food given? Yes (relying on Mahavagga, VI. 35. 6).

Contra the same.

9. Or that a gift to the Sangha is of great avail? Yes (relying on S. XI. 2. 6=Vin. V. 34. 23-27).

Contra the same.

10. Or that a gift to the Buddha is of great avail? Yes.

Contra the same.

11. Is a gift purified by the giver, not the receiver? No (relying on A. 4. 78).

Contra Uttarāpathakā.

XVIII. 1. Was not the Buddha really born in the world of men? Yes.

Contra Vetulyakā (He remained in the Tusita heaven and sent only a phantom of himself to the world!)

2. Did not the Buddha himself preach the Dhamma? Yes.

Contra Vetulyakā (Ānanda preached it!)

3. Had the Buddha no mercy? Yes (comp. Mil. I. 162-170).

Contra Uttarāpathakā.

4. Were the Buddha's excretions of exceeding sweet savour? No.

Contra some Andhakā and the Uttarāpathā.

5. Did the Buddha realize the fruits of all the stages of the Path at once? No.

Contra the same.

6. Does each (of the four) Jhānas arise out of the previous one? No.

Contra Mahiṅsāsakā and some Andhakā.

7. Is there an intermediate Jhāna or a breach in Jhāna (between the first and second)? No.

Contra Sammitiyā and some Andhakā.

8. Can he who has attained to the first Jhāna hear sounds? No.

Contra Pubbaseliyā.

- 182 9. Cakkhunā rūpaṃ passatīti ?
- 183=XIX. 1. Attīte kilese jahatīti ?
- 184 2. Suññatā saṅkhāra-khandha-pariyāpannā ti ?
- 185 3. Sāmañña-phalaṃ asaṅkhatan ti ?
- 186 4. Patti asaṅkhatā ti ?
- 187 5. Sabba-dhamma-tiṭṭhatā asaṅkhatā ti ?
- 188 6. Nibbāna-dhātu kusalā ti ?
- 189 7. Atthi puthujjanassa accanta-niyāmatā ti ?
- 190 8. Natthi lokiyaṃ saddhindriyaṃ ti ?
- 191=XX. 1. Asañcicca mātaṃ jīvitaṃ voropitvā ananta
riko hotīti ?
- 192 2. Natthi puthujjanassa ñāṇan ti ?
- 193 3. Natthi nirayesu niraya-pālā ti ?
- 194 4. Atthi devesu tiracchāna-gatā ti ?
- 195 5. Pañcaṅgiko maggo ti ?
- 196 6. Dvādasa-vatthukaṃ ñāṇaṃ lokuttaran ti ?

9. Does the eye see forms? No (it is the mind that sees them through the eye).
Contra Mahāsaṅghikā.
- XIX. 1. Is there no such thing as the putting away of evil dispositions but only of past evil? No.
Contra some Uttarāpathakā.
2. Is Suññatā (Emptiness) predicable of the Skandhas? If emptiness of soul be meant, yes. If emptiness of the three fires be meant (in which sense Emptiness is an epithet of Nirvāna), no.
Contra the Andhakā.
3. Is the fruit of Samaṇaship unmade? No.
Contra Pubbaseliyā.
4. Is Attainment unmade? No.
Contra Pubbaseliyā.
5. Is the state of qualities unmade? No.
Contra Uttarāpathakā.
6. Is Nirvāna virtuous? No.
Contra Andhakā.
7. Is an unconverted man walking in the Path? No.
Contra some Uttarāpathakā.
8. Is there a faith (etc., the question is asked of each of the Moral Organs) which is of the world? Yes.
Contra Hetuvādā and Mahiṇsāsakā.
- XX. 1. Is an involuntary offence a Deadly Sin? No.
Contra some Uttarāpathakā.
2. Has an unconverted man no knowledge? He may have.
Contra Hetuvādā.
3. Are there no warders in Purgatory? There are.
Contra Andhakā.
4. Are there animals in heaven? No (animals go to heaven, but become gods. Whether they like to use animal forms or not makes no difference).
Contra Andhakā.
5. Is the Excellent Way five-fold? No, eight-fold.
Contra Mahiṇsāsakā.
6. Is the twelve-fold knowledge (of the Four Truths—see my 'Buddhist Suttas,' pp. 150–152) extraordinary? No.
Contra Pubbaseliyā and Aparaseliyā.

- 197=XXI. 1. Sāsaṇaṇ nava-katan ti ?
- 198 2. Puthujano tedhātukehi dhammehi āvivitto ti ?
- 199 3. Atthi kiñci saññojanaṇ apahāya Arahattapattiti ?
- 200 4. Atthi adhippāya-iddhi Buddhānaṇ vā sāva-kānaṇ vā ti ?
- 201 5. Atthi Buddhānaṇ Buddhēhi hīnātirekatā ti ?
- 202 6. Sabbā disā Buddhā ti ?
- 203 7. Sabbe dhammā niyatā ti ?
- 204 8. Sabbe kammāni niyatūnīti ?
- 205=XXII. 1. Atthi kiñci saññojanaṇ appahāya parinibbānaṇ ti ?
- 206 2. Arahā kusala-citto parinibbāyutīti ?
- 207 3. Arahā ānaṇje ṭhilo parinibbāyatīti ?
- 208 4. Atthi gabbha-seyyāya dhammābhisamayo ti ?
- 209 5. Atthi gabbha-seyyāya Arahattappattiti ?
- 210 Atthi supina-gatassa dhammābhisamayo ti ?
- 211 Atthi supina-gatassa Arahattappattiti ?
- 212 6. Sabbāṇ supina-gatassa cittaṇ avyākatan ti ?
- 213 7. Natthi kāci āsevena-paccayatā ti ?

- XXI. 1. Was the doctrine altered, or made afresh, at the Councils? No.
Contra some Uttarāpathakā.
2. Cannot the unconverted man separate himself at the same time from the qualities belonging to the three Dhātus? Yes.
Contra the same.
3. Can Arahatship be attained without breaking the ten Fetters? No.
Contra Mahāsaṅghikā (see 22. 1).
4. Have the Buddhas or their disciples intentional Iddhi? No.
Contra Andhakā.
5. Do some Buddhas surpass others? No.
Contra Andhakā.
6. Are Buddhas born in all quarters of the Universe? No.
Contra Mahāsaṅghikā.
7. Are all qualities abiding? No.
Contra some Uttarāpathakā.
8. Is Karma always certain? No.
Contra the same.
- XXII. 1. When an Arahat dies, is there any Fetter he has not broken? No.
Contra Andhakā.
2. Has an Arahat at the moment of his death such good thoughts as will produce a result in Karma? No.
Contra Andhakā.
3. Is the Arahat at the moment of his death in the fourth stage of the Vimokhas? No.
Contra some Andhakā.
4. Can a child in the womb be converted? No.
Contra some Uttarāpathakā (compare XIV. 2).
5. α. Can a child in the womb become an Arahat?
β. Can a man be converted in a dream?
γ. Can a man become an Arahat in a dream? No.
Contra the same.
6. Are all the thoughts of a dreamer indifferent (neither good nor bad)? No.
Contra the same.
7. Does habit never become a cause? It does (Mil. 1. 90).
Contra the same.

- 214 8. Eka-citta-kkhanikā sabbe dhammā ti ?
- 215=XXIII.1. Ekādhippayo methuno dhammo patisevitabbo ti ?
- 216 2. Arahanta-vanṇena amanussa methunaṃ dhammaṃ patisevantīti ?
- 217 3. Bodhisatto issariya-kāma-karikā-hetu vini-pātaṃ gacchatīti ?
- 218 4. Atthi narāgo raga-patirūpako ti ?
- 219 5. Rūpaṃ aparinipphanna¹ ti ?

¹ See the note above on p. 23.

Note.—Professor Bühler's letter, referred to on page 1, must appear in the next issue.

8. Are all qualities only momentary in thought?
No (relying on M. 1. 190).

Contra Pubbaseliyā and Aparaseliyā (comp.
XI. 6).

- XXIII. 1. Is sexual intercourse allowable on the ground
that it is right to be of one mind? No.
Contra Andhakā and Vetulyakā.
2. Can beings not human have sexual intercourse
under the outward form of Arahats? No.
Contra some Uttarāpathakā (compare II. 1).
3. Can a Bodhisat by reason of desire for sovereignty
be reborn in realms of woe, or believe in
heresy, or practise asceticism, or follow a
wrong teacher? No.
Contra Andhakā.
4. Is there such a thing as an absence of lust that
is lust, or an absence of ill will that is ill will,
or an absence of folly that is folly? No.
Contra Andhakā.
5. Is form not diffused? It is.
Contra some Uttarāpathakā and Hetuvādā
(see XI. 7, 8, and XV. 3. 4).
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ART. II.—*The Lineage of "The Proud King."* By ROBERT CHALMERS, B.A., M.R.A.S.

It is a far cry from Gotama the Buddha to Mr. William Morris; but it will be the object of these pages to establish the succession, not apostolic but literary, linking together the Victorian poet and the Indian sage of the fifth century B.C. Like the author of "The Earthly Paradise," Gotama had an ear for

The gentle music of the bygone years,
Long past to us with all their hopes and fears.

But, unlike Mr. Morris, it was with a distinctly ethical purpose, and not to fill "an empty day," that Gotama re-told those traditional stories of ancient India which are preserved in the Pāli Jātakas. One of the stories of the Jātaka-book (the story of Illīsa¹) has been "adapted" by Jewish and by Moslem theologians: it has pointed the moral of the mediæval monk, and adorned the tale of the troubadour; and in these latter days it has furnished a theme both to an American and to an English poet.

The argument to Mr. Morris's poem of the "Proud King" in "The Earthly Paradise" tells how "A certain king, blinded by pride, thought that he was more than man, if not equal to God; but such a judgment fell on him that none knew him for king, and he suffered many things, till in the end humbling himself he regained his kingdom and honour." The incidents of Mr. Morris's poem will be familiar to all; but for the sake of clearness in tracing the story back through the several forms it has assumed in different ages, I may be pardoned for adding that, while the Proud King was bathing, his form had been assumed by an angel,—“an image of the

¹ No. 78 in Fausbøll's edition of the Pāli text, vol. i. (Trübner, 1877.)

king, in rich apparel, crown and signet-ring,"—who was recognized by everybody as their lord, Jovinian. Denied by courtiers, servants, and his queen, the real king is driven with blows from his own palace, and does not regain his kingdom and honour until in his deep humiliation he prays to God—

Look down, of folly I have had my fill,
And am but now as first Thou madest me,
Weak yielding clay to take impress of Thee.

Then, with a parting admonition as to the omnipotence of God, the angel vanishes, and the humbled Jovinian is again hailed as king.

This story of "The Proud King," like the old French *Moralité* "L'orgueil et présomption de l'empereur Jovinian," is taken direct from a thirteenth-century story-book, the "Gesta Romanorum."¹ This treasury of old stories was compiled by a monk, or monks, *in usum predicatorum*; and it is important to note that it was in their hands that the story was first made to inculcate the virtue of *humility* and to serve as a warning against the deadly sin of pride. In the kindred Old English Romance² entitled "Robert of Cysille" (the original of Longfellow's poem "Count Robert of Sicily"), this lesson is even more emphatically taught. For here the proud king's tribulation springs from his sneering (in church!) at the words in the Magnificat, "He hath put down the mighty from their seat and hath exalted the humble and meek." Doubtless it was the *Gesta* that suggested to Chaucer his lines in the *Sompnoure's Tale*:—

Methinkith they ben like Jovynian,
Fat as a whal, and walken as a swan.

Tracing the story further back, we find in the Qur'ān³ this verse: "And we did try Solomon and we threw upon his

¹ See Herrtage's edition for the Early English Text Society (Trübner, 1879).

² See Ellis's "Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances" (London, 1848).

³ Palmer's translation in the "Sacred Books of the East," vol. ii. p. 178; Burton's "Arabian Nights," vol. i. p. 42, note 2; Sale's "Koran," p. 344 of the 1844 edition; Lane's "Selections from the Kur-ān" (London, 1879), p. 137.

throne a form ; then he turned repentant." According to the interwoven commentary of the Koran and to other Arab commentators, this verse refers to the following legend. A wife of Solomon having practised idolatry in his palace, God punished the king by allowing a demon, Şakhr (or Şakhar) by name, to steal the signet-ring on which Solomon's kingdom depended. By virtue of this stolen ring Şakhr became possessed of the kingdom and sat on the throne in the borrowed form of Solomon. The dethroned king meantime, being unrecognized by any of his subjects, wandered about begging his bread, until after forty days—which was the period during which the idolatry had been practised in his palace—the demon Şakhr flew away, throwing the ring into the sea. The ring being miraculously found by Solomon inside a fish, he recovered his kingdom, and threw Şakhr with a great stone tied round his neck into the Lake of Tiberias. In later times Şakhr has emerged from the Lake as the bottle-imp, caught by the fisherman at the beginning of the Arabian Nights, and has attained more modern fame in the hands of Le Sage as "Le Diable Boiteux." In this latter form the demon is known as Asmodeus, a name which carries us back—unlike the Şakhr of the Moslems—to the Jewish Talmud. In the Babylonian recension of this work, which was completed about 500 A.D., Solomon,¹ unrecognized even in Jerusalem after the loss of his ring, is mocked by his own porter and driven with blows from his own door, like the proud king Jovinian. After many bitter experiences the outcast and despairing king throws himself to earth, and in a passion of tears implores the mercy of God whom he has so long forgotten. Soon after he finds his ring inside a fish, and is recognized again by the Sanhedrin (a body, by the way, which probably did not exist in Solomon's days), who advise him to beard the usurper in his hall, advice which the Sanhedrin have the less hesitation in giving when they reflect that the pseudo-king always kept his feet concealed in his robes,

¹ See Levi's "Parabeln aus Thalmud," p. 82 et seqq., 2nd edit. Leipzig, 1877.

and so was probably a demon. At the sight of the mystic ring Asmodeus shrieks aloud and vanishes, while Solomon again sits upon his magic throne.

Of this "Talmudic-Koranic fiction" the *Gesta Romanorum* story (and therefore Mr. Morris's poem of the "Proud King") is "the manifest descendant," in the words of the late Sir Richard Burton. With greater caution, and perhaps more certainty, it may be maintained that the traditions are *akin*, springing from one stock. The interesting fact to the student of comparative folk-lore is the evidence which the Jewish, Moslem, and Christian versions together afford of the evolution of stories. As in biology, so in folk-lore, heredity is tempered by variation adapted to new environment. The Jewish Rabbis, who edited the Talmudic version (which the monotheist Moslems borrowed directly or indirectly), had ever before their eyes the sin of *idolatry*,—the historic weakness of the Chosen People. So the sin which the Jewish story punishes is idolatry,—whereas with the followers of the lowly Nazarene the deadly sin is *pride*:—"deposuit potentes de sede et exaltavit humiles."

So far as can be determined by comparing the two versions, the Koranic story does not appear to be directly borrowed from the *existing* Talmudic legend.¹ Both agree, it is true, in their main features, including the identification of Solomon as the king punished for idolatry; but much greater probability attaches to the view that the two are merely parallel or sister versions. And though names are not in themselves strong evidence, this view is supported by the difference in name of the demon who assumes the form of Solomon. As has been

¹ Sale refers to *En Jacob*, part 2 (haggadic Tales from the Talmud), and to *Yalkut* in lib. Reg. p. 182, which merely refers to the Talmud. Another Talmudic version, given in the (earlier) *Gemara* of the Jerusalem Talmud, runs as follows: God said unto Solomon, 'Why should my crown be on thy head? Come down from off my throne!' And therewithal, as Rabbi Jose ben Chanina relates, there came down an Angel in the form of Solomon, who bade the king come down from the throne and seated himself thereon. Solomon wandered about through synagogues and schools repeating the words (Eccl. i. 1), 'I Koheleth was king over Israel in Jerusalem.' 'A king,' they answered him, 'lives in his palace, and dost thou say *I Koheleth am king*?' They beat him with a cane, and set a plate of beans before him. Then said he (Eccl. ii. 10), 'This is my portion and reward for all my pains.' This Jerusalem version omits all account of the restoration of Solomon to his throne.

seen, the demon is called *Asmodeus* in the Talmud and *Şakhr* in Koranic legend. Leaving out of consideration the interesting question of the origin of "Asmodeus," it is to be observed that the name "Şakhr" is in itself indicative of Indian origin. Şakhr is simply the god Çakra of the older Indian theology, the archangel Sakka of Pāli. And in the Pāli Jātakas occurs the story of Illisa, who is punished for sin and brought to repentance by the archangel Sakka assuming his form. Illisa's sin, in accordance with the view of folk-lore evolution above laid down, is the sin most deadly in the eyes of a Buddhist. It is not pride as in the Christian versions, nor idolatry as in the Talmud; it is the refusal to give alms,—a disposition necessarily abhorrent to the hearts of mendicant Buddhist friars, with whom almsgiving is ranked as the chief of virtues.

Stripped of non-essentials, the Illisa-jātaka may be summarized as follows:—Illisa, the Lord High Treasurer of Benares, though a millionaire, was a miser; he had pulled down the family almonry, driven the poor from his gates, and hoarded his wealth so that it was "as a pool haunted by ogres." A niggardly act of his attracts the notice of his father, who at death had been reborn for his charity, etc., as the archangel Sakka. Sakka comes down from heaven, assumes the form of his miserly son, and proceeds to distribute the latter's darling riches. Denied by his friends, servants, children, and wife, and cudgelled in his endeavours to assert his identity, Illisa is only restored to his former estate by the archangel, who says that it was as a punishment for miserliness that Illisa's form had been usurped, and that unless he repents after this warning he will incur the final punishment of death.

The chain of sequence from the Jātaka to Mr. Morris is still far from complete, and it may be hoped that scholars with a larger knowledge than I can lay claim to, of the several literatures in which the story appears, may be willing to amplify and extend this sketch. Of peculiar interest is the appearance in Arabic writings of the archangel Sakka as Şakhr al Jinni. Reduced by Buddhism from his former

dominion as the god Çakra (or Indra) to be simply an archangel having sovereignty over the Tāvātimsa Heaven, Sakka has been further degraded by monotheism to the rank of a devil!

The following, in chronological order, are the several forms of the Illisa-jātaka:—

I. Illisa-jātaka.

Only the *Gāthās* or verses of the Jātakas form part of the Buddhist Canon as settled about 400 B.C.; but tradition says that the *Aṭṭhakathā*, or commentary, on the Jātaka verses was brought by Mahinda to Ceylon in its present state in 250 B.C., there handed down in Sinhalese till 450 A.D., when it was re-translated into Pāli. The *story* of Illisa is therefore part of the commentary only; but the original Canon contains the *Gāthā* (translated *infra*) reciting the physical characteristics of Illisa, and stating the impossibility of deciding which of two claimants was the real Illisa. The confusion as to identity is therefore as old as the Buddhist Piṭakas, and had reference to an individual named Illisa. There is no reason to suppose that the story, of which this *Gāthā* was the catchword, was not *substantially* the same in the year 400 B.C. as the Jātaka story in Prof. Fausböll's text (cf. e.g. the Mahā-Sudassana-Jātaka with the earlier Mahā-Sudassana-Sutta and the Mahā-Parinibbāna Sutta, as showing the tendency of later Buddhist writers merely to amplify, not to alter the substance of, earlier compositions). I will, however, hazard the speculations (1) that the earliest Buddhist form was not so elaborate as that of the present Jātaka book, and (2) that Buddhism borrowed the tale, with Sakka, from pre-Buddhist folk-lore, now lost. (See Rhys Davids' "Buddhist Birth-Stories" (Trübner, 1881) for an elaborate discussion of the age, history, and place in literature, of the Jātaka book.)

II. The Talmud.

(i) The *Gemara* of the Jerusalem Talmud, begun by Rabbi Jochanan in 260 A.D. and finished some 50 years later at

Tiberias, contains an account of the usurpation of Solomon's throne by an *Angel*, with a meagre reference to his wandering unrecognized among his people, and to his being beaten and fed on humble fare. This Jerusalem story is rather an incidental reference to, than a complete version of, the Jewish legend of Solomon's dethronement.

(ii) The Babylonian recension of the Gemara was finished by Rabbi Asha's sons in the year 498 A.D., according to Etheridge's "Hebrew Literature" (1856). The story is related of King Solomon—the centre round which crystallized many legends and tales—and of the *devil* named *Asmodeus*. I am informed by the learned Talmudic scholars, Dr. Friedländer and Dr. Gaster, that, contrary to what might be inferred from the specific references in the note of Sale to the 38th chapter of the Koran, no such "devil" as "Šakhr" is to be found in the Talmud.

III. The Qur'ān.

In the 38th chapter of this book, which was edited shortly after Mahomet's death in 632 A.D., there is an allusion to the Talmudic legend.

IV. Commentators on the Qur'ān.

The interest attaching to the commentators' story is that here the Sakka of the Jātaka re-appears, in what is practically the Babylonian Talmudic version. I am indebted to Mr. Kay for the information that the Commentary of Zamakhsharī, after telling the story about Solomon and Šakhr, goes on to say that the most learned commentators regard the story as altogether unworthy of credit, and that in fact it is only an old wife's *tale invented by the Jews*.

Bearing in mind the survival of Sakka in the Moslem version, I venture to think that it was only orthodox Judaism which had substituted Asmodeus in the adapted Indian story, and that the unorthodox Jews of Arabia (to whom Mahomet was indebted for no inconsiderable part of his knowledge of Judaism) had preserved in a more original form the old Indian story of which the Illisa-jātaka is the earliest known version.

V. The Gesta Romanorum.

According to Herrtage's Introduction to his edition of the Early English version of this well-known book, the date of its compilation is about 1300. Thence onward the story has suffered little or no change down to the present day. We are practically in the dark as to the sources from which this book was compiled. But it may well be that the Gesta story of King Jovinian was derived from the Talmud legend of Solomon through the mediation of converted Jews, such as John of Capua, the translator of the *Directorium vite humane*.

As the Illisa-jātaka (so far as I am aware) has not yet been translated into English, I append a version of it, in the hope that it may be of interest not only in the historical connection in which I have adduced it, but also for its own quaint humour and the graphic incidents with which the central idea had been embroidered in India more than two thousand years ago.

Illisa-jātaka.

Once on a time when Brahmadatta was king in Benares, he had a Lord High Treasurer who was a millionaire. Now this man was a churlish fellow, who hated his fellow-men; he was lame and crookbacked, and had a cast in his eye. Moreover, he was an unconverted infidel, and a miser. He never gave of his store to others nor had any joy of it himself, so that his house was like a pool haunted by ogres, whereat none may drink or slake their thirst. Yet for seven generations back his ancestors had been bountiful, giving freely of their best to the needy; but when this man succeeded to the office of Lord High Treasurer, he broke through the traditions of his house. He burned the almonry to the ground, and driving away the poor with blows from his door, hoarded his wealth.

Now the Lord High Treasurer's father, who for his charity and other good works had been reborn as the archangel Sakka, chanced to be meditating on the blessings his charitableness

had brought him, and was bending over from heaven to look down on earth, when he saw his son behaving with great meanness. For the Lord High Treasurer, being thirsty, but not wanting to have to share his liquor with any one, had sent a slave with a few halfpence to the tavern to buy a whole jar of spirits for him. This the miser made the slave carry on ahead to the river side, where there was a dense thicket. Here he had the jar set down, ordering the slave to wait at a distance. Then he filled his cup and fell to drinking in solitary happiness. Indignant at this sight, Sakka cried, "I will go to my son and teach him that all deeds bear their fruits; I will work my son's conversion and make him worthy of rebirth hereafter in the world of angels." So he came down to earth and once more trod the ways of men, putting on the semblance of his son, the Lord High Treasurer Illisa, with his son's lameness and humpback and squint. In this guise Sakka entered the city and made his way to the king's palace, where he bade his coming be announced to the king. Ordering him to be admitted, the king asked the object of so unexpected a visit. "Sire," said the pretended Treasurer, "I have a whole million of money stored away in my house. Deign to have it transferred to the royal exchequer."

"But, we are richer even than your lordship, and have no need to take your riches from you."

"If your majesty declines, I will give it away as likes me best."

"Do so by all means, if you wish," said the king.

"Very good, sire; I will," said the pretended Illisa, and with due obeisance departed from the royal presence to the Treasurer's house. All the servants thought it was their real master; and he gave orders to the porter that if any other person looking like himself should appear and claim to be the master of the house, the porter should cudgel such a one and throw him out. Then he seated himself in state in an inner chamber of the house, and, sending for the Lord High Treasurer's wife, announced his intention to be bountiful and to lavish his wealth in charity. Thought

wife, children, and servants with one accord: "This is indeed a novel mood for him to be in. It must be the spirits he has been drinking which have made him so good-natured and generous to-day." So he sent for the crier and bade him proclaim through the city that every one who wanted gold and silver or jewels was to come up to Illisa's house. Accordingly a large crowd speedily besieged the gate, all carrying baskets and sacks. Then said Sakka, "Fling open the doors of my treasure-chambers, and let each one here take what he will and go his way; it is my free gift to you." Without a moment's delay the crowd seized on the treasure, and piled up heaps of riches and filled sacks and vessels with the rich booty; and away they went, laden with their spoils. Now among them was a certain countryman who, thoughtfully yoking Illisa's oxen to Illisa's cart, loaded it with valuables. As the fellow travelled along the high road on his way from the city, he drew near the very thicket where the real Lord Treasurer was lying *perdu*, and sang his praises in these words: "Heaven grant you may live to be a hundred, my good lord Illisa! What you've done for me will keep me without doing another stroke of work all my life long. Whose were these oxen?—yours. Whose was this cart?—yours. Whose the valuables in the cart?—yours too. Never was father or mother so generous as you have been." These words filled the Lord High Treasurer with fear and trembling. "Why, the fellow is mentioning my name," said he to himself. "Can the king have been distributing my wealth to the people?" At the bare thought he bounded from the bush, and, recognizing his own oxen and cart, seized the oxen by the cord, crying, "Stop, fellow; these oxen and this cart belong to me." Down leaped the man from the cart, angrily exclaiming, "You rascal! Illisa, the Lord High Treasurer, is giving away his wealth. Who, pray, are you?" And he sprang at the Treasurer and struck him on the back like a falling thunderbolt, and went off with the cart. Illisa picked himself up, trembling in every limb, wiped off the mud, and hurrying after his

cart, seized hold of the rein again. Again the countryman got down, and seizing Illisa by the hair, beat him about the head for some time; then taking him by the throat, he flung him heavily upon his face on the road, and drove off. Sobered by this rough usage, and filled with the direst forebodings, Illisa hurried off home. There, seeing folk making off with his darling treasures, he fell to laying hands on here a man and there a man, shrieking, "Hi! what's this? Is the king despoiling me?" And every man he laid hands on knocked him down. Bruised and smarting, he sought to take refuge in his own house, when the porters stopped him with, "Holloa, you rascal! Where might you be going?" And first thrashing him soundly with bamboos, they took their master by the throat and threw him out of doors. "There is none but the king left to see me righted," groaned Illisa, and betook himself to the palace. "Why, oh why, sire," he cried, "have you plundered me like this?"

"Nay, it was not I, my Lord Treasurer," said the king. "Did you not yourself come and declare your intention of giving your wealth away, if I would not accept it? And did you not then send the crier round and carry out your threat?"

"Oh sire, indeed it was not I that came to you on such an errand. Your majesty knows how near and close I am, and how I never in my life gave away, if I could help it, so much as a drop of oil or a blade of grass. May it please your majesty to send for him who has given my substance away, and to question him on the matter."

Then the king sent for Sakka. And so exactly alike were the two that neither the king nor his court could tell which was the real Lord High Treasurer. Said the miser Illisa, "Who, and what, sire, is this person? I am your majesty's Treasurer."

"Well, really I can't say which is the real Illisa," said the king. "Is there anybody who can distinguish them for certain?"

"Yes, sire, my wife."

So the wife was sent for and asked which of the two was her husband. And she said Sakka was her husband and went to his side. Then in turn Illisa's children and servants were brought in and asked the same question; and all with one accord declared Sakka was the real Lord High Treasurer. Here it flashed across Illisa's mind that he had a wart on his head, the existence of which was known only to himself and to his barber. So, as a last resource, he asked that his barber might be sent for. Accordingly, the barber was sent for and asked if he had any private means of knowing the real from the false Illisa. "I could tell, sire," said he, "if I might examine their heads."

"Then look at both their heads," said the king.

On the instant Sakka caused a wart to rise on his head, so that, after examining the two, the barber reported that, as both alike had got warts on their heads, he couldn't for the life of him say which was the real man. Hearing his last hope thus fail him, the Lord High Treasurer fell into a tremble; and such was his anguish at the now inevitable loss of his beloved riches, that down he fell in a swoon. Thereupon Sakka put forth his supernatural powers, and, rising in the air, addressed the king thence in these words: "Not Illisa am I, O king, but the great Sakka." Then those around dashed water on the temples of the prostrate Illisa, who, recovering, rose to his feet and bowed to the ground before Sakka the Archangel. Then said Sakka, "Illisa, mine was the wealth, not thine. I am thy father; and in my lifetime I was bountiful toward the poor and rejoiced in doing good; wherefore, I am advanced to this high estate and am Sakka, the Archangel. But thou, walking not in my footsteps, art a niggard and a miser; thou hast burned my almonry to the ground, driven the poor from the gate, and hoarded the riches thou didst inherit from me. Thou hast no enjoyment thereof thyself, nor has any other human being; but thy store is become like a pool haunted by ogres whereat no man may slake his thirst. Albeit, if thou wilt rebuild mine almonry and show bounty to the poor, it shall be accounted to thee for righteousness. But, if thou wilt not rebuild mine

almonry and show bounty, then will I strip thee of even that which remains to thee, and cleave thy head with the thunderbolt of Indra, and thou shalt die."

At this threat Illisa, fearing for his life, cried out, "Henceforth I vow to excel in good works, and chiefly in charity to the poor." And Sakka accepted his promise, and after establishing his son in the Commandments and preaching the Truth to him from mid-air, departed to his own abode. And Illisa proved diligent in almsgiving and other good works, and so assured his rebirth hereafter in heaven.

ART. III.—*A Collection of Kammavācās.* By HERBERT
BAYNES, M.R.A.S.

HAVING recently received from Mandalay through the kindness of an uncle, several interesting and important Buddhist MSS. in Pāli, Burmese and Shan, I venture to lay before the Society a Collection of Kammavācās, some of which, though known to European scholars, have hitherto remained inedited.

The first Manuscript is a very handsome copy of the Kammavācam in Burmese Ritual, or 'tamarind-seed' letters painted with a thick black resinous gum on 16 leaves of royal discarded pasohs, each leaf containing 6 lines each side.

It begins with the Upasampadā or Buddhist Ordination Service, which is perhaps the best known of all the Kammavācās, having been edited by Spiegel in 1841, by Dickson in 1881, and by Frankfurter in 1883. Then follow eight others, namely :—

2. Kaṭṭhinadussam uppannam, 'the Bestowment of the Kaṭṭhina Robe.'

3. Ticivarena avippavāsa, 'the Investiture of a Bhikkhu with the three Robes.'

4. Simā - sammannitā samāna - samvāsā ekuposathā, 'the fixing of a Boundary for the Performance of the Uposathā.'

5. Thera-Sammuti, 'the Election of an Elder.'

6. Nāma-Sammuti, 'naming a Bhikkhu.'

7. Vihāra - kappiyabhūmi - Sammuti, 'the Dedication of a Vihāra.'

8. Kuṭṭivatthu - Sammuti, 'fixing a Site for a Bhikkhu's Residence.'

9. Nissaya-mutta-Sammuti, 'Consent to a Release from Nissaya.'

The first seven are given by Dr. Frankfurter in his *Hand-book of Pāli*, but whilst in his MS. the Bestowment of the Kaṭhina Robe comes *fourth* in the series, in mine it occupies the *second* place. So far as I know, the eighth and ninth Kammavācās have never been published. They are as follows:—

VIII.

Suṇātu me bhante Saṃgho. Ayaṃ itthannāmo bhikkhu saṃyācīkāya kuṭi kattukāmo assāmīkaṃ attuddesaṃ. So saṃghaṃ kuṭivattuṃ olokaṇaṃ yācati. Yadi saṃghassa pattakallaṃ saṃgho itthannāmaṃ ca itthannāmaṃ ca bhikkhū sammanneyya itthannāmassa bhikkhuno kuṭivattuṃ oloketuṃ. Esā ñatti.

Suṇātu me bhante saṃgho. Ayaṃ itthannāmo bhikkhu saṃyācīkāya kuṭi kattukāmo assāmīkaṃ attuddesaṃ. So saṃghaṃ kuṭivattuṃ olokaṇaṃ yācati. Saṃgho itthannāmaṃ ca itthannāmaṃ ca bhikkhuṃ sammannati itthannāmassa bhikkhuno kuṭivattuṃ oloketuṃ. Yassāyasmato khamati itthannāmassa ca itthannāmassa ca bhikkhūnaṃ sammuti itthannāmassa bhikkhuno kuṭivattuṃ oloketuṃ so tuḥassa, yassa nakkhamati, so bhāseyya.

Sammannitā saṃghena itthannāmo ca itthannāmo ca bhikkhū itthannāmassa bhikkhuno kuṭivattuṃ oloketuṃ. Khamati saṃghassa tasmā tuḥī evaṃ etaṃ dhārayāmiti.

Let the Venerable Assembly hear me! A certain Bhikkhu, at his own instance, is about to build a house, not by the direction of others, for himself to live in. So he asks the Saṃgha to inspect the site. If it seem meet to the Saṃgha, let it appoint such and such Bhikkhus to inspect the site of the house with the said Bhikkhu. This is the motion.

Venerable Sirs, let the Brotherhood hear me! A certain Bhikkhu, at his own instance, and not by the direction of others, is about to build a house to live in. So he asks the Saṃgha to inspect the site. The Saṃgha appoints such and such Bhikkhus to inspect the site for the house with the said Bhikkhu.

Whosoever is in favour of appointing such and such of the Bhikkhus to inspect the site with the said Bhikkhu, let him be silent ; whosoever does not approve, let him speak.

Such and such Bhikkhus have been elected by the Saṅgha to inspect the site of the house with the said Bhikkhu. By its silence the Saṅgha approves ; thus I understand it.

In connexion with this Act of the Buddhist Chapter it is well to remember the following instructions given in the Pātimokkha (iv. 6) :—

Saṃyācīkāya pana bhikkhunā kuṭṭim kārayamānena assā-mikaṃ attuddesaṃ pamāṇikā kāretabbā. Tatr' idaṃ pamā-
naṃ, dīghaso dvādasa vidatthiyo sugatavidatthiyā, tiriyaṃ
sattantarā, bhikkhū abhinetaṃ vathudesanāya, tehi bhi-
kkhūhi vatthum desetabbam anārambham aparikkamanaṃ.
Sārambhe ce bhikkhu vatthusmiṃ aparikkamane saṃyācīkāya
kuṭṭim kareyya, bhikkhū vā anabhineyya vatthudesanāya,
pamāṇam vā atikkameyya, saṃghādiseso.

If any Bhikkhu, at his own instance, and not by the direction of others, should get a house built for himself to live in, he must have it built of the following dimensions. The length twelve spans of the span of Buddha, the breadth inside seven such spans. He must assemble the priests to lay out the site. The site must be laid out by them so as to do no damage [i.e. so as not to destroy white ants' nests or the abodes of other living things], and so as to have a clear space round it sufficient for a cart drawn by a yoke of oxen to pass. If any Bhikkhu, at his own instance, gets a house built on a site where life will be destroyed, and which has not sufficient space around, or if he fails to assemble the Bhikkhus to lay out the site, or if he exceed the limits (named above), he is guilty of an offence involving temporary separation from the Brotherhood.

IX.

Ahaṃ bhante nissayamutta-sammutiṃ icchāmi. So 'haṃ
bhante saṃghaṃ nissayamutta-sammutiṃ yācāmi. [Duti-
yam pi, tatiyam pi yācītabbo.]

Suṇatu me bhante saṃgho. Yadi saṃghassa pattakallaṃ saṃgho itthannāmaṃ bhikkhuṃ nissayamutta-sammutiṃ sammanneyya. Esā ñatti.

Suṇātū me bhante saṃgho. Saṃgho itthannāmaṃ bhikkhuṃ nissayamutta-sammutiṃ sammannati. Yassāyasmato khamati itthannāmassa bhikkhuno nissayamutta-sammuti so tuṃhassa, yassa na kkhhamati so bhāseyya.

Sammatā saṃghena itthannāmassa bhikkhuno nissayamutta-sammuti. Khamati saṃghassa tasmā tuṃhī, evam etaṃ dhārayāmiti.

Being desirous, Venerable Sirs, of your consent to a release from Nissaya, I hereby ask the Saṃgha, formally, for such release. [This should be asked a second and a third time.]

Venerable Sirs, may the Brotherhood hear me! If it seem meet to the Saṃgha, let it consent to the said Bhikkhu's being released from Nissaya. This is the motion.

Let the Venerable Assembly hear me! The Saṃgha consents to the said Bhikkhu's release from Nissaya. Whosoever is in favour of the motion, let him be silent; whosoever does not approve, let him speak.

Release has been granted to the said Bhikkhu by the Saṃgha. By its silence the Saṃgha approves; thus I understand.

The second MS. consists of 58 Talipat leaves of 5 lines in characters which are midway between Burmese and Kam-bodian. Like the first it begins with the *Upasampadā*. Then comes what may be called the Act of the Chapter with regard to Bhikkhus who have committed offences involving temporary separation from the Fraternity. We have, in fact, to deal with those questions of Probation, Penance and Rehabilitation which are discussed in the first three *Khandhakas* of the *Cullavagga*.

Suddhantaparivāsa.

Ahaṃ bhante sambahulā saṃghādiseṣā āpattiyo āpajjiṃ. Āpattipariyantam na jānāmi, rattipariyantam na jānāmi. Āpattipariyantam na sarāmi, rattipariyantam na sarāmi. Āpattipariyante vematiko, rattipariyante vematiko. So 'haṃ bhante saṃgham tāsam āpattīnam suddhantaparivāsam yācāmi.

Suṇātu me bhante saṃgho. Ayaṃ itthannāmo bhikkhu sambahulā saṃghādiseṣā āpattiyo āpajji. Āpattipariyantam na jānāti, rattipariyantam na jānāti. Āpattipariyantam na sarati, rattipariyantam na sarati. Āpattipariyante vematiko, rattipariyante vematiko. So saṃgham tāsam āpattīnam suddhantaparivāsam yācati. Yadi saṃghassa pattakallam saṃgho itthannāmassa bhikkhuno tāsam āpattīnam suddhantaparivāsam dadeyya.

Esā ñatti.

Suṇātu me bhante saṃgho. Ayaṃ itthannāmo bhikkhu sambahulā saṃghādiseṣā āpattiyo āpajji. Āpattipariyantam na jānāti, rattipariyantam na jānāti. Āpattipariyantam na sarati, rattipariyantam na sarati. Āpattipariyante vematiko, rattipariyante vematiko. So saṃgham tāsam āpattīnam suddhantaparivāsam yācati. Saṃgho itthannāmassa bhikkhuno tāsam āpattīnam suddhantaparivāsam dēti. Yassāyasmato khamati itthannāmassa bhikkhuno tāsam āpattīnam suddhantaparivāsassā dānam, so tuṇhassa. Dutiyam pi, tatiyam pi etam attham vadāmi.

Suṇātu me bhante saṃgho. Ayaṃ itthannāmo bhikkhu sambahulā saṃghādiseṣā āpattiyo āpajji. Āpattipariyantam na jānāti, rattipariyantam na jānāti. Āpattipariyantam na sarati, rattipariyantam na sarati. Āpattipariyante vematiko, rattipariyante vematiko. So saṃgham tāsam āpattīnam suddhantaparivāsam yācati. Saṃgho itthannāmassa bhikkhuno tāsam āpattīnam suddhantaparivāsam dēti. Yassāyasmato khamati itthannāmassa bhikkhuno tāsam āpattīnam suddhantaparivāsassā dānam, so tuṇhassa, yassa na khamati, so bhāseyya. Tatiyam pi etam attham vadāmi.

Suṇātu me bhante saṃgho. Ayaṃ itthannāmo bhikkhu

sambahulā saṃghādisesā āpattiyo āpajji. Āpattipariyantam na jānāti, rattipariyantam na jānāti. Āpattipariyantam na sarati, rattipariyantam na sarati. Āpattipariyante vematiko, rattipariyante vematiko. So saṃgham tāsam āpattīnam suddhantaparivāsam yācati. Saṃgho itthannāmassa bhikkhuno tāsam āpattīnam suddhantaparivāsam deti. Yassāyaemato khamati itthannāmassa bhikkhuno tāsam āpattīnam suddhantaparivāssassa dānam, so tuṅhassa, yassa na kkhamati, so bhāseyya. Dinno saṃghena itthannāmassa bhikkhuno tāsam āpattīnam suddhantaparivāso. Khamati saṃghassa tasmā tuṅhī evam etaṃ dhārayāmi. Parivāsam sammādiyāmi. Vattaṃ sammādiyāmi.

Ahaṃ bhante sambahulā saṃghādisesā āpattiyo āpajjim. Āpattipariyantam na jānāmi, rattipariyantam na jānāmi. Āpattipariyantam na sarāmi, rattipariyantam na sarāmi. Āpattipariyante vematiko, rattipariyante vematiko. So 'haṃ bhante saṃgham tāsam āpattīnam suddhantaparivāsam yācim, tassa me saṃgho tāsam āpattīnam suddhantaparivāsam adāsi. So 'haṃ bhante parivāsassāmi evadiyāmi' ahaṃ bhante evadiyatīti maṃ saṃgho dhāretu. Vattaṃ nikkhippāmi. Parivāsam nikkhippāmi.

Parivāsam samataṃ nitṭhitam.

Probation of Complete Purification.

Venerable Sirs, I have been guilty of many Saṃghādisesa offences, but I am not aware of the degree of the offences and am unaware of the duration of the times. I do not remember the degree of the offences, nor do I remember the duration of the times. I am uncertain as to the degree of the offences and as to the duration of the times. So I ask the Venerable Assembly for a probation of complete purification on account of these offences.

Let the Venerable Fraternity hear me! A certain Bhikkhu has committed numerous offences involving temporary separation from the Brotherhood, but he is not aware of the degree of the offences and is unaware of the duration of the times. He does not remember either the one or

the other, and is, in fact, uncertain as to both. So he asks the Saṃgha for a probation of Complete Purification on account of these offences. If it seem meet to the Saṃgha, let it impose upon the said Bhikkhu a probation of Complete Purification on account of these offences.

This is the motion.

Venerable Sirs, may the Saṃgha hear me! A certain Bhikkhu has committed numerous Saṃghādisesa offences, but he knows neither the degrees of the offences nor the duration of the times. He neither remembers the degree nor the duration of the times of such offences, and is, in fact, uncertain as to both. So he asks the Saṃgha to impose upon him a probation of Complete Purification in respect of these offences. The Saṃgha accordingly imposes upon this Bhikkhu such probation. Whosoever is in favour of the motion, let him be silent. I say the same thing twice, nay, thrice.

Let the venerable Assembly hear me! A certain Bhikkhu has been guilty of many Saṃghādisesa offences, but he knows neither the degree of the offences nor the duration of the times. Of such offences he cannot call to mind either the degree or the duration of the times, and is, in fact, uncertain as to both. So he asks the Saṃgha for a probation of Complete Purification on account of such offences. Accordingly the Saṃgha imposes upon him such probation. Whosoever is in favour of the motion, let him be silent; whoso does not approve, let him speak! I say the same thing thrice.

Venerable Sirs, let the Brotherhood hear me! A certain Bhikkhu has been guilty of several offences involving temporary separation from the Saṃgha, but he is ignorant alike of the degree of the offences and of the duration of the times. He does not recollect either, and is, indeed, uncertain as to both. So he asks the Saṃgha for a probation of Complete Purification on account of these offences. And the Saṃgha accordingly imposes such probation upon this Bhikkhu. Whosoever is in favour of granting to this Bhikkhu a probation of complete purification on account

of these offences, let him be silent; whoever does not approve, let him speak! A probation of Complete Purification has been imposed by the Saṃgha upon this Bhikkhu on account of these offences. By its silence the Saṃgha approves; thus I understand it. I appreciate the probation, yea, I appreciate it in its fulness!

Venerable Sirs, I have committed numerous Saṃghādisesa offences, but I am ignorant alike of the degree of the offences and of the duration of the times. I recollect neither, and am, indeed, uncertain as to both. So I asked the Saṃgha for a probation of Complete Purification on account of these offences, and the venerable Assembly granted me such probation. Having been thus put under probation, let the Saṃgha understand that I will carry it through to the end. I keep the probation, yea, I keep it.

The complete Probation is ended.

Chārattam Mānattam.

Ahaṃ bhante sambahulā saṃghādisesā āpattiyo āpajjīṃ. Āpattipariyantam na jānāmi, rattipariyantam na jānāmi. Āpattipariyantam na sarāmi, rattipariyantam na sarāmi. Āpattipariyante vematiko, rattipariyante vematiko. So 'haṃ bhante saṃgham tāsam āpattinam suddhantaparivāsam yāciṃ, tassa me saṃgho tāsam āpattinam suddhantaparivāsam adāsi. So parivutthaparivāso ahaṃ bhante sambahulā saṃghādisesā āpattiyo āpajjīṃ. Apatīchannāyo. So 'haṃ bhante saṃgham tāsam sambahulānam āpattinam patīchannānaṃ ca, apatīchannānaṃ ca, chārattam mānattam yācāmi.

Suṇātu me bhante saṃgho. Ayaṃ itthannāmo bhikkhu sambahulā saṃghādisesā āpattiyo āpajji. Āpattipariyantam na jānāti, rattipariyantam na jānāti. Āpattipariyantam na sarati, rattipariyantam na sarati. Āpattipariyante vematiko, rattipariyante vematiko. So saṃgham tāsam āpattinam suddhantaparivāsam yāci. Saṃgho itthannāmassa bhikkhuno tāsam āpattinam suddhantaparivāsam adāsi. So parivutthaparivāso ayaṃ itthannāmo bhikkhu sambahulā saṃghādisesā

āpattiyo āpajji. Apaṭicchannāyo. So saṅghaṃ tāsāṃ sambahulānaṃ āpattinaṃ paṭicchannānaṃ ca, apaṭicchannānaṃ ca, chārattaṃ mānattaṃ yācati. Yadi saṅghassa patta-kallaṃ, saṅgho itthannāmaessa bhikkhuno tāsāṃ sambahulānaṃ āpattinaṃ paṭicchannānaṃ ca, apaṭicchannānaṃ ca, chārattaṃ mānattaṃ dadeyya.

Esā ñatti.

Suṇātu me bhante saṅgho. Ayaṃ itthannāmo bhikkhu sambahulā saṅghādisesā āpattiyo āpajji. Āpattipariyantāṃ na jānāti, rattipariyantāṃ na jānāti. Āpattipariyantāṃ na sarati, rattipariyantāṃ na sarati. Āpattipariyante vematiko, rattipariyante vematiko. So saṅghaṃ tāsāṃ āpattinaṃ suddhantaparivāsaṃ yāci. Saṅgho itthannāmaessa bhikkhuno tāsāṃ āpattinaṃ suddhantaparivāsaṃ adāsi. So parivutthaparivāso ayaṃ itthannāmo bhikkhu sambahulā saṅghādisesā āpattiyo āpajji. Apaṭicchannāyo. So saṅghaṃ tāsāṃ sambahulānaṃ āpattinaṃ paṭicchannānaṃ ca, apaṭicchannānaṃ ca, chārattaṃ mānattaṃ yācati. Saṅgho itthannāmaessa bhikkhuno tāsāṃ sambahulānaṃ āpattinaṃ paṭicchannānaṃ ca, apaṭicchannānaṃ ca, chārattaṃ mānattaṃ deti. Yassāyasmato khamati itthannāmaessa bhikkhuno tāsāṃ sambahulānaṃ āpattinaṃ paṭicchannānaṃ ca, apaṭicchannānaṃ ca, chārattaṃ mānattassa dānaṃ, so tuṅghassa, yassa na kkhamaṭi, so bhāseyya. Tatiyaṃ pi etaṃ atthaṃ vadāmi.

Suṇātu me bhante Saṅgho. Ayaṃ itthannāmo bhikkhu sambahulā saṅghādisesā āpattiyo āpajji. Āpattipariyantāṃ na jānāti, rattipariyantāṃ na jānāti. Āpattipariyantāṃ na sarati, rattipariyantāṃ na sarati. Āpattipariyante vematiko, rattipariyante vematiko. So saṅghaṃ tāsāṃ āpattinaṃ suddhantaparivāsaṃ yāci. Saṅgho itthannāmaessa bhikkhuno tāsāṃ āpattinaṃ suddhantaparivāsaṃ adāsi. So parivutthaparivāso ayaṃ itthannāmo bhikkhu sambahulā saṅghādisesā āpattiyo āpajji. Apaṭicchannāyo. So saṅghaṃ tāsāṃ sambahulānaṃ āpattinaṃ paṭicchannānaṃ ca, apaṭicchannānaṃ ca, chārattaṃ mānattaṃ yāci. Saṅgho itthannāmaessa bhikkhuno tāsāṃ sambahulānaṃ āpattinaṃ paṭicchannānaṃ ca, apaṭicchannānaṃ ca, chārattaṃ mānattaṃ deti. Yassāyasmato khamati itthannāmaessa bhikkhuno tāsāṃ sambahulānaṃ

āpattīnaṃ paṭicchannānañ ca, apaṭicchannānañ ca, chārattaṃ mānattassa dānaṃ, so tuṇhassa, yassa na kkhamaṭi, so bhāseyya. Dinnaṃ saṃghena itthannāmassa bhikkhuno tassa sambahulānaṃ āpattīnaṃ paṭicchannānañ ca, apaṭicchannānañ ca, chārattaṃ mānattaṃ. Khamati saṃghassa tasmā tuṇhī, evaṃ etaṃ dhārayāmi.

Ahaṃ bhante sambahulā saṃghādisesā āpattiyo āpajjīṃ. Āpattipariyantam na jānāmi, rattipariyantam na jānāmi. Āpattipariyantam na sarāmi, rattipariyantam na sarāmi. Āpattipariyante vematiko, rattipariyante vematiko. So 'haṃ bhante saṃghaṃ tassa āpattīnaṃ suddhantaparivāsaṃ yācīṃ, tassa me saṃgho tassa āpattīnaṃ suddhantaparivāsaṃ adāsi. So 'haṃ bhante parivutthaparivāso, ahaṃ bhante sambahulā saṃghādisesā āpattiyo āpajjīṃ. Apaṭicchannāyo. So 'haṃ bhante saṃghaṃ tassa sambahulānaṃ āpattīnaṃ paṭicchannānañ ca, apaṭicchannānañ ca, chārattaṃ mānattaṃ yācīṃ. Tassa me saṃgho tassa sambahulānaṃ āpattīnaṃ paṭicchannānañ ca, apaṭicchannānañ ca, chārattaṃ mānattaṃ adāsi. So 'haṃ bhante mānattaṃ charāmi evadiyāṃ' ahaṃ bhante evadiyatītiṃ saṃgho dhāretu. Vattaṃ nikkhipāmi. Mā nikkhipāmi.

The Mānatta Discipline.

Venerable Sirs, I have been guilty of many Saṃghādisesā offences, but I am ignorant alike of the degree of the offences and of the duration of the times. I can recollect neither, and am, indeed, uncertain as to both. On account of these offences I asked the Saṃgha for a probation of Complete Purification, and the Saṃgha gave it me. After completing this probation I committed numerous unconcealed Saṃghādisesā offences, so I ask the Saṃgha, on account of these many offences, to impose upon me the Mānatta penalty.

Let the venerable assembly hear me! A certain Bhikkhu committed many Saṃghādisesā offences, but being ignorant, uncertain, and unmindful alike of the degree of the offences and of the duration of the times, he asked the Saṃgha, on account of such offences, to impose upon him a probation

of Complete Purification. The Saṃgha accordingly imposed upon him such probation. Since completing this probation this Bhikkhu has been guilty of many Saṃghādisesā offences which he has not hidden. So he asks the Saṃgha, on account of the many offences, both hidden and unhidden, to impose upon him the Mānatta penalty. If the Saṃgha is ready, let it impose upon the said Bhikkhu, on account of the said hidden and unhidden offences, the said penance.

This is the motion.

Venerable Sirs, may the Brotherhood hear me!

A certain Bhikkhu has been guilty of many Saṃghādisesā offences, but he is unaware of the degree of the offences and of the duration of the times. He recollects neither, and is, in fact, uncertain as to both. He asked and obtained from the Saṃgha a probation of complete purification on account of these offences. Since completing this probation he has committed numerous like offences which he has not concealed, so he asks the Saṃgha, in respect of such numerous offences, to impose upon him the Mānatta penalty. The Brotherhood accordingly gives him such penalty. Whoever is in favour of the motion, let him be silent; whosoever does not approve, let him speak. I say it thrice.

Let the venerable assembly hear me! A certain Bhikkhu has been guilty of many Saṃghādisesā offences; but being ignorant, unmindful, and uncertain alike as to the degree of the offences and as to the duration of the times, he asked of the Saṃgha, and duly obtained from it, a probation of Complete Purification. Since completing this probation the said Bhikkhu has been guilty of many open offences, involving temporary separation from the Brotherhood. On account of these many open and hidden offences he asked the Saṃgha for the Mānatta penalty. The Saṃgha accordingly gives the said Bhikkhu the said penalty. Whosoever is in favour of the motion, let him be silent; on the contrary, let him speak.

The Mānatta penalty has been imposed upon the said Bhikkhu by the Saṃgha on account of these numerous offences, concealed and unconcealed. By its silence the Saṃgha approves; thus I understand it.

Venerable Sirs, I have been guilty of many Saṃghādisesā offences; but being ignorant, unmindful and uncertain alike of the degree of the offences and of the duration of the times, I asked the Saṃgha for a probation of Complete Purification on account of these offences, and my request was granted. After undergoing that probation I committed numerous open Saṃghādisesā offences; so I asked the Saṃgha, on account of the said many offences, open and hidden, for the Mānatta penalty. My request was granted. Let, therefore, the Saṃgha understand, that I will fully undergo the said penance.

I keep it, yea, I keep it!

Abbhāna Kammaṭṭā.

Ahaṃ bhante sambahulā saṃghādisesā āpattiyo āpajjīṃ. Āpattipariyantam na jānāmi, rattipariyantam na jānāmi. Āpattipariyantam na sarāmi, rattipariyantam na sarāmi. Āpattipariyante vematiko, rattipariyante vematiko. So 'haṃ bhante saṃgham tāsam āpattinam suddhantaparivāsam yāciṃ. Tassa me saṃgho tāsam āpattinam suddhantaparivāsam adāsi. So 'haṃ bhante parivutthaparivāso, ahaṃ bhante sambahulā saṃghādisesā āpattiyo āpajjīṃ. Apaṭicchannāyo. So 'haṃ bhante saṃgham tāsam sambahulānam āpattinam paṭicchannānaṃ ca, apaṭicchannānaṃ ca chārattam mānattam yāciṃ. Tassa me saṃgho tāsam sambahulānam āpattinam paṭicchannānaṃ ca, apaṭicchannānaṃ ca chārattam mānattam adāsi. So 'haṃ bhante ciṇṇamānatto saṃgham abbhānam yācāmi.

Suṇātu me bhante Saṃgho. Ayaṃ itthannāmo bhikkhu sambahulā saṃghādisesā āpattiyo āpajji. Āpattipariyantam na jānāti, rattipariyantam na jānāti. Āpattipariyantam na sarati, rattipariyantam na sarati. Āpattipariyante vematiko, rattipariyante vematiko. So saṃgham tāsam āpattinam suddhantaparivāsam yāci. Saṃgho itthannāmassa bhikkhuno tāsam āpattinam suddhantaparivāsam adāsi. So parivutthaparivāso ayaṃ itthannāmo bhikkhu sambahulā saṃghādisesā āpattiyo āpajji. Apaṭicchannāyo. So saṃgham tāsam sam-

bahulānaṃ āpattīnaṃ paṭicchannānaṃ ca, apaṭicchannānaṃ ca, chārattaṃ mānattaṃ yāci. Saṃgho itthannāmassa bhikkhuno tāsāṃ sambahulānaṃ āpattīnaṃ paṭicchannānaṃ ca, apaṭicchannānaṃ ca chārattaṃ mānattaṃ ciṅṇamānatto saṃghaṃ abbhānaṃ yācati. Yadi saṃghassa pattakallaṃ saṃgha itthannāmaṃ bhikkhuṃ abbheyya.

Esā űatti.

Suṇātu me bhante saṃgho. Ayaṃ itthannāmo bhikkhu sambahulā saṃghādiseṣā āpattiyo āpajji. Āpattipariyantam na jānāti, rattipariyantam na jānāti. Āpattipariyantam na sarati, rattipariyantam na sarati. Āpattipariyante vematiko, rattipariyante vematiko. Saṃghaṃ tāsāṃ āpattīnaṃ suddhantaparivāsaṃ yāci. Saṃgho itthannāmassa bhikkhuno tāsāṃ āpattīnaṃ suddhantaparivāsaṃ adāsi. So parivutthaparivāso ayaṃ itthannāmo bhikkhu sambahulā saṃghādiseṣā āpattiyo āpajji. Apaṭicchannāyo. So saṃghaṃ tāsāṃ sambahulānaṃ āpattīnaṃ paṭicchannānaṃ ca, apaṭicchannānaṃ ca, chārattaṃ mānattaṃ yāci. Saṃgho itthannāmassa bhikkhuno tāsāṃ sambahulānaṃ āpattīnaṃ paṭicchannānaṃ ca, apaṭicchannānaṃ ca, chārattaṃ mānattaṃ adāsi. So ciṅṇamānatto saṃghaṃ abbhānaṃ yācati. Saṃgho itthannāmaṃ bhikkhuṃ abbheti. Yassāyasmato khamati itthannāmassa bhikkhuno abbhānaṃ, so tuṅhassa, yassa na kkhamati, so bhāseyya. Dutiyam pi etam atthaṃ vadāmi.

Suṇātu me bhante saṃgho. Ayaṃ itthannāmo bhikkhu sambahulā saṃghādiseṣā āpattiyo āpajji. Āpattipariyantam na jānāti, rattipariyantam na jānāti. Āpattipariyantam na sarati, rattipariyantam na sarati. Āpattipariyante vematiko, rattipariyante vematiko. So saṃghaṃ tāsāṃ āpattīnaṃ suddhantaparivāsaṃ yāci. Saṃgho itthannāmassa bhikkhuno tāsāṃ āpattīnaṃ suddhantaparivāsaṃ adāsi. So parivutthaparivāso ayaṃ itthannāmo bhikkhu sambahulā saṃghādiseṣā āpattiyo āpajji. Apaṭicchannāyo. So saṃghaṃ tāsāṃ sambahulānaṃ āpattīnaṃ paṭicchannānaṃ ca, apaṭicchannānaṃ ca, chārattaṃ mānattaṃ yāci. Saṃgho itthannāmassa bhikkhuno tāsāṃ sambahulānaṃ āpattīnaṃ paṭicchannānaṃ ca, apaṭicchannānaṃ ca, chārattaṃ mānattaṃ adāsi. So ciṅṇamānatto saṃghaṃ abbhānaṃ yācati. Saṃgho itthannā-

mam bhikkhum abbhethi. Yassāyasmato khamati itthannāmassa bhikkhuno abbhānaṃ, so tuṅhassa, yassa na kkhamaṃ, so bhāseyya. Tatiyaṃ pi etaṃ atthaṃ vadāmi.

Suṇātu me bhante saṃgho. Ayaṃ itthannāmo bhikkhu sambahulā saṃghādisesā āpattiyo āpajji. Āpattipariyaṃtaṃ na jānāti, rattipariyaṃtaṃ na jānāti. Āpattipariyaṃtaṃ na sarati, rattipariyaṃtaṃ na sarati. Āpattipariyaṃte vematiko, rattipariyaṃte vematiko. So saṃghaṃ tāsāṃ āpattinaṃ suddhantaparivāsaṃ yāci. Saṃgho itthannāmassa bhikkhuno tāsāṃ āpattinaṃ suddhantaparivāsaṃ adāsi. So parivutthaparivāso ayaṃ itthannāmo bhikkhu sambahulā saṃghādisesā āpattiyo āpajji. Apaṭicchannāyo. So saṃghaṃ tāsāṃ sambahulānaṃ āpattinaṃ paṭicchannānaṃ ca, apaṭicchannānaṃ ca chārattaṃ mānattaṃ yāci. Saṃgho itthannāmassa bhikkhuno tāsāṃ sambahulānaṃ āpattinaṃ paṭicchannānaṃ ca, apaṭicchannānaṃ ca chārattaṃ mānattaṃ adāsi. So ciṅṅamānatto saṃghaṃ abbhānaṃ yācati. Saṃgho itthannāmaṃ bhikkhum abbhethi. Yassāyasmato khamati itthannāmassa bhikkhuno abbhānaṃ, so tuṅhassa; yassa na kkhamaṃ, so bhāseyya. Abbhito saṃghena ayaṃ itthannāmo bhikkhu; khamati saṃghassa tasmā tuṅhī; evaṃ etaṃ dhārayāmi. Parisuddho ahaṃ bhante. Parisuddhaṃ sīlaṃ me parisuddhetimaṃ saṃgho dhāretu.

Abbhāna-kammaṃ samataṃ paripuṇṇaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ.

The Act of Rehabilitation.

Venerable Sirs; having been guilty of many offences involving temporary separation from the Brotherhood, and having been ignorant, unmindful and uncertain alike of the degree of the offences and of the duration of the times, I asked the Saṃgha for a probation of complete purification on account of such offences, and my request was granted. After undergoing this probation, Venerable Sirs, I committed many open Saṃghādisesā offences; so I asked the Saṃgha to impose upon me, on account of these numerous open and hidden offences, the Mānatta penalty, and my request was granted. Having been subjected to that discipline, I now ask for rehabilitation.

Let the venerable assembly hear me! A certain Bhikkhu having been guilty of numerous Saṃghādisesa offences, and having been ignorant, unmindful, and uncertain alike as to the degree of the offences and as to the duration of the times, asked the Saṃgha for a probation of complete purification, and his request was granted. After undergoing such probation the said Bhikkhu committed many open Saṃghādisesa offences, so he asked the Saṃgha on account of the numerous open and hidden offences to put him under the Mānatta discipline. His request was granted, and now, having accomplished that penance, he asks the Saṃgha for rehabilitation. If it seem meet to the Saṃgha, let it rehabilitate the said Bhikkhu.

This is the proposal.

Venerable Sirs, let the Brotherhood hear me! A certain Bhikkhu having been guilty of many Saṃghādisesa offences, and having been ignorant, unmindful, and uncertain alike as to the degree of the offences and as to the duration of the times, asked the Saṃgha for a probation of complete purification, and his request was granted. Since undergoing that probation the said Bhikkhu has been guilty of many Saṃghādisesa offences, some of which he has hidden, others he has not hidden. For this cause he asked the Saṃgha for the Mānatta discipline, and his request was granted. Having now accomplished that discipline, he asks the Saṃgha for rehabilitation. The Saṃgha accordingly rehabilitates the said Bhikkhu. Whosoever approves of the proposal, let him be silent; whoso is not in favour of it, let him speak. I say the same thing twice.

(Repeated) I say the same thing for the third time.

(Repeated down to "speak"). The said Bhikkhu is rehabilitated by the Saṃgha. By its silence the Saṃgha approves; thus I understand it.

Venerable Sirs, I am pure. Let the Saṃgha believe me to be pure and my character purified!

The complete purificatory Act of Rehabilitation is ended.

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Ten lacquered Talipat leaves, five lines each side, in Burmese characters, constitute the third MS. It deals with probation, penance and rehabilitation, specifying the number of days the offences have been concealed.

Samodhānaparivāsa.

Namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa !

Suṇātu me bhante Saṃgho. Ayam itthannāmo bhikkhu sambahulā saṃghādisesā āpattiyo āpajji. Sambahulā āpattiyo ekāhapaṭicchannāyo. Sambahulā āpattiyo dasāhapaṭicchannāyo. So saṃghaṃ tāsāṃ āpattinaṃ yā āpattiyo dasāhapaṭicchannāyo tāsāṃ agghena samodhānaparivāsaṃ yācati. Yadi saṃghassa pattakallaṃ saṃgho itthannāmassa bhikkhuno tāsāṃ āpattinaṃ yā āpattiyo dasāhapaṭicchannāyo tāsāṃ agghena samodhānaparivāsaṃ dadeyya.

Esā ṇatti.

Suṇātu me bhante Saṃgho. Ayam itthannāmo bhikkhu sambahulā saṃghādisesā āpattiyo āpajji. Sambahulā āpattiyo ekāhapaṭicchannāyo. Sambahulā āpattiyo dasāhapaṭicchannāyo. So saṃghaṃ tāsāṃ āpattinaṃ yā āpattiyo dasāhapaṭicchannāyo tāsāṃ agghena samodhānaparivāsaṃ yācati. Saṃgho itthannāmassa bhikkhuno tāsāṃ āpattinaṃ yā āpattiyo dasāhapaṭicchannāyo tāsāṃ agghena samodhānaparivāsaṃ deti. Yassāyasmato khamati itthannāmassa bhikkhuno tāsāṃ āpattinaṃ yā āpattiyo dasāhapaṭicchannāyo tāsāṃ agghena samodhānaparivāsassa dānaṃ, so tuṇhassa, yassa na khamati, so bhāseyya. Dutiyam pi etam atthaṃ vadāmi. Tatiyam pi etam atthaṃ vadāmi. Dinno saṃghena itthannāmassa bhikkhuno tāsāṃ āpattinaṃ yā āpattiyo dasāhapaṭicchannāyo tāsāṃ agghena samodhānaparivāso. Khamati saṃghassa tasmā tuṇhī; evam etam dhārayāmiti.

Suṇātu me bhante saṃgho. Ayam itthannāmo bhikkhu sambahulā saṃghādisesā āpattiyo āpajji. Sambahulā āpattiyo ekāhapaṭicchannāyo. Sambahulā āpattiyo dasāhapaṭicchannāyo. So saṃghaṃ tāsāṃ āpattinaṃ yā āpattiyo dasāh-

paṭicchannāyo tāsam agghena samodhānaparivāsam yāci. Saṃgho itthamāmassa bhikkhuno tāsam āpattinam yā āpattiyo dasāhapaṭicchannāyo tāsam agghena samodhānaparivāsam adāsi. So parivutthaparivāso ayam itthannāmo bhikkhu sambahulā saṃghādisesā āpattiyo āpajji. Apaṭicchannāyo. So saṃgham tāsam āpattinam paṭicchannānañ ca, apaṭicchannānañ ca, chārattam mānattam yācati. Yadi saṃghassa pattakallam saṃgho itthannāmassa bhikkhuno tāsam sambahulānam āpattinam paṭicchannānañ ca, apaṭicchannānañ ca, chārattam mānattam dadeyya.

Esā natti.

Suṇātu me bhante saṃgho. Ayam itthannāmo bhikkhu sambahulā saṃghādisesā āpattiyo āpajji. Sambahulā āpattiyo ekāhapaṭicchannāyo. Sambahulā āpattiyo dasāhapaṭicchannāyo. So saṃgham tāsam āpattinam yā āpattiyo dasāhapaṭicchannāyo tāsam agghena samodhānaparivāsam yāci. Saṃgho itthannāmassa bhikkhuno tāsam āpattinam yā āpattiyo dasāhapaṭicchannāyo tāsam agghena samodhānaparivāsam adāsi. So parivutthaparivāso ayam itthannāmo bhikkhu sambahulā saṃghādisesā āpattiyo āpajji. Apaṭicchannāyo. So saṃgham tāsam sambahulānam āpattinam paṭicchannānañ ca, apaṭicchannānañ ca chārattam mānattam yācati. Saṃgho itthannāmassa bhikkhuno tāsam sambahulānam āpattinam paṭicchannānañ ca, apaṭicchannānañ ca chārattam mānattam deti. Yassāyasmato khamati itthannāmassa bhikkhuno tāsam sambahulānam āpattinam paṭicchannānañ ca, apaṭicchannānañ ca chārattam mānattassa dānam, so tuṅhassa, yassa na khamati, so bhāseyya. Dutiyaṃ etaṃ attham vadāmi. Dinno saṃghena itthannāmassa bhikkhuno tāsam sambahulānam āpattinam paṭicchannānañ ca, apaṭicchannānañ ca ohārattam mānattam. Khamati saṃghassa tasmā tuṅhī; evaṃ etaṃ dhārayāmi.

Suṇātu me bhante saṃgho. Ayam itthannāmo bhikkhu sambahulā saṃghādisesā āpattiyo āpajji. Sambahulā āpattiyo ekāhapaṭicchannāyo. Sambahulā āpattiyo dasāhapaṭicchannāyo. So saṃgham tāsam āpattinam yā āpattiyo dasāhapaṭicchannāyo tāsam agghena samodhānaparivāsam yāci. Saṃgho itthannāmassa bhikkhuno tāsam āpattinam yā

āpattiyo dasāhapaṭicchannāyo tāsam agghena samodhāna-parivāsam adāsi. So parivutthaparivāso ayam itthannāmo bhikkhu sambahulā samghādiseṣā āpattiyo āpajji. Apati-cchannāyo. So samgham tāsam sambahulānam āpattinam paṭicchannānañ ca, apati-cchannānañ ca chārattam mānattam yāci. Samgho itthannāmassa bhikkhuno tāsam sambahulānam āpattinam paṭicchannānañ ca, apati-cchannānañ ca chārattam mānattam adāsi. So ciṇṇamānattō samgham abbhānam yācati. Yadi samghassa pattakallaṃ samgho itthannāmaṃ bhikkhuṃ abbhēyya.

Esā ṇatti.

Suṇātu me bhante samgho. Ayam itthannāmo bhikkhu sambahulā samghādiseṣā āpattiyo āpajji. Sambahulā āpattiyo ekāhapaṭicchannāyo. Sambahulā āpattiyo dasāhapaṭicchannāyo : tāsam agghena samodhānaparivāsam yāci. Samgho itthannāmassa bhikkhuno tāsam āpattinam yā āpattiyo dasāhapaṭicchannāyo tāsam agghena samodhānaparivāsam adāsi. So parivutthaparivāso ayam itthannāmo bhikkhu sambahulā samghādiseṣā āpattiyo āpajji : apati-cchannāyo. So samgham tāsam sambahulānam āpattinam paṭicchannānañ ca, apati-cchannānañ ca chārattam mānattam yāci. Samgho itthannāmassa bhikkhuno tāsam sambahulānam āpattinam paṭicchannānañ ca, apati-cchannānañ ca chārattam mānattam adāsi. So ciṇṇamānatto samgham abbhānam yācati. Samgho itthannāmaṃ bhikkhuṃ abbhēti. Yassāyasmato khamati itthannāmassa bhikkhuno abbhānam, so tuṅhassa, ya na khamati, so bhāseyya.

Dutiyam pi etam attham vadāmi. Tatiyam pi etam attham vadāmi. Abbhito samghena itthannāmo bhikkhu : khamati samghassa tasmā tuṅhī ; evam etam dhārayāmi.

Parivāsam sammādiyāmi. Vattam sammādiyāmi. Dutiyam pi, tatiyam pi sunkrimvrat. Parivāsam nikkhippāmi. Vattam nikkhippāmi. Dutiyam pi, tatiyam pi sunkrimvrat. Mānattam sammādiyāmi. Vattam sammādiyāmi. Dutiyam pi, tatiyam pi sunkrimvrat. Mānattam nikkhippāmi, vattam nikkhippāmi. Dutiyam pi, tatiyam pi sunkrimvrat. Iminā puñña kamma bhavā bhavē amitta so 'gam labbhanti te. Labbhivā na varam.

Nibbānam pāpuṇhi !

The Act of the Chapter.

 Probation and Penance.

Praise be to the blessed One, the holy One, to him who has arrived at the knowledge of all Truth !

Venerable Sirs, let the Brotherhood hear me ! A certain Bhikkhu has committed numerous offences involving temporary separation from the Saṃgha, some of which he has concealed for one day and others for ten days. So he asks the Saṃgha for an inclusive probation on account of the offences which he has concealed for ten days. If it seem meet to the Saṃgha, let it impose upon him an inclusive probation on account of the offences which he has hidden for ten days.

This is the motion.

Let the Venerable Assembly hear me ! A certain Bhikkhu has been guilty of many Saṃghādisesa offences. Several he has hidden for one day, several for ten days ; and he asks the Saṃgha for an inclusive probation on account of the offences which he has hidden for ten days. The Brotherhood imposes upon this Bhikkhu an inclusive probation on account of the offences which he has hidden for ten days. Whosoever is in favour of granting an inclusive probation to this Bhikkhu on account of the offences which have been hidden for ten days, let him be silent ; on the contrary, let him speak ! I say it twice. I say it thrice.

On account of the offences which he has concealed for ten days, the Saṃgha has imposed upon the said Bhikkhu an inclusive probation. By its silence the Saṃgha approves. Thus I understand it.

Reverend Sirs, may the Saṃgha hear me ! A certain Bhikkhu has been guilty of many Saṃghādisesa offences, some of which he has hidden for one day and others for ten days. On account of those concealed for ten days he asked

the Saṃgha for an inclusive probation, and the Saṃgha imposed upon him such probation. Since undergoing this probation he has committed numerous offences, involving temporary separation from the Brotherhood, which he has not concealed. He therefore asks the Saṃgha for the Mānatta penalty in respect of the offences which he has hidden and has not hidden. If the Saṃgha is ready, let it impose upon the said Bhikkhu, in respect of the many offences hidden and not hidden, the Mānatta penalty.

This is the motion.

Let the Venerable Assembly hear me ! A certain Bhikkhu has committed numerous Saṃghādisesa offences, and has concealed many for one day, many for ten days. He asked the Brotherhood for an inclusive probation on account of the offences which he had concealed for ten days, and the Saṃgha accordingly imposed upon him such probation. After completing this probation the said Bhikkhu was guilty of many Saṃghādisesa offences which he did not conceal, and he now asks the Saṃgha for the Mānatta discipline in respect of the many open and hidden offences. The Saṃgha accordingly imposes upon the said Bhikkhu on account of those numerous hidden and unconcealed offences the Mānatta penalty. Whosoever is in favour of the motion, let him be silent ; on the contrary, let him speak ! I say the same thing twice.

In respect of the numerous offences, concealed and unconcealed, the Saṃgha has imposed upon this Bhikkhu the Mānatta penalty. By its silence the Saṃgha approves. Thus I understand.

Reverend Sirs, let the Assembly hear me ! A certain Bhikkhu having been guilty of numerous Saṃghādisesa offences, many of which he hid for one day, many for ten days, asked the Saṃgha, on account of the offences which he concealed for ten days, for an inclusive probation, and his request was granted. After undergoing that probation the said Bhikkhu committed numerous Saṃghādisesa offences which he did not hide ; so he asked the Saṃgha, on account of the many offences hidden and unhidden, for the Mānatta discipline, and his request was granted. Having fulfilled

that penance, he now asks the Saṃgha for rehabilitation. If the Saṃgha is ready, let it rehabilitate the said Bhikkhu.

This is the motion.

Let the Venerable Assembly hear me ! Having been guilty of many Saṃghādisesa offences, several of which he concealed for one day and several for ten days, a certain Bhikkhu asked the Saṃgha for an inclusive probation, and the Assembly granted such probation in respect of the offences he had hidden for ten days. After undergoing that probation he was guilty of many Saṃghādisesa offences which he did not hide ; so he asked the Saṃgha, on account of the many open and hidden offences, to impose upon him the Mānatta penalty, and his request was granted. Having completed that penance, he now asks the Saṃgha for rehabilitation. The Saṃgha accordingly rehabilitates the said Bhikkhu.

Whosoever is in favour of rehabilitating the said Bhikkhu, let him be silent ; on the contrary, let him speak ! I say the same thing twice, nay, thrice.

The said Bhikkhu is rehabilitated by the Saṃgha. By its silence the Saṃgha approves ; thus I understand.

I appreciate the probation, yea, I appreciate it. [To be repeated a second and a third time.] I keep the probation, yea, I keep it. To be repeated twice, nay, thrice. I appreciate the penance, yea, I appreciate it. To be repeated twice, nay, thrice. I keep the penance, yea, I keep it. To be repeated twice, nay, thrice. By this Act the evil nature departs and the good survives ; having thus received (rehabilitation), attain nothing better than Nirvāṇa !

A noteworthy fact about this Manuscript is the sudden appearance of a Burmese word in the Pāli text. *Sunkrimorat* seems to be equivalent to *vattabbo*.

With the exception of the Bhikkhu's first confession, the next MS. is almost identical with the preceding. It is written on eleven leaves of lacquered royal pasohs, in letters of the tamarind-seed form.

Samodhānaparivāsa.

Namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa !

Ahaṃ bhante sambahulā saṃghādisesā āpattiyo āpajjim. Sambahulā āpattiyo ekāhapaṭicchannāyo. Sambahulā āpattiyo dvihapaṭicchannāyo. Sambahulā āpattiyo tihapaṭicchannāyo. Sambahulā āpattiyo catūhapaṭicchannāyo. Sambahulā āpattiyo pañcāhapaṭicchannāyo. Sambahulā āpattiyo chāhapaṭicchannāyo. Sambahulā āpattiyo sattāhapaṭicchannāyo. Sambahulā āpattiyo aṭṭhāhapaṭicchannāyo. Sambahulā āpattiyo navāhapaṭicchannāyo. Sambahulā āpattiyo dasāhapaṭicchannāyo. So 'haṃ bhante saṃghaṃ tāsāṃ āpattinaṃ yā āpattiyo dasāhapaṭicchannāyo tāsāṃ agghena samodhānaparivāsāṃ yācāmi. Tikkhattum yācitabbo.

(Then follows the Kammavācā as in the preceding MS.)

Venerable Sirs, I have been guilty of numerous offences involving temporary separation from the Brotherhood. Many I have hidden for one day, many for two days, several for three days, several for four days, many for five days, many for six days, several for seven days, several for eight days, many for nine days and many for ten days. So I ask, reverend Sirs, the Saṃgha to impose upon me, on account of the offences which I have hidden for ten days, an Inclusive Probation.

To be asked three times.

In the first two Kammavācās the question is only put once (ñattidutiya), but in those of Probation and Penance it is always put thrice (ñatticatutthā). The latter form is also used in those Acts of the Chapter which deal with the minor disciplinary proceedings, namely:—

- (a) Tajjaniya Kamma (Act of Rebuke).
- (β) Nissaya Kamma (Act of Subordination).
- (γ) Pabbājaniya Kamma (Act of Banishment).
- (δ) Paṭisāraṇiya Kamma (Act of Reconciliation).
- (e) Ukkhepaniya Kammās (Acts of Suspension).

By the publication of the above Kammavācās may I venture to hope that, the wish expressed by the learned Translators of the Vinaya Texts,¹ Dr. Rhys Davids and Dr. Oldenberg, has been, to some extent at all events, fulfilled?

¹ Sacred Books of the East, vol. xlii. p. xx.

ART. IV.—*Bhūridatta Jātaka Vatthu*. By R. F. ST.
ANDREW ST. JOHN, M.A.

PREFATORY REMARKS.

THIS translation has been made from a Burmese copy printed at the Hanthawati Press, Rangoon, but there is nothing to show whence the text was taken. I have also made use of a manuscript taken from the Mandalay Library, and now at the India Office. The *gāthā*, which in many places seem to be imperfect, are not given in the shape of *gāthā* in the Mandalay copy. In some cases the Burmese translation was redundant, and in others defective, so in translating them, though not a Pāli scholar, I have done my best to stick to the Pāli text, receiving some valuable assistance from Prof. Rhys Davids. The *Jātaka* is No. 547 in the Ceylon List, and what is called one of the Greater *Jātaka*, probably composed at a late date, as it refers to the *Paṇḍara Jātaka*, No. 521 [vol. v. p. 75, of Fausböll], which I have translated in a note from another Burmese source.

The object of this very remarkable *Jātaka* is to set forth the general wickedness of Brahmins and the arguments in their favour given by *Kāṇārittha*, who in a former birth had been a sacrificial Brahmin, which arguments are refuted at length by the Bodhisat *Bhūridatta*. There are two points to which I would draw special attention, which may throw light on the date or period at which it was composed.

1st. In the twenty-first stanza of the first discourse (F. 157) there is a reference to certain practices in the country of Kamboja, which apparently has no connexion with what goes before.

2nd. The appellation of the snake-charmer—*Alampayano*. A derivative of this word, viz. *Alampay*, is now used in Burmese to denote a person who is skilled in catching snakes (*vide* Judson's Dictionary), and it may be argued

that this word was taken from the name of this snake-charmer celebrated in Jātaka-lore. I think, however, that there is evidence to show that it was not the man's proper name, but the name of the trade, for I find that the words used by the snake-charmer himself in relating the story of the Garuḷa are, *Alampāyaṇamantanāma* "the charms of a snake-charmer."

The word, therefore, I take it, has its derivation from *Alam* implying *full, sufficient*, and *pāya* *drinking* or *having drunk*. It may also be noted that the same word occurs in the *Sudhammacari* Stories, which I have given in *Folk Lore Journal*, vol. vii. part iv. p. 311, and that the Princess *Sudhamma-cari* is said to have been the daughter of *Madda*, a *Rājā* of *Kamboja*.

It is much to be regretted that books which appear to be published by the "Text-book Committee of Rangoon" are not more carefully edited. They are full of errors.

P.S.—Since the above was written Professor Fausböll has had the very great kindness to favour me with a copy of his transcript of the Pāli verses of this Jātaka. It would have been impossible without his aid, so graciously given, to restore the right reading of many of them.

BHŪRIDATTA JĀTAKA.

(From the Burmese.)

CHAPTER I. (*Nagara*.)

One day, when the most excellent Buddha was residing in the *Jētavana* Monastery, he came into the hall, and, sitting down, looked round at the *Rahans* assembled there. Seeing amongst them some laymen who were keeping the fast-day, he took them as the subject of his discourse, and said, "O devout laymen, ye do well in keeping the fast; but, inasmuch as ye have me to give you instruction, you must not think overmuch of your devoutness, for in past times there have been others who, though they had no teacher, relinquished great wealth in order to keep the fast."

At their request he then related the following birth-story.

In times long past, when Brahmadata reigned in Bārāṇasi, he appointed his eldest son to be Uparājā; but, seeing that he had accumulated much wealth and many adherents, he feared that he might become a source of danger to the throne, and said, "Dear son, I pray you depart into some other country, until I shall have passed away, when you can return and assume the royal estate, which is your inheritance." The Prince, obedient to his father's commands, left his country as a solitary wanderer, and took up his abode in a hut in a valley near the river Yamunā, where he assumed the garb of an ascetic, living on the fruits which he found in the forest. At that time a certain Nāga lady,¹ who had lost her husband, came up from Nāga land, and, seeing the Prince's footprints on the river shore, followed them till she came to the hut. The Prince being absent, in search of fruit, she entered, and, seeing his couch of dead leaves and other utensils, reasoned thus with herself: "This hut belongs to a hermit: I will try him in order to find out whether he be a real ascetic, or only some person who is pretending to be one. If he be a real ascetic he will have no carnal desires and refuse to sleep on a couch that is adorned. If, however, he does recline on it, he will not be a real hermit, and will be willing to become my husband and dwell with me in this forest." She then went down to Nāga land, and, bringing thence some fairy flowers, spread them on the couch and withdrew.

In the cool of the evening the Prince came back to his hut, and, seeing the flowers, exclaimed, "Who on earth can have done this?" He then made his supper and fell asleep upon the bed with sensations of delight. In the morning he got up, and, having swept out his cell, went again in search of fruits. When he was gone, the Nagini came again, and, seeing that the flowers were faded and crushed, said, "Evidently this is no hermit, but a man of ordinary passions." She then removed the old flowers and strewed the

¹ The Pāli is *matapatikā nāgamāpavikā*.

that with fresh ones. The second night the Prince was again very much astonished, but slept on the couch. In the morning he went out and concealed himself in the bushes near his hut to watch, and, on seeing the lovely Nagini, came out full of love for her, and asked her who she was. The lady replied, "My lord, I am a Nagini, and my husband is dead. Whence come you, my lord?" The Prince told her that he was the son of the Rājā of Bārāṇasi, and proposed that they should dwell together. The Nagini at once agreed, and caused a splendid fairy palace to spring up, in which they dwelt with all manner of delights. In due course the Nagini bore a son, whom they named Sāgara, because he was born near the sea; and when he was able to run, she had a daughter, whom they called Samuddaja for the same reason.

Not many years after this a hunter of Bārāṇasi came that way, and, recognizing the Prince, told him all that was going on. He told the Prince he would tell the Rājā all about him, but, on reaching Bārāṇasi, found that the Rājā was dead. On the seventh day after his decease the funeral took place, and then the nobles consulted, saying, "Sirs, a country that is kingless cannot ward off the thorns of strife, and as we know not where our Prince is, we are powerless. We had better make ready the consecrated car¹ and send it forth in search of a king." Whilst they were thus deliberating, the hunter returned and reported his discovery. As soon as the nobles heard the news, they rewarded the hunter, and proceeded with a great retinue as the hunter directed them. On reaching the Prince's dwelling, they told the Prince that he must return with them and take up the reins of government. Upon this the Prince went to his wife and said, "Lady, my father has departed this life for that of the Devas, and the nobles have come to ask me to assume the royal estate: let us both go and reign in Bārāṇasi, which is twelve yojana in extent; you, my queen, will be the chief of 16,000 ladies." But

¹ Consecrated chariot (phussaratho), in which have been placed the four great elements (mahābhūtā), viz. earth, air, fire, water.

she answered, "My lord Rājā, I cannot, for I am endowed with a poison (or flame) which shows itself on the slightest feeling of irritation, and though I feel strongly that I ought to live with my husband, yet if I were to accompany him and anything were to arouse my anger, those who were the cause would be reduced to fine ashes : for this reason I cannot go with you." Next morning she entreated him as follows : "My dear lord, since I cannot accompany you, and these children of ours, though Nāgas, are still to a certain extent human, be kind to them, if you really love me. Being of a race that lives in the waters, they are very tender, and cannot bear the rays of the sun ; cause therefore, I pray you, that they make vessels to hold water, in which they may be conveyed, and when they arrive at Bārāṇasi have a tank made for them to sport in." Having thus spoken, she passed round him by the right hand and, after saluting him and embracing both the children, departed weeping to serpent-land.

So the Rājā, heavy at heart and with brimming eyes, went forth from their palace to where the nobles were waiting for him, and when they had poured over him the water of consecration, he directed them to prepare the vessels in which to carry his children. When the vessels had been prepared, he directed that they should be placed on wheels and filled with water. In course of time they got to Bārāṇasi, which was decorated for the occasion, and remained for seven days in a great pavilion surrounded by singers and dancers, whilst the nobles drank sweet liquors.¹ The Rājā then ordered a lotus tank² to be made for the children to play in.

One day, when they were letting the water into the tank, a tortoise got in by accident, and being unable to get out concealed himself there. When the Prince and Princess were swimming about, one day, it put its head above the water and looked at them. The children, seeing the tortoise, fled in terror to their father, and told him there was a

¹ Māhāpanam, great enjoyment, or big drink.

² Pokkharapi.



demon in the tank. The King summoned his attendants, and ordered that the tortoise should be caught. When it was found and brought, and the children declared that it was the demon that had frightened them, he ordered that it should be punished.

One nobleman suggested that it ought to be pounded in a mortar, another said that it ought to be boiled and eaten, another that it should be roasted; but one noble who was afraid of water, suggested that it should be thrown into a whirlpool in the river Yamunā. On hearing this, the tortoise put out its head and said, "O Rājā, what have I done? It would be a terrible punishment to throw me into a whirlpool, and I am ready to undergo any punishment rather than that."

The King, being very angry, at once ordered that the tortoise should be thrown into the whirlpool, and when the sentence had been executed, the tortoise was sucked down by the current to serpent-land.

Just then a son of Dhataratṭha, the Nāga king, was sporting in the whirlpool, and seeing the tortoise, ordered it to be seized; whereupon the tortoise, who saw himself in a worse plight, cried out, "Friends, why do you, who are the servants of Dhataratṭha, treat me so roughly? I am an ambassador¹ from the Rājā of Bārāṇasi, named Cittacūla, and he has sent me to inform your lord Dhataratṭha that he wishes to give him his daughter in marriage. Take me before your Rājā." When the Nāga youths heard this, they took him before the Rājā. But the Rājā was displeased and said, "The Rājā of Bārāṇasi ought not to have sent such an ugly fellow as this as his ambassador."

The tortoise called out, "O Rājā of the Nāgas, why do you say this? Ought an ambassador to be as tall as a palm tree?² Ambassadors, whether they be tall or short, are estimated after the manner in which they perform their duties. O Rājā, my master the King of Bārāṇasi has many ambassadors: on land he employs men, and in the air

¹ Dūto, an emissary.

² Tālo, Corypha.

birds; I am Cittacūla the tortoise, no common tortoise, but a nobleman and bosom friend of the Rājā; do not revile me."

Then the King of the Nāgas inquired on what business he had been sent, and the tortoise answered, "My lord, our master has made friends with all the kings who are on the face of the earth, but has not yet made an alliance with Dhataratṭha, the King of the Nāgas; he is, however, willing to give you his daughter Samuddajā in marriage, and ordered me to come to your majesty and inform you. Do not delay, O Rājā, but send some messengers with me to arrange the day for the wedding."

Dhataratṭha, being pleased at this speech, summoned some of the Nāga youths, and directed them to go to Bārāṇasi and arrange the wedding. So they went with the tortoise; but just before they got to Bārāṇasi, the tortoise, seeing a pool of water handy, slipped into it and hid himself under pretence of gathering lilies as a present. After waiting some time for the tortoise, they went on, and taking human form went into the presence of the Rājā.

The King asked them why they had come and they answered, "Your Majesty, we have been sent by Dhataratṭha, the King of the Nāgas, and we trust that your Majesty is in good health." The Rājā then asked them what special business they had been sent on, and they said:

1. Yaṃ kañci ratanam atthi Dhataratṭha-nivesane,
Sabbani te upāyantu; Dhitarā dehi Rājino.

"Whatever treasure there is in Dhataratṭha's palace,
Let all by thee be acquired; thy daughter give to the
Rājā."

On the King hearing this, he was enraged, and answered:

2. Na no vivāho nāgehi katapubbo kudācanam
Taṃ vivāham asaṃyuttam,¹ katham amhe karomase.

¹ Asaṃyuttam, according to B.M.S., means a *bestial union*.

“Not we a wedding with serpents contracted ever
 aforetime,
 That wedding, that improper union, how can we
 (human) perform it?”

Hearing this, the Nāga youths thought, “Of a truth this Rājā belongs not to a race that is suitable to match with our King Dhatarat̥ṭha, and yet he sent his ambassador Cittacūla to say he would give his daughter: we must display our power, and frighten this King of Bārāṇasi, who has insulted our Rājā.” So they said:

3. Jivitaṃ nūna mocattam¹ rat̥ṭham vā manujādhipa
 Na hi nāge kupitamhi ciram jivanti tādisā.
 “Surely now, both life and kingdom are rejected by
 thee, Rājā,
 Should the serpent-king be angry, such as thou art
 would not live long.”
4. Yo tvam deva manussosi iddhimantam² aniddhimā
 Varuṇassa niyam puttam Yamunam atimaññasi.
 “Thou, who art of men a ruler, him almighty, thou
 so puny,
 Varuṇa’s own son, Yamunā,³ do’st thou purposely
 insult then?”

The Rājā of Bārāṇasi exclaimed:

5. Nātimaññami rājānam Dhatarat̥ṭham yasassinam
 Dhatarat̥ṭho hi nāgānam bahūnam api issaro.
 “Indeed I despise not your king Dhatarat̥ṭha the
 famous,
 Dhatarat̥ṭho, forsooth, of Nāga-hordes many the ruler.”

¹ The B. M. S. reads cattam.

² Though iddhimo is given by Childers as *supernaturally powerful*, it is not so in Burmese translation.

³ Yamunām, the Burmese translates as *beneath Yamunā*, and not as a patronymic.

6. Ahi mahānubbhāvo pi na me dhitarāma araho
Khattiyā ca Videhānam abhijātā Samuddajā.

“A serpent, though he be mighty, is not of my
daughter worthy;

A princess she of Videhas, high-born lady Samuddajā.”

On hearing this, the young Nāgas were very wroth and said, “Though we could now slay the King of Bārāṇasi, with the breath of our nostrils, since we are under our master’s order to arrange a marriage and not commit destruction, it will not be right for us to do so; so we will go and report the matter to our Lord.” They therefore returned to serpent-land, and on arrival there the Serpent King questioned them, saying, “Dear sirs, how is it? Have you brought the Princess Samuddajā?” The enraged messengers answered, “O Rājā, you sent us to the King of Bārāṇasi without knowing the truth of the matter; if you are angry and desire to slay us, do it here in serpent-land. The Rājā of Bārāṇasi was puffed up with pride and reviled thee.” Thereupon the Serpent King cried:

7. Kambalassatarā uṭṭhentu sabbe nāge nivedaya
Bārāṇasim pavajjantu mā ca kiñci vihethayun.

“Let the Kambals¹ and Assatars rise, the serpent hordes
(quickly) inform,

Bārāṇasi let them invade, but let them not hurt any one.”

When all the serpent tribes had assembled, they said, “O Rājā, if we are to go to Bārāṇasi and slay no one, what are we to do?” And the Rājā answered:

8. Nivesanesu sobbhesu rathiyā caccāresa ca,
Rukkhaḅgesu ca lambantu vitātā toraṇesu ca.

“Into the houses, the gardens, into the streets and the
markets,

Upon the trees, too, entwining, spreading yourselves
in the gateways.”

¹ The Kambalo (a woollen cloth) and Assataro (mules) were Nāgā tribes.



9. Aham pi sabbesetena mahatā sumaham puram
Parikkhipissam bhogehi Kāsinam janayam bhayam ti.
“I too, white-shining all over, enormous, to this
spreading city,
On all sides enwrapt by my coils, to Kāsi-men I will
cause terror.”
10. Tassa taṃ vacanaṃ sutva uragā 'nekavaṇṇiṇo
Bārāṇasim pavajimsu na ca kañci vihethayun ti.
“The instant they heard his order, those serpents of
various hue,
Bārāṇasi city pervade, but never a one do they injure.”
11. Nivesanesu sobbhesu rathiyā caccaresu ca
Rukkhagesu ca lambimsu vitatā toraṇesu ca.
“Into the houses, the gardens, into the streets and the
markets,
Upon the trees too they twisted, spreading themselves
on the gates too.”
12. Te su desvāna lambantā puthu kandimsu nāriyo
Nāge soṇḍikate¹ disvā passasante muhum mubum.
“On these, when they saw them entwining, great was
the wailing of women ;
The snakes' hoods distended beholding, their hissings
repeated in rage.”
13. Bārāṇasim pavyadhita āturā samapajjatha
Bahā paggayha pakkandum dhitaram dehi Rājino.
“In Bārāṇasi then, the people sore stricken with terror
and dread,
Cried with their hands clasped in prayer, ‘Thy daughter
give to the Rājā.’ ”²

¹ Soṇḍikate is translated in B.M. *having their hoods expanded.*

² The above verses (10 to 13) are not given in the Rangoon edition, but are from Professor Fausbøll's M.S., and also in the Mandalay M.S.

Thus they spread themselves all over the city of Bārāṇasi in the houses, the streets, and water-tanks, at midnight.

And the four young Nāgas who had acted as ambassadors, twining their bodies round the legs of the couch on which the King was sleeping, spread out their hoods and showed their fangs and hissed loud enough to split his head. Dhataratṭha the Nāga King, too, overshadowed the whole city. Those who woke up in the night and stretched out their hands or feet felt nothing but hissing serpents, and shrieked out "Alas! the serpents, the serpents." Some struck lights, and looking out saw the serpents writhing and twining themselves all over the gates and battlements and with one voice shrieked and wailed. So the whole city was in confusion, and when the day dawned, all the people, from the King downwards, were in a state of terror and cried out, "O great Lord of the Nāgas, why do you thus torment us?" The serpents answered, "Your king sent an ambassador to our king promising his daughter in marriage, and afterwards treated our ambassadors with contumely, acting deceitfully and treating our king as though he were nought but a brute beast; verily if your king gives not his daughter to our king, we will destroy this city and all its inhabitants."

On hearing this, the people answered, "O great Nāgas, be not afraid, but open a road for us to go to the palace and we will entreat our king." So the Nāgas allowed them to pass, and the people assembled at the door of the palace and wept with a great lamentation. The Queen, too, with all the ladies of the palace, cried out, "O Rājā, give your daughter Samuddajā to the King of the Nāgas." The four young Nāgas round the King's couch cried out, "Give, give!"¹

So the King of Bārāṇasi was stricken with terror and shrieked out thrice, "I will give my daughter Samuddajā to Dhataratṭha the king of the Nāgas."

When he had uttered these words, all the Nāgas retired

¹ This is the rough translation of verses 10 to 13.

to a distance of three leagues from Bārāṇasi and dwelt in a city which they had built for the purpose; they also sent suitable presents for the Princess. The Rājā of Bārāṇasi received the presents and informed the messengers that he would send his daughter in due state. He then sent for Samuddajā and taking her to an upper chamber in a turret of the palace, opened the window, and said, "My darling daughter, look at that beautiful city. I am going to give you in marriage to the Rājā of that city, where you will be a queen. It is not far from here, and when you call to mind your parents, it will be easy to return and see them." Having thus spoken persuasively, he caused her to wash her head, and when she had been decked in jewels and rich garments, he sent her in a carriage¹ with a retinue of nobles. The nobles of the Nāgas also came out to meet her with great honour. They then entered the Nāga city and presented her to the King, who sent them back to Bārāṇasi with rich presents. The King of the Nāgas placed the Princess in a splendid palace on a magnificent couch surrounded by Nāga damsels in human form, where she soon fell into a deep sleep.

Then Dhataratṭha, accompanied by all his hosts, departed thence to serpent-land, and when the Princess woke up and saw all the Nāga palaces and gardens, which were like those in the land of the Devas, she inquired of her attendants, saying, "This country is very splendid and not like my own native land, whose country is it?" and they answered "Lady, it is the city of your lord and husband, Dhataratṭha, the King of the Nāgas; it is not suitable for those who have not acquired merit. Since you have acquired merit, you have obtained this fairy dwelling-place and wealth." King Dhataratṭha issued a proclamation to be made by beat of drum throughout all serpent-land, saying, "Let no one dare show himself to Queen Samuddajā in serpent form." So the Princess dwelt happily with Rājā Dhataratṭha, unaware that she was not in the country of men.

¹ Paṭicchannayoggam, covered conveyance.

CHAPTER II. (*Uposatha.*)

Now in due course Queen Samuddajā bore a son to Dhataratṭha, and as he was very beautiful, he was called Sudassana. Again, she bore another, who was named Datta. He was the Bodhisat. After this she bore Subhoga, and then a fourth, who was called Aritṭha. Up to that time Queen Samuddajā did not know that she was in serpent-land; but one day some one said to the little Aritṭha, "Your mother is not a Nāga, but a human being;" so he determined to put her to the test, and one day when at her breast he changed himself into serpent form and coiled his tail round his mother's instep. When the Queen saw this, she was terrified, and, shrieking, struck him to the earth with her hand, and one of her finger nails happening to injure his eye, he became blind in that eye, and the blood ran out. Dhataratṭha, hearing the Queen cry out, asked what was the matter, and hearing what Prince Aritṭha had done, threatened to have him slain. But Queen Samuddajā said, "O Rājā, one of his eyes is put out, do not punish him further, be merciful I pray you." So the Rājā, out of love for his Queen, pardoned him. From that day Queen Samuddajā knew that she was in serpent-land, and her son Aritṭha was called Kāṇāritṭha.¹

Now when the Prince was grown up, their father divided his country into five parts, and gave them each a division with a proper retinue. He kept one division for himself. Sudassana, Subhoga and Kāṇāritṭha used to come once a month to see their father, but Datta came every fortnight, and if there was any difficult question, he would solve it.² When he went with his father to Virūpakkha,³ he also solved any difficult questions that were asked. One day Virūpakkha went with all the Nāga hosts to Tāvātimsa to do homage to Sakko, and a difficult question was mooted. When no one was able to solve it, the Bodhisat Datta

¹ Kāpo, one-eyed.

² The Burmese always use the Sanskrit form *praṇā* for the Pali word *pañho*.

³ Virūpakkho, the King of all Nāgas and Regent of the West.

explained it, at which Sakko was delighted, and said, "Dear son, Datta, you are as full of wisdom as the earth is thick, from henceforth you shall be called Bhūri-datta."¹

From that day he remained in attendance on Sakko.² Seeing Sakko in his palace, called Vejayanta, surrounded by beautiful fairies dressed in goodly apparel and covered with jewels, he was desirous of becoming a Deva, and thought, "What advantage is there in being a raw-flesh³ eating Nāga? I will return to serpent-land and keep the fast-days." So he returned to serpent-land, and said, "Dear father and mother, I intend to keep the fast-days." They answered, "Dear son, do as you wish, but, if you keep them outside serpent-land, on the surface of the earth, there will be danger." The Bodhisat answered, "Good, I will keep them in a quiet garden in serpent-land."

However, whilst thus engaged, the young Nāga girls surrounded him, playing on various instruments, and disturbed him; so he said, "I cannot keep the fast properly here, I will go to the country of men;" but, fearing that his parents might prevent him, he called his wives and said, "Ladies, I intend to go to the country of men and coiling myself round an ant hill at the foot of a banyan tree on the banks of the Yamunā, keep a fourfold fast: on the morning of the following day come with all your retinue and musicians, and conduct me back to serpent-land." Having thus instructed them, he went and coiled himself on the top of an ant hill and reflected thus, "If any one desires to take my skin, my sinews, my bone or my blood, let him do so." Then, making himself rigid like the log of a harrow, he kept the fast. When Āruṇa sent forth his rays, the Nāga women came as directed and conducted him back to Nāga-land, and in this manner he fasted many times.

¹ Bhūri in Pali means both *earth* and *wisdom*.

² The Burmese form of Sakko is Sikrā. The Sanskrit form Sakra, adapted to Burmese by changing a to i, which makes it *thi-kyā*, i.e. "He who *knows* and *hears*."

³ I find the Pāli word is maṇḍuka bhakkhena *frog-eating*. The mistake has occurred through the similarity of the Burmese words *phā* a *frog*, and *thā* *flesh*. So, *green* and *raw* being the same word, *green-frog* became *raw-flesh*.

CHAPTER III. (*Nagarapavesana.*)

Now at that time there dwelt in a village near the gate of Bārāṇasi a Brahman (named Nesāda), who, with his son Somadatta, used to get his living by killing deer. One day this Brahman, not being able to find even a lizard, said, "Dear son Somadatta, if we go home empty-handed, your mother will scold." Just then they came close to the place where the Bodhisat was fasting and went down to the Yamunā to drink. On coming up they saw the track of a deer, so the Brahman said to his son, "Somadatta, I see the footprints of a deer, stand still for a little and I will shoot it. Then taking his bow and arrows, he remained on the watch at the foot of a tree. The deer came down to drink and the Brahman shot at it, but it made off, leaving traces of its blood. The two hunters followed it up, and when they found it, the sun was just setting, and they arrived at the banyan tree where the Bodhisat was fasting. They agreed that they would go no further that night, and, having hid away the carcase of the deer, climbed into the tree. In the morning the Brahman woke up, and just then the Nāga ladies had come to escort Bhūridatta back to serpent-land. Hearing the sound of their music, he tried to waken his son Somadatta, but being unable, he let him sleep and went alone, and going up to the Bodhisat said :¹

14. Puppābhīhārassa vanassa majjhe
 Ko lohitakkho vihalantaranso
 Kā kambukāyūrādhārā suvatthā
 Tīṭṭhanti nariyo dasa vandamānā.

"In the midst of a forest full of flowers fit for offerings,
 Who is this red-eyed, mighty, broad-chested one?
 Who these gold-bedecked, well-adorned ones,
 These women, thy slaves, who stand in obeisance?"

¹ The Pāli stanzas, if any, are wanting in the Rangoon edition, but are given split up in the Burmese MS.; as under by Professor Fausböll.

15. Ko tvam brāhabāhu vanassa majjhe
 Virocasi ghatāsitto va aggi
 Mahā-Sakko aññataro 'si yakkho
 Udāhu nāgo 'si mahānubhāvo ti.

“Who art thou, strong-armed one, in midst of this forest ?

Beauteous (I ween art thou) as butter-fed fire.

Art Sakko or some other Yakkho ?¹

Or art thou a Nāga of great might ?”

The Bodhisat answered :

16. Nāgo ham asmi iddhimā tejasi durabhikkamo
 Dasseyyum tejasi kuddho phitāṃ janapadam api.
 “A Nāga I am, of great power, in glory surpassing,
 Should I bite with my poison in wrath, e'en prosperous
 townships (would be destroyed).”²
17. Samuddajā ti me mātā Dhataratṭho ca me pitā
 Sudassana kaniṭṭho 'smi Bhūridattāti maṃ vidu.
 “Samuddajā is my mother, Dhataratṭha too my father,
 Suddassana my younger brother, Bhūridatta 'tis they
 call me.”

After he had said this, he reflected, “This Brahman is a cruel old fellow; if he were to point me out to a snake-charmer, I should incur great danger. I will therefore carry him off to serpent-land and endow him with great wealth, and so be able to continue my fasts in security.” He therefore said to the Brahman, “Come with me to serpent-land and see all its delights. I will give you great wealth.” The Brahman answered, “My lord, I am not alone, but my son is up in the tree: if he may come too, I will go.” After saying, “Call your son,” the Bodhisat said :

¹ Yakkho, a superhuman being.

² The Burmese MS. supplies *bhassā bhavēyya would become ashes*. *Tejo* *name, power*, is also translated *poison*.

18. Yam gambhīram sadāvāṭṭam rahadam bhaśmam
avekkhasi

Esa dibbo māmāvāso aneka-sata-poriso.¹

“This profound and ever-boiling pool, so dread, behold
(I pray you),

’Tis my supernatural dwelling, deeper than a hundred
fathoms.”

19. Mayūra koñcā bhirudam nilodam vana-majjhato

Yamunam pavisa mābhito khemam vakavantam sivam.

“Peacock and heron rejoicing, dark water in midst of
the wood,

Yamunā plunge into without fear, ’tis a realm of bliss
and delight.”

He then bore away both father and son to serpent-land, and on arriving there they changed their human appearance to that of fairies. The Bodhisat gave them much riches and five hundred fairy wives. So the two Brahmans enjoyed great wealth and the Bodhisat was able to keep his fasts. Every half-moon he came to see his father and mother and preach the law; then he went to the Brahmaṇ and inquired after their health and wishes.

One day the old Brahman, after about a year had passed, felt unhappy, and wishing to return to the country of men, began to feel as if serpent-land were hell, and all the beautiful ornamented palaces like prisons, and the lovely Nāga girls like devils; so he determined to go and talk to Somadatta. On getting there he said, “Dear son, are you happy here?” Somadatta replied, “Dear father, why should I not be happy? are you not happy too?” His father answered, “Dear son, it is long since I have seen your mother, brothers, and sisters, I am unhappy, let us go away.” At first Somadatta refused; but as his father besought him, he at last consented. The old Brahman thought, “If I tell Bhūridatta that I am unhappy, he will

¹ Poriso, lit. a man, whose height represents a fathom.

only heap more wealth on me. I must pretend to praise his wealth and splendour, and ask him why he relinquishes them to go and fast on earth. If he says that he fasts in order to go to Deva-land, I will say that we too must go back in order to get permission from our relatives to become ascetics: if I put it in this way, he will not be able to refuse, but will give me permission to return to earth." Shortly after this Bhūridatta came, and the old Brahman said:

"Bhūridatta, in thy kingdom, this land complete in every way."¹

21. Samā samantā parito bahuta tagara mahi
Indagopaka sañchannā sobhati harituttamā.

"Where, ever through the live long year, this land of many tagra trees,
With golden fireflies o'erspread, is bright with new sprung grass."

22. Rammāni vana-cetyāni rammā hamsūpakīyitā
Opuppha padumā tiṭṭhanti pokkharāṅṅo sunimmitā.

"Delightful are its sacred places; pleasant is it with the sound of wild fowl.
Covered with lotus buds, in it abundant water tanks well fashioned lie."

23. Aṭṭhamsa-sukatā thambā sabbe veḷuriyāmayā
Sahassa-thambā pāsādā pūrā kaññāhi jotare.

"With well-wrought eight-faced posts, all made of precious stone.
Thy thousand-pillared palace stands, full of fair virgins, dazzling bright."

¹ Verse 20 of Fausböll's gatha is not in the Mandalay MS. and does not seem, to fit in anywhere, but is replaced by the half stanza:

"Bhūridatta tava bhavane ayam mahi samā samanta parito."

24. Vimānam upapannōsi dibbapuññehi attano
Asambādham sivam rammam accanta-sukha-samhitam.
“Thou hast a fairy palace, acquired by thy merit;
So boundless, auspicious, agreeable, all else exceeding
in bliss.”
25. Maññe Sahassanettassa vimānam nābhikamkhasi
Iddhi hi tāsam vipulā Sakkassēva jūtimato ti.
“Methinks thou canst not want even the palace of the
King of Gods,
For thy wondrous power is even great as his.”

On hearing these stanzas Bhūridatta said,

26. Manasāpi na pattabbo ānubhāvo jūtimato
Pancārayam ānānam va indānam vasavattinam.¹
“Friend Brahman, do not say this; my wealth is far less
than that of Sakko; it is like comparing a mustard seed
with Mount (Sinneru) Meru, my wealth being the mustard
seed. We are but servants of Sakko, and ought not to be
put in comparison with him.”
27. Tam vimānam abhijjhāya amarānam sukkhesinam
Uposatham upavasanto semi vammika-muddhaneti.
“Wishing to obtain that palace everlasting, ever peaceful,
On the fast day, doing penance, I lie coiled upon an ant
hill.”

Hearing this the Brahman, thinking with joy that he
would get his desire, answered:

28. Aham ca migam eśāno saputto pāvasim vanam
Tam mam matam vā jivam vā nābhivedanti nātakā.
“I too in pursuit of a deer with my son came into this
wood,
He and I, dead or alive, our nearest relatives know not.”

¹ The Mandalay MS. gives a different reading of last line, viz. :
Paricāriyamānānam indānam vasavattinam yasassāpi ambhākam yaso na agghati.



29. Āmantaye Bhūridattam Kāsi-puttam yasassinam
Tayā no samanūññātā api passamu ñātaka.

“I let thee know, Bhūridatta, O noble scion of Kāsi,
If thou wilt give us permission, once more we shall see
our kinsfolk.”

To this the Bodhisat replied :

30. Eso vata me chando yam va sesi mam antike
Na hi etādisā kāmā sulabhā honti mānuse.

“Yea, 'tis indeed my desire that you should dwell in my
presence ;
For not forsooth are such pleasures with ease obtained
by all mortals.”

31. Sace tvam icchaye vatthum mama kāmehi pūjito
Mayā tvam samanūññato sotthim passāhi ñātaka.

“But if thou desirest not to dwell with my delights
duly honoured,
To thee I give free permission in safety to see thy kins-
folk.”

The Bodhisat then presented the Brahman with a ruby
wishing ring that would grant all his desires, and said :

32. Dhāray' imam maṇim dibbam pasu putte ca vindati
Arogo sukhito hoti gacchevādāya brāhmanā.

“He who bears this fairy ruby flocks and herds and sons
possesses,
Free from sickness, happy is he ; taking it, depart, O
Brāhman.”

The Brahman replied :

33. Kusalam paṭinandāmi Bhūridatta vaco tava
Pabbajjāsāmi jinno 'smi na kāmehi abhipatthaye.



“Health and thanks to thee I offer, Bhūridatta, for thy kindness;
I intend to be a hermit, old I am and nought desire I.”¹

The Bodhisat then said: “O Brahman, since you are determined to be an ascetic, so be it; but if at any time through inability to carry out your vows, you relinquish that life, come to me, without fear, and I will give you great wealth.”

“Bhūridatta, Prince of Nāgas,” said the Brahman, “your words are very pleasant: in the hour of need I will certainly come to you for help.”

The Bodhisat then summoned some Nāga youths and directed them to conduct the Brahman and his son back to the country of men; so they took them close to the city of Bārāṇasi and left them. The Brahman then said to his son, “Dear Somadat, this is the spot where I killed the deer, and here I slew a wild boar;” and thus conversing about the old familiar haunts, they came to a pool of water, in which they proceeded to bathe; and as soon as they went into the water, their fairy garments disappeared, and their old garments came in place of them, and their bows and arrows. Then Somadatta wept and said, “Father, to what misery we have returned after so much magnificence!” But the old Brahman replied, “Son, be not afraid, deer are not scarce in the forest, and we can still get our livelihood by killing them.” Thus conversing they arrived at their home.

When Somadatta’s mother heard that her husband and son had arrived, she ran out to meet them, and, bringing them into the house, set food and drink before them. When he had eaten and drunk, he fell asleep, and then she said to her son, “Dear Somadat, you and your father have been absent for a long time, what city have you been residing in?” He said, “Dearest mother, Bhūridatta, the King of the Serpents, carried us both off to his country, but, though

¹ 34, 35, 36, and 37, are not given as gāthā in the Burmese version.

we enjoyed great wealth and pleasure there, we were unhappy and have come back." "If that is true," said the Brahmaness, "have you brought any precious stones with you?" "No," said Somadat, "we have brought none." "Didn't the Serpent King give you a single thing?" asked the mother. "He offered my father a ruby ring, mother, but he would not take it; and I heard him tell the Serpent King that as soon as he got back to earth, he would turn hermit." "Ah!" said the Brahmaness, "he has forsaken his wife and family all these long years, and I have had all the trouble of feeding the household, whilst he has been enjoying himself, and now he wants to become a hermit!" So in a furious passion she began to belabour her husband with the stirring stick, saying, "Heh! Brahman, what do you mean by coming back from Bhūridatta's country after refusing the wishing ring? You are going to be a hermit, are you? Very well, get out of my house sharp, will you!"

The Brahman cried out, "Madam, do not get into such a passion; deer are not scarce in the forest. I will practise my calling as a hunter, and support you and your family." He then went off with his son into the forest.

Now at that time a Garuḷa was perched on the top of a silk cotton tree in a forest on the shore of the southern ocean, flapping its wings, by which means it divided the waters and seized a Nāga that was below. In those days the Garuḷas did not know the proper way of seizing a Nāga, and used to seize them by the head; but afterwards, through the advice of a hermit, which is related in the Paṇḍara Jātaka,¹ they learnt to seize

¹ The Paṇḍara Jātaka is to be found in Jātaka, vol. v. p. 75, and the Burmese version from the Maṇiratanaṇṇa is attached to this as a note.

In the country of Barāpasi, when Brahmadat was king, 500 sailors were wrecked in the sea, and, by the force of the wind, one of them was carried to Karampira harbour. On account of his emaciated body, people said, "This ascetic is a person of small requirements," so they kept him. Thinking that he was now well off, and to keep up his character, when they offered him garments he declined them. The people, thinking it was impossible to find a more abetentious man, had a great regard for him and built him a cell, and he was known far and wide as the "Naked one of Karampira" (Karampira aelaka). A prince of the Nāgas and a prince of the Garuḷas used to come and worship him, and one

them by the tail. This Garuḷa, however, not knowing the right way, seized this Nāga by the head, and carried it off wriggling to the Himavanta forest. There was also at that time in the country of Kāsi an ascetic Brahman, who dwelt occasionally in a cell in the Himavanta, near which there was a great banyan tree, and as this hermit was sitting at the foot of the tree, the Garuḷa flew past with the Nāga. The Nāga twisted its tail round the branches of the banyan tree, but the strength of the Garuḷa was such that it carried off the tree with the Nāga, without being aware that it had done so. The Garuḷa, perched in a tree, devoured the Nāga's entrails, and threw the body into the sea, whereupon the banyan tree fell with a crash. The Garuḷa looked round to see what it was, and thought, "Why, this must have been the banyan tree, that grew by the hermit's cell. I must go and find out whether he is angry with me for what has been done." So he flew down to the hermit's cell, and, having taken up a reverent attitude, said, "O hermit, what is this level spot!" The hermit answered, "O Garuḷa, my supporter, a Garuḷa came flying by here with a Nāga, and as he passed the Nāga twisted its tail in the banyan tree and it was carried away." "Is the Garuḷa to be blamed, O hermit?" "No, Garuḷa, the Nāga did it in self-defence, and is not to be blamed." "Reverend Sir, I am that Garuḷa, and I am much gratified at the manner in which you have replied to my questions; I know a charm that will keep

day, when so engaged, the Garuḷa said, "We Garuḷas when catching Nāgas are often destroyed by drowning, there must be some secret cause for this; when the Nāga comes, ask him the reason and let me know." The ascetic agreed, and when the Nāga came, he questioned him; and the Nāga said, "If I were to tell this, all the future generations of Nāgas would be destroyed; but if you will promise not to reveal it, I will tell you." The ascetic promised, saying, "If I do, may my head be split in seven!" The Nāga then said, "When the Garuḷas are going to swoop, we make ourselves a thousand cubits long and swallow a great rock and then show fight with our heads, so when the Garuḷas seize our heads they cannot lift us and get drowned; but if the Garuḷas seized us by the tail and held us upside down, we should vomit the rock." The hermit, however, did not keep his promise, but told the Garuḷa. The Garuḷa, therefore, went and seized the Nāga, and whilst he was being carried off, he told the Garuḷa how he had been deceived. The Garuḷa took pity on him, and telling him that it is always best to keep secrets, let him go. The Nāga then wished that the punishment of oath-breaking should befall the hermit, and immediately his head split into seven pieces and he went to Avīci.

off all serpents, and will impart it to you for your kindness." The hermit answered, "I have no need for snake-charms, go in peace." But the Garuḷa insisted and taught him the charm.

There was also at this time a poor Brahman in Bārāṇasi who was sore pressed by his creditors, so he went out into the forest, saying, "It is better that I should die there than continuing to live in this wretched manner." In due course he came to this hermit's cell, and served the hermit in many ways, and in return the hermit imparted to him the snake-charm, which had been taught him by the Garuḷa, and also gave him some of the medicine which had been given him. The poor Brahman, having now got a means of livelihood, stayed a day or two longer, and then saying he had got the rheumatism, and wanted to get medicine for it, took his departure. After a short time he arrived at the banks of the Yamunā, and went along the road repeating his charm. Just then a thousand of Bhūridatta's female attendants came, bringing with them the great wishing ruby, and, whilst they disported in the water, placed it on a sand-bank, to give forth its light during the watches of the night. At dawn they put on their ornaments, and, surrounding the great ruby, displayed their splendour. As the Brahman came up, the Nāgas heard him reciting his charm, and, thinking he was a Garuḷa, fled, leaving the ruby, on seeing which the Brahman was delighted and carried it off.

Just then the Brahman, Nesāda, and his son, Somadatta, came out of the forest, and, seeing the Brahman carrying the ruby, he said, "Dear Somadat, is not this the ruby that the Prince Bhūridat offered us?" "Yes, father, it is the very same." "Then (said Nesāda) we will get it by stratagem, for he does not know its value." Somadatta answered, "Father, when Prince Bhūridatta offered it to you, you refused it; why do you want it now? Perhaps the Brahman will be too sharp for you. Do not speak to to him, but keep still." But Nesāda answered, "That may be, but just see how we shall both try to get round one another."

He then said to the snake-charmer :

38. Maṇim paggayha mangalam sādhu vittam manoramam
Selam byañjana-sampannam ko imam maṇim ajjhagāti.

“Thou who bearest this blest jewel, this good, heart-
delighting treasure,
Stone so perfect in appearance, tell me where you found
this jewel.”

To which the snake-charmer replied :

39. Lohitakkhitahassāhi samantā parivārayam
Ajja kālam pakham gaccham ajjhagāham maṇim imam.

“By a thousand red-eyed damsels guarded well on every
quarter,
This day, on the path I travelled, met I with this
precious jewel.”

Then said Nesāda, “O snake-charmer, the nature of rubies is such that if one looks after and honours them, they bring great luck to their owners ; but if they are not well looked after, they bring harm. You are not the sort of person to carry about a ruby, sell it me for a hundred pieces of gold. I know how to treat it.” (Nesāda had not a hundred pieces of gold, but he thought that if he once got it into his possession, he would soon get the hundred pieces.)

40. Supacīṇṇo ayam selo accito mahito sadā
Sudhārito sunikkhito sabbattha-m-abhisādhaye.

“Well looked after this stone, constantly honoured and revered, will accomplish every desire.”

41. Upacāra-vipannassa nikkhaye dhāranāya va
Alam selo vināsāya paricīṇṇo ayoniso.

“To the possessor who neglects it, it will bring destruction.”

42. Na imam akusalo dibbam maṇim dhāretum āraho
Patipajja satam nikkham dehi mam ratanam mamam.

“Thou unfortunate one art not worthy to carry this fairy stone, take a hundred gold pieces¹ and give me the ruby.”

The snake-charmer, however, answered :

43. Na ca myāyam maṇi keyyo kehi vā ratanehi vā
Selo byañjana-sampanno neva keyyo maṇi mama.

“My bright ruby’s not for barter, with earth’s treasures nor for jewels ;

’Tis a stone of wondrous virtue ; no, it can’t be bought, my ruby.”

Nesāda.

44. No ce tayā maṇi keyyo kehi evā ratanehi vā
Athā kena maṇi keyyo tam me akkhāhi pucchito.

“Since, this ruby’s not for barter, for aught else nor e’en for jewels ;

Then for what wilt trade this ruby ? Name a price to me who ask you.”

Alampāyano.

45. Yo me samesa mahānagām tejasim duratikkamam
Tassa dajjam imam selam jalanta-r-iva tejasā.

“Who shows me the King of Nāgas, with his glory all excelling

To that one I’ll give this jewel, with its rays so brightly shining.”

Nesāda.

46. Ko nu brāhmaṇa vaṇṇena Supanno² patatam³ varo
Nāgam jigimsam anveti anvesam bhakkam attano.

¹ Nikkham = 5 svaṇṇās = 25 dharapaṇas = 250 phalas.

² Supanno, the King of Garulas.

³ The Mandalay M.S. reads pakkhatam varo *more excellent than all winged ones.*

“Who art thou, in guise of Brahman? art Supanno
King of winged ones?
Dost thou seek the longed-for Nāgas?”

Alampāyano.

47. Nāham dijādhipo¹ homi na diṭṭho Garuḷo mayā
Āsivisena² atto ti vejja mam brāhmaṇam vidu.

“No, I am not of birds the ruler; never have I seen
Garuḷo.”

Snake-poison doctor, Brahman, they call me.

Nesāda.

48. Kim me tuyham balam atthi kim sippam vijjate tava
Kismim va tvam parathaddho uragam na pasāyasi.

“What, I pray, is this thy power? what this art but
known to thee?”

On what is it thou reliest that thou fearest not the
serpent?”

Alampāyano.

49. Araññakassa isino cirarattam tapassino
Supanno kāsi³ yakkhāsivisa-vijjam anuttaram.

“To a hermit in the forest, who for long time practised
penance,

Supanno, who rules o'er Kāsi } taught this serpent-
To this Kāsi man Supanno }
poison queller.”

50. Tam bhāvitaṃ aññataram samantam pabbatantare
Sakkaccam tam upaṭṭhāsi rattim divam atandito.

¹ Dvijo *twice born*. A Brahman; a bird, which is born twice, first as an egg, and then from the egg.

² The Mandalay MS. reads, āsivisena vittoviveako *the dissipator of snakes poison*, which the Rangoon copy translates: “No Brahman, I am no Garuḷa; in fact, I have never seen one, but am merely a poor snake-charmer who can allay the power of serpents.”

³ The Mandalay MS. reads “Kosiyassa isino,” and inserts akkhā *taught*.

“That well-practised, perfect, hermit, dwelling all among
the mountains,
Reverently I fed and tended, night and day, without
remission.”

51. So tadā paricīṇṇo me vaṭṭam vā brahmacariyam vā
Dibbam pātukarim mantam kāmavā bhagavā mamam.

“He, thus served and honoured by me, both as serf-
ant and disciple,
This celestial charm imparted, which is wealth and
pleasure to me.”

52. Tyāham mante paratthaddho nā ham bhāyāmi Nāginam
Acariyo visa-ghātānam Alampāyano mam vidu.

“I then, trusting in these mantras, have no dread or
fear of Nāgas,
Of all antidotes the master, Alampāyano my name is.”

Nesāda then said to his son :

53. Gaṇhāmase maṇim tāta Somadatta vijānāhi
Mā kiccena sirim pattam kāmāsā vijahāmase.

“Let us take that ruby, dear son ; Somadatta, under-
stand me,
The with-difficulty-found good, let us willing not
relinquish.”

Somadatta.

54. Sakam nivesanam pattam yo tam Brāhmaṇa pūjaye
Evam kalyāṇa-kārissa kim mohā dubbhim icchasi.

“To you who arrived at his dwelling, O Brāhman, he
gave nought but honour
'Gainst one who has thus been so gracious, why foolish
wish to transgress ?”

55. Sace tvam dhana-kāmosi Bhūridattam padissati
Tam eva gantvā yacassu bahum dassati te dhanam.

“E'en though thou desirest riches, respectfully treat
 Bhūridatta,
 To him then, going, thy wishes relate, and he'll give
 thee great wealth.”

Nesāda.

56. Hatthagatam pattagatam nikkhittam khāditum varam
 Mā no sandiṭṭhiko attho Somadatta upacchagā.
 “The food that has come to your hand or your cup 'tis
 better to eat,
 The good that is laid at our feet, Somadatta, let us not
 lose.”

Somadatta.

57. Paccati niraye ghore mahissam avadiyati¹
 Mittadūbhi hitaccāgi jivare cāpi sussare.
 “He boileth in a fearful hell, the earth also swallows
 him,
 The false friend loseth all his gains, e'en though he
 save his life he wastes.”
58. Sace hi dhanakāmo 'si Bhūridatto padassasi
 Maññe attakatam vesam na ciram vedayissasīti.
 “If in truth thou long'st for riches, go and reverence
 Bhūridatta;
 Well I know our evil doings will e'er long bring retri-
 bution.”

Nesāda.

59. Mahāyaññam yajitvāna evam sujjhanti brāhmaṇā
 Mahāyaññam yajissāma evam mokkhāma pāpakā.
 “By performing sacrifices Brahmans cleanse themselves
 from evil,
 We a sacrifice will make and thus blot out our many
 misdeeds.”²

¹ The above is Fausböll's reading, but the Mandalay MS. has Mahi yāma pi
 vīrati, the earth and Yāma swallow.

² 60 and 61 not given as gāthā, but as above.

Then said Somadatta, "I will flee from thee, for I cannot remain with one who can do such evil deeds." So with a mighty cry he called on the Devas to witness that he could no longer remain with so base a father, and fled into the Himavanta forest, where he became a hermit and attained so much merit that he at last migrated to the Brahma heavens.

Nesāda, thinking that his son had gone home, and that the snake-charmer was heavy of heart, said, "Friend snake-charmer, do not be unhappy, I will show you Bhūridatta the Nāga Prince." He then took him to where Bhūridatta was fasting, and when they got there, and saw him on the top of the ant hill, he stopped and said, pointing at him :

62. Gaṇhah 'etam mahānāgam āhar 'etam maṇim mama
Indagopaka-vaṇṇābhā yassa lohitako siro.

"Take thou then this mighty serpent, bring to me thy
precious jewel,
Like fire-flies sparkingly brilliant is his head with its
glowing eyes."

63. Kappāso pi curass eva eso kāyassa dissati
Vammikaggagato seti tam tvam gaṇhāhi brāhmaṇa.¹

"Like well-carded cotton, I ween, his body is seen there,
On an ant hill's summit he sleeps, him do thou seize
then, O Brahman."

Hearing this, Bhūridatta opened his eyes, and beholding Nesāda, thought, "That man wishes to do me a mischief whilst I am fasting. I took both him and his son to Nāgaland, and when they wished to depart, I offered them precious stones, but he would not take them, and now he has come with this snake-charmer. If I were to show my wrath to this Brahman, who is so treacherous to his friends, my

¹ The Mandalay MS. has *eso kāyo paddissati his body is to be seen*; Fausböll, *eso kayassa dissati*.

fasting would be of no avail. It is better to pursue this course of religious duties than to be irritated. If this serpent-charmer wishes to cut me in twain, let him do so: if he desires to cook me, he may do so; or toast me on a spit, he may do so: I will not be angry. If I were to look at those two, in my wrath, they would melt like cakes of honey; but I will not, and if they smite me, yet will I not be enraged." Then, closing his eyes in fixed determination, he withdrew his head into his coils and lay motionless.

Then said Nesāda again, "Snake-charmer, seize this serpent and give me the ruby." Whereupon the snake-charmer in delight threw him the ruby, saying, "Take it, brother." But the ruby slipped through his fingers and falling to the earth, disappeared, going back to serpent-land. When Nesāda saw that the ruby was gone and his son too, and that he had also lost his friend Bhūridatta, he said, "Alas! I have greatly erred in not listening to the advice of my son," and he wept bitterly.

64. Ath' ośadhehi dibbehi japam manta-padāni ca
Evam tam asakhi saṭṭham katvā parittam attano.¹

The snake-charmer then, having smeared himself all over with ointment to protect him, and having recited his charm, approached the Bodhisat, and seizing him by the tail, grasped him firmly by the head. He then opened his mouth, and having put drugs into it, spat into it.

The Bodhisat, however, for fear that he might lose the merit of his religious duties, remained unangered and with closed eyes.

Then the snake-charmer held him by the tail, and shaking his head downwards, caused him to vomit, and then laying him at full length, kneaded him like a piece of leather.

¹ The Mandalay MS. does not give S. 64, but reads:
dibbosadhehi attano sariram makkhetva
htokam khāditva attano kāyāṃ paribbhositvā
dibba mantam jappanto bodhisattam upasaṅkamitvā
naṅguṭe gaḥetva kaḍḍhyitva sisam daḷum
ganhanto assa mukham vivaritvā ośadham
khāditvā mukhe kheṣaṇ pakkhipi.

Then again taking him by the tail he banged him up and down, like one who washes clothes. Still, though the Bodhisat underwent all this misery, he showed no anger. The snake-charmer having thus taken all the strength out of him, and woven a basket of canes, put him into it. As the body of the Nāga Prince was larger than the basket, the snake-charmer pressed him into it with his heel, and having thus forced him into it, carried him off to the neighbouring village, where he summoned the people to see a performance. When the people were assembled, he cried out, "Come forth, prince of serpents." The Bodhisat, thinking that it would be better to come out and dance, so that the Brahman might get a considerable amount of money, and then release him, came forth and did all that the snake-charmer ordered him to do. When the people saw him go through this performance, there was not a dry eye amongst them, and they threw their gold and silver ornaments to the Brahman: and in that village alone he got property worth a thousand pieces.

Now it happened that when the snake-charmer caught Bhūridatta, he had determined to let him go again, after he had accumulated a thousand pieces of silver; but being a covetous man, he broke this good intention, and having made a handsome decorated cage and purchased a comfortable carriage, he went from town to town, surrounded by many followers, and at last arrived at the city of Bārāṇasi. He fed Bhūridatta on parched corn and honey, and caught frogs for him, but the Bodhisat refused to eat, seeing that he would not be released; however, the snake-charmer made him dance in all the quarters of the city. On the 15th day of the month, which was a holiday, he obtained permission to give a performance before the Rājā, and tiers of seats were erected on the plain before the palace.

Now on the day that Bhūridatta was caught, his mother, Samuddajā, dreamt that "A man, with red eyes, cut off her right arm with a sword and carried it away streaming with blood." She sprang up in terror, feeling for her arm,



but finding it was there, knew that it was only a dream. Then she thought this evil dream must portend some great calamity to her or her husband, and said, "Verily, I am in great fear for my son Bhūridatta, for all the others are in Nāga-land, but he has gone to fast in the country of men: I fear that he has been seized by a snake-charmer, or a Garuḷa." On the 15th day after this dream she thought, "It is more than half a month since Bhūridatta came here; I feel certain some evil has befallen him." So she began to weep, and her heart dried up with grief. She was always gazing on the road expecting to see him come. After a month had expired her eldest son, Sudassana, came to see her, but on account of her grief she said nothing to him. So Sudassana, seeing how different his reception was, said :

65. Mamam disvāna āyantam sabbe kāma-samiddhinam
Indriyāni abhaṭṭhāni sāvam jātam mukham tava.

"Me though thou seest approaching, and though thou
hast other delights,
Thy senses are not overjoyed; overcast and dark is
thy face."

66. Padmam yathā hatthagatam pāninā pasi madditam
Sāvam jātam mukham tuyhan mamam disvāna eḍiṣam.

"The lotus flower plucked by one's hand lies crushed
and withered and faded;
Dark is thy face (O my mother), though thou seest
me in this wise."

As his mother still remained silent, he said again :

67. Kaccim ne te nābhisaye kacci te n'atthi vidanā
Yan te sāmam mukkham tuyham mamam disvāna āgatam.

Then his mother answered :

68. Supinam tāta addakkhim ito masam adho gatam
Dakkhiṇam viya me bāhum chetvā rudhira-makkhitām
Purisādāya pakkāmi mama rodantiyā sati.

69. Yato ham supinam addakkhim Sudassana vijānahi
Tato divā vā rattim vā sukham me na palabbhati.

“Let us then go to the home of my dear son Bhūridatta, and see how it fares with thy brother, who is keeping the fast.” So they set out together with a large retinue.¹

Now when Bhūridatta’s wives were unable to find him at his place on the ant hill, they were not alarmed, but thought he had probably gone to see his mother, and being on the way to inquire, they met her on the road, and told her that he had been absent for more than half a moon, and thought he had gone to her. When they found this was not the case, they fell at her feet weeping. His mother joining in their lamentations, went with them up into his palace, saying :

75. Sakunī hata-puttā va suññam divvā kulāvakam
Ciram dukkhena jhāyissam Bhūridattam apassatī.

“As a bird bereft of its young, when it sees its empty dwelling,
Long time shall I burn with sorrow, Bhūridatta not beholding.”²

77. Kurari hatachāpā va suññam disva kulāvakan
Ciram dukkhena jhāyissam Bhūridattam apassatī.

“Long time shall I burn with sorrow, Bhūridatta not beholding.
Like the eagle reft of its young, when it sees its empty dwelling.”

78. Sā nunā cakkavākīva pattalassmin anūdake
Ciram dukkhena jhāyissam Bhūridatta apassatī.

“As the ruddy-feathered wild goose in the marsh devoid of water,
Long time shall I burn with sorrow, Bhūridatta not beholding.”

¹ Stanzas 70, 71, 72, 73, and 74 are not given as such in the Rangoon edition, but partially translated as above.

² S. 76 is not given in the Rangoon edition.

79. Kammarānam yathā ukkā anto jhāyati no bahi
Evam jhāyāmi sokena Bhūrīdattam apassati.

“Inwardly the blacksmith’s furnace smoulders, outward
signs it shows not;
So does inward grief consume me when I see not
Bhūrīdatta.”

80. Sālā vā sampamathitā mahutena pamaddittā
Senti puttā ca dare ca Bhūrīdatta-nivesene.

“As the Sal trees when wind-smitten, crushed and
broken, strew the forest;
Prone his children, prone his women, in the house of
Bhūrīdatta.”¹

As Bhoga and Ariṭṭha, the younger brethren, were coming to pay their respects to their parents, they heard the sound of the wailing, and came to Bhūrīdatta’s palace to comfort their mother, saying, “Mother, be comforted; no mortal can escape the law of death and destruction.”

Their mother replied, “Dear sons, I know that all that exists is destroyed, but, nevertheless, I am terribly disturbed at not seeing Bhūrīdatta. Dear Sudassana, if I see not my son Bhūrīdatta, I shall die this very night.”

The Princes answered, “Dear mother, be not afraid, we will go into the forest, the mountains, the caves, the villages, towns, cities, and everywhere in search of Bhūrīdatta. You shall see him within seven days.”

Sudassana said, “If we search together, the search will be long; we will separate and search in different directions. One of us will go to the Deva-land, one to Himavanta, and one to the country of men.” As Kāṇāriṭṭha was fierce, he thought it best not to send him amongst men, for he might reduce everything to ashes; so he said, “Brother Ariṭṭha, do you go to Deva-land, and as the Devas are desirous of hearing the law, without fail bring him thence.”

¹ Stanzas 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86 of Fausböll are omitted in the Burmese.

He then directed Subhoga to go to Himavanta, saying that he himself would go to the land of men. Then he thought, "If I go as a youth, men will think nought of me; but if I go as a hermit, they will respect me, for the children of men love hermits." Thereupon he took the form of a hermit and took leave of his mother.

Now Bhūridatta had a cousin¹ who was very fond of him, named Ajamukhī.² She loved him better than all her other cousins, and seeing Sudassana about to depart, she said, "Cousin, I am very sad, let me accompany you in your search for Bhūridatta!" He answered, "Child, I am going disguised as a hermit, and it will not do for a woman to go with me." Then she said, "I will take the form of a frog and go in your hair-knot." On his agreeing to this Ajamukhī took the form of a frog, and stowed herself away in Sudassana's top-knot.

Sudassana then caused Bhūridatta's wives to show him the ant hill, and when he saw traces of blood, and the spot where the snake-charmer had woven the cage of cane and bamboo, he said, "Without doubt my brother has been taken by a snake-charmer, who is ill-treating him." So in great sorrow he tracked the bloodstains and footprints until he came to the village where the first performance was held. On questioning the villagers, as to whether any snake-charmer had been there, he was told that one had been there about a month previously. On asking if he had taken any money, they said, "O yes, he is quite a rich man, for he got about a thousand pieces of silver here." So they went on making inquiries until they came to the King's palace. Just at this moment the snake-charmer, who had bathed and dressed himself, had taken up his cage and gone to the gate of the palace, and the people of the city were assembled to see the performance. The snake-charmer spread out a magnificent carpet, placed his cage open upon it, and playing on his drum, cried out, "Come forth, great

¹ Mother's sister's daughter.

² The Burmese MSS. have *ajjamukhhi*, but the name should be *accimukhhi sunbeam face*.

Nāga." Sudassana, standing in the crowd, saw the serpent-prince raise his head and gaze at the crowd. Now there are two occasions on which Nāgas are wont to gaze; first, when they are in fear of Garuḷas: second, when they see a friend.

The Bodhisat, seeing his brother in the crowd disguised as a hermit, came out of the cage with his eyes streaming with tears, and went straight towards his brother. The people stood aside with fear, but Sudassana kept his place. The serpent, laying his head on Sudassana's instep, wept. Sudassana also wept. Then Bhūridatta returned to his cage.¹ The snake-charmer, fearing that the snake had bitten the hermit, came towards him, saying in verse:

Alampāyano.

87. Hatthā pamutto urago pade te nipati bhusam
Kicci tam ḍasina mā bhāyi sukhito bhāva.

"The snake released from my hand, dear hermit,² has rested on your foot. Did it bite you? be not afraid; be happy."

Sudassana.

88. Neva mayham ayam Nāgo alam dukkhāya kāyaci
Tāvataṭṭhi ahiggahā mayā bhiyyo no vijjatīti.

Sudassana answered, "Fear not, snake-charmer, thy serpent could do me no harm; nowhere is there a snake-charmer more powerful than I am."

89. Ko nu brāhmaṇa vaṇṇena datto parisam āgamā
Avhayanti suyuddhena suṇātu parisā mamam.

Snake-charmer. "Who, I pray, is this, who in the disguise of a Brāhman has entered this assembly and thus taunts me? Fool that he is. Listen to me, O assembly."

¹ This part, having been put into print before I received Professor Fausböll's gatha, must stand.

² Tātā tāpasa dear hermit; Burmese translates elder brother hermit.

90. Tvam mam nāgena ālamba¹ aham maṇḍūka-chāpiyā
Hotu no abbhutam tattha āsahassemi pañcahīti.

Sudassana. "Snake-charmer, set thy serpent against me, and I will back my little frog; let there be thereon a wager of 5000 pieces."

91. Aham pi vasumā addho tvam daliddho 'si mānava
Ko nu te paṭibhog' atthi upajūtañi ca te siyā.

Snake Charmer. "Youth, I am rich, but thou art poor; how shall I get my money from thee? If I lay this wager, who can you give as surety? What the stakes?"

92. Upajūtañi ca me assa paṭibhogo ca tādiso.
Assa no abbhutam tattha āsahassemi pañcahīti.

Sudassana. "The stakes too I have and my surety is of this sort. Let our stakes be therefore five thousand pieces of silver."

93. Suṇāhi me mahārāja vacanam bhaddam atthu te
Pañcanam me sahasānam paṭibhogohi kettimāti.

Then stepping fearlessly into the king's palace, Sudassana said. "O mighty Rājā, may thy kingdom and wealth increase. Listen to me. I am in want of 5000 pieces of silver, and wish thee to stand surety for me."

94. Pettikam vā iṇam hoti sayam vā hoti sayamkatam
Kim tvam evam bahum mayham dhanam yācasi brāhmaṇa.

"As a paternal debt, or one of your own making, why dost thou thus demand of me so much wealth, O Brahman?"

95. Alambāno hi nāgena mamam abhijjimsati
Aham maṇḍūka-chāpiyā ḍassayissāmi brāhmaṇam.

¹ Prof. Fausböll gives ālamba for alampāyana. If this be correct, the derivation would probably be from ālambaro a *little drum*, which may have had a root ādam; or a word for this kind of drum in the Hill tracts of Aracan is ātam, and snake-charming originated, no doubt, amongst the aboriginal inhabitants of India.

“Alambano with his serpent desires to fight me. I, with my little frog, will bite (fight) the Brahman.”

96. Tam tvam datṭhun mahārājā ajja raṭṭhā vivaddhana
Khatta sangha-paribbuḷho niyyāhi abhidassananti.

“Do thou in order to see, mahārājā, protector of the kingdom, now with thy assembled nobles surrounded, come forth to the fight.”

Now, when the snake-charmer saw the Rājā coming with the hermit, he thought, “Of a truth this is no ordinary hermit, he is in all probability the Rājā’s teacher.” So he came up to Sudassana, and said :

97. Neva tam atimaññāmi sippavādena mānava
Atimatt’ asi-sippena uragam nāpacāyasīti.

“O youth, I desired not to show you any disrespect when I boasted my skill : however, be careful how you offend my serpent in your pride.”

98. Mayam pi nātimāññama sippavādena brāhmaṇa
Avisena ca nāgena bhusam vañcayase janam.

Sudassana replied, “Snake-charmer, I show disrespect to no one with my art ; but you are deceiving people by showing off a harmless snake.”

99. Evan c’etam janam jaññā yathā jānāmi tam aham.
Na tvam labhasi Ālamba satthamaṭṭhim¹ kuto dhanam.

“Even thus too, I will make it known to all men, and you, Ālamba, will not get a handful of chaff, where then thy wealth ?”

At this the snake-charmer was enraged and said :

100. Kharājito² jatim rummi³ datto parisam āgato
So tvam evam gatam nāyam aviso atimaññasi.

¹ The Mandalay MS. has bhūsamattṭhim.

² The Mandalay MS. has Kharājino and says some read Kharājino, the first word meaning a cloth dyed with black wood and hoofs, and the latter rough black dyed.

³ For rummi the Mandalay MS. has dummi undrugged eyes.

101. Āsajja khonam jaññāsi punnam uggassa tejassa
Maññe tvam bhasmarāsim va khippam eso karissati.

“Hermit, clothed in dark garments, with thy knot of hair, who hast come into this assembly and insulted my serpent, do but approach him, full of virulent poison, and he will consume thee like chaff.”

102. Siya visam siluttassa diḍḍubhassa silābhuno
N’eva lohitasīsassa visum nāgassa vijjatīti.

Sudassana answered in jest,¹ “It is true that rat snakes, slow worms, and green snakes are poisonous, but not so the red-headed Nāga.”

103. Sutam me tam arahatam saññatānam tapassinam
Idha dānam datvāna saggam gacchanti dāyakā
Jīvanto dehi dānani yadi te atthi dātave :

104. Ayam Nāgo mahiddhiko tejasī duratikkamo
Tena tam ḍaṃsayissāmi so taṃ bhasmam karissati.

The Snake Charmer. “Hermit, I have heard that people have gone to Svagga by appeasing hermits with offerings. Therefore, if you have aught to give in alms, give it whilst you have got life. My serpent is mighty, and I will make him bite you and reduce you to ashes: before you die from his bite, make an offering, so that you may go to Svagga.”

Sudassana.

105. Mayā p’ etam sutam samma saññatānam tapassinam
Idha dānam datvāna saggam gacchanti dāyakā
Tvam eva dehi jivanto yadi te atthi dātave.

“I too have heard, friend, that men in this world have gone to Svagga through giving alms to pure hermits. If aught you have to give, give now whilst you yet live.”

¹ Or, with a view to raising a laugh.

106. Ayam Accimukhināma punnā uggassa tejasā
Tayā tam damsayissāmi sā tam bhasman karissati.

“Give alms. For Ajamukhī is also very poisonous, and I will cause her to bite thee and reduce thee to ashes.”

107. Sā dhitā Dhataratṭhassa me mātā bhaginī mama
Sā ḍissati Accimukhī punnā uggassa tejasā.

“She is the daughter of Dhataratṭha, the King of Nāgas; she is my sister and the daughter of my aunt. Her fangs are full of poison and very sharp, and she shall straightways bite thee.”¹

Then he cried, “Ajamukhī, come forth from my top-knot, and stand in my hand.” Then, opening his hand, he stood in the midst of the assembly, and Ajamukhī, uttering three cries, leapt on to his shoulder, and dropped three drops of poison into his hand, and then went back into the knot of hair. Then Sudassana shouted with a loud voice and said, “Now shall the kingdom of Bārāṇasi be destroyed.” His shout went through the whole kingdom of Bārāṇasi, even to the distance of twelve yujana.

When the King heard it he said, “O hermit, why wilt thou destroy the kingdom of Bārāṇasi?”

“O King,” answered Sudassana, “I see nowhere that this poison may be poured.”

King. “The earth is very wide, Hermit, throw it elsewhere.”

108. Chamāyam ce nisiṅcissam Brāhmadatta vijānahi
Tiṇa-latāni osaddhā ussusseyum asamsayan.

Sudass. “Know’st not King Brāhmadatta, if I was to pour out this poison on the earth all the grass, creepers and herbs would dry up?”

109. Uddhañ ce pātayissami Brāhmadatta vijānahi
Sattavassāni ayam devo na vase na himam pate ti.

¹ Above Accimukhi is said to be *Vemātikā* born of a different mother, which the Burmese has translated *daughter of an aunt*; really she was his half-sister.



“And know'st thou not, Brahmadata, that were I to throw it upwards, for seven years this sky would drop neither rain nor dew?”

110. Udakam ce nisiñcissam Brāhmadatta vijānahi
Yāvata udakajā pānā mareyyum maccha-kacchapā.

“And know'st not, Brāhmadatta, that were I to throw it into the water, every water-creature would die, both fish and turtles?”

King. “Then, Hermit, I know not where you are to throw the poison, but please find some place, or my kingdom will be destroyed.”

Sudass. “Dig me here three pits in a line.”

When the pits were dug, Sudassana filled one with drugs, the middle one he ordered to be filled with cow dung, and into the third he put some fairy medicines. Then he cast the three drops of poison into the first hole, and instantly flame and smoke burst forth, which caught the cow dung in the middle pit, and then passing to the third pit was extinguished there.

The snake-charmer was standing near the holes, and the flames taking hold of him, his skin peeled off, so that he became a white leper, on which, in his terror, he cried out thrice, “I release the Nāga King.”

On hearing this, Bhūridatta came forth from his basket,¹ showing his jewelled body, resplendent, like Sakka himself. Sudassana and Ajamukhi also showed themselves in their true forms.

Then said Sudassana, “Rājā, do you not know us? Know you not whose children we are? Have you forgotten that Samuddajā, the daughter of the Rājā of Kāsi, was given in marriage to Dhattaratṭha, the King of Nāgas?” “Yes,” said the Rājā, “she was my sister.” “O Rājā, we are her children and you are our uncle.”

The King then embraced Sudassana and Bhūridatta, and,

¹ peḷā.

having taken them into the palace, made them presents, and said, "Dear Bhūridatta, since you are so powerful, how came you to get into the clutches of this snake-charmer?"

Bhūridatta then told him the whole story.

Then Sudassana said, "Dear uncle, our mother is in great distress at not hearing any tidings of Bhūridatta; we cannot stay, but must depart."

The King replied, "Very good, go quickly, but I, too, should like to see my sister. How can it be managed?"

Then Sudassana asked after his grandfather, and the Rājā told him that he was so terrified that the day after he had given Samuddajā in marriage, he had relinquished his kingdom and become a hermit. Sudassana then told the Rājā that if he would appoint a day, they would bring their mother to meet him at their grandfather's hermitage. The Rājā then conducted them on their journey, and they returned to serpent-land.

CHAPTER IV. (*Micchādittikathā*).¹

When Bhūridatta returned, the whole country was convulsed with weeping, and he, being much distressed by a month's confinement in the snake-charmer's basket, retired to sleep in his palace. Innumerable numbers of Nāgas came to see him, but he was unable to converse with them on account of his weakness. Kāṇārītṭha, who went to Deva-land, and returned home before him, placed a guard at the palace door to prevent the people going to see Bhūridatta.

Subhoga, having searched the whole of the Himavanta, was returning by the Yamunā. Now the Brahman Nesāda, when he saw the snake-charmer become a leper, thought that, as he had coveted the ruby and taken part in the affair, some terrible calamity would overtake him; so he determined to go to the Yamunā and bathe himself. He therefore went down to the bathing-place² and entered the

¹ *Micchādittī Kathā*, heretical discourse.

² *Payāga tīṭhe*, now Allahabad.

water. Just at that moment Subhoga arrived there too, and, hearing Nesāda make his confession, said, "This is the wretch who, through covetousness for my brother's ruby, not content with the great wealth that he had offered him, pointed him out to the snake-charmer. I will slay the villain." So coiling his tail round the Brahman, he dragged him under the water. Being tired, he allowed the Brahman's head to come up, and then dragged him down again. At last the Brahman got his head up, and was able to say :

111. Lokyam siñcantam udakam payātāsmim patitṭhitam
Ko mam ajjhohari bhūto ogaḥam Yamunam nadim.

"What demon is this who swallows up me, who have descended into the river Yamunā and am standing at the bathing-place washing away with water my earthliness?"

Subhoga answered :

112. Yadesa lokādhipati yassesi Bārāṇasim pakina hari
samanto
Tassāham putto uragusabbhassa Subhogo ti mam brāh-
maṇa vidantiti.

"Wretched Brahman ! I'm Subhoga,
Son of Nāga Dhattaraṭṭha,
Him whose hood Benares city
Overshadows, do'st not know me?"

Nesāda thought, "Verily this is Bhūriddatta's brother; if I cannot do something to preserve my life, he will undoubtedly slay me. I will try and soften his heart by praising the well-known splendour and tenderness of his parents." Then he said,

113. Sace hi patto uragusabbham Kāsissa rañño amarādhi-
passa
Mahāsakkho aññataro pitā te maccesu mātā pana te
atulyā
Na tādiso arahati brāhmaṇassa dāsam pi ohāritum mahā-
nubhāvo.

“If you are indeed the son of the Nāga King immortal, who rules over Kāsi, thy father is all-powerful, and thy mother the greatest lady upon earth; being then of such high descent, you ought not to drown a poor slave of a Brahman.”

Subhoga answered: “Hah! cursed Brahman, thinkest thou canst deceive me?”

114. Rukkham nissāya vijjhitho eneyam pātum āgamam.
So viddho duram asarā sarā vegena sekhavā.

115. Tam tesam patitam addakkhi araññasmim brahavane
Samam¹ sakācam ādāya sayam nigrodh' upajami.

116. Suvasāhya danghaṭṭham pingiyam santhakā yuttam
Kohita bnūridam rammam dhuvam haritasaddalam.

117. Tattha teso pāturahu iddhiyā yasasā jalam
Mahānubhāvo bhāta me kaññhi parivārito.

118. So tena pariciūño tvam sabbakāmehi tappito
Aduhassa tuvam dubbi tante veram iddhāgamam.

119. Khippam givam pasārehi nate dassāmi jivitam
Bhātu parisaram veram chedayissami te siram.

“You climbed into a tree to shoot a deer whilst it was drinking these waters, but not bringing it down, you had to follow its bloodstains. When you recovered it, you brought it in the dewy evening to a peepul tree, in whose branches cuckoos, cranes, parrots, and other birds disported, singing sweetly. At that peepul tree you saw my powerful elder brother, surrounded by his ladies in all their splendour. He took you with him to fairy-land, and did he not endow you with great wealth? You have sinned against my brother, who was your benefactor, and

¹ The Mandalay MSS. read sa mamsa kacam *taking with you flesh and carrying stick.*

to whom you owed a debt of gratitude. Now the result of your evil deed has come upon you. Ha! Brahman, I will slay you, for the evil that you did to my brother. Stretch out your neck, for I will forthwith snap off your head. I will not give thee thy life."

Then said Nesāda in a terrible fright :

120. Ajjhāyako yācayogo āhutaggi ca Brāhmaṇo
Etehi tihi ṭhānehi avajjho hoti Brāhmaṇa.

"Veda-reading beggar hermits, fire worshippers are
Brāhmans,
I who practise these three duties, ought not to be slain,
O Brāhman."

Subhoga replied :

121. Yampuram Dhattaratthassa ogāḷham Yamunam nadim.
Jotati sabbaso vaṇṇam girin āhacca Yamunam.

122. Tattha te purisavyaggha sodariya mama bhātaro
Yathā te tatha vakkhante tathā hessati Brāhmaṇa.

"The city of Dhattaratṭha sunk 'neath Yamunā's river,
Shines always with splendour, the mountains and
Yamunā touching.

There to thee those excellent persons, my brothers, my
very own brothers,

As they shall there give decree, so shall it be done to
thee, Brāhman."

Thus saying, he pushed and drew the Brahman Nesāda downwards, till he got to the gate of Bhūridatta's palace.

When Kāṇāriṭṭha saw Subhoga, he came towards him and said, "Brother, do not hurt this man, he is a Brahman, and a descendant of Brahma; if the Lord Brahma were to know that you had injured him, he would be very angry, and say, 'Are these Nāgas to ill-treat my children?' He might even destroy this country. In this cycle Brahmans are

noble and their power great. You, perhaps, know not the power of Brahmans."

He then said to Subhoga and the other Nāgas, "Come here, and I will explain to you the qualities of sacrificial Brahmans."

123. Anittarā ittara-sampayuttā yaññā ca vedā ca Subhoga
loke

Tadaggarayham hi vinindamāno jahāti vittañca satañca
dhammam.

"The good and the base together are mingled, sacrifice
and veda, Subhoga, in this world.

Therefore, revile not, for he who revileth casteth away
the law of knowledge and truth."

124. Ajjhenam Ariyā pathavim Janindā
Vessā kasim paricariyam ca Suddā
Upāgu paccakam yathā padesam
Katehu ete Vasinā ti āhu.

"For teaching Ariyās,¹ for the world men-rulers,
Vessas for tilth, and servants of all the Suddas,
Each one severally in his own station
Was created and placed, they say, (by Brāhma)."

"Knowest thou not, O Subhoga, that their ancestor, the
all-powerful Brahma, ordained thus?"

125. Dātā Vidātā Varuṇo Kuvero
Somo Yamo Candima y'api Suriyo
Etehi yaññam puthuso yajitvā
Ajjhāyakānam atha sabbakame.

"O brother, the Devas Dātā, Vidātā, Varuna, Kuvera,
Yāma, Suriya, and Candimā have arrived at their present
state through having made offerings to Brahmans."

¹ Ariyā stands for Brāhman, and janindā for the Kshattriyās.

126. Vikāsītā cāpasatāni panca
Yo Ajjuno balavo Bhīmaseno
Sahasabāhu asamo pathaviyā
So pi tadā adahi Jātavedan ti.

“There was a king named Ajjuna (Arjuna), who was such a terrible warrior (bhīmaseno) that he could draw a bow equal in strength to 500 bows, as if he had a thousand arms; but he made offerings to fire (jātavedam).”

127. Yo brāhmaṇe bhojasi digharattam
Annena pānena yathānubhāvam
Pasanna-citto anneno damāno
Subhoga dev’ aññataro ahoṣi.

“Subhoga, there was once a king in Bārāṇasi made an offering of rice to the Brahmans, and he is now a powerful Deva.”

128. Mahāsaham Devam anomavaṇṇina
Yo sappinā asakkhi jetim aggim
So yaññatan tam varato gajitvā
Dibbam gatim Mucalind’ ajjhagañchīti.¹

“There was a king named Mucalinda, who was very hideous, but he made offerings to the fire god with clarified butter, and he is now in Deva-land. One day, in the city of Bārāṇasi, he sent for the Brahmans and asked them the road to Deva-land, and they answered, ‘O King, you must do honour to the Brahmans and their god.’ ‘Who is your god, O Brahmans,’ he enquired; and they answered, ‘He is the spirit of fire; satisfy him with butter made from cows’ milk.’ Mucalinda did as he was commanded.”

129. Mahānubhāvo vassasahassajīvi
Yo pabbaji dassaneyo ulāro
Hitvā apariyanta ratham sassenam
Rājā Dijipo pi jagāma saggam.

¹ This gatha is not in the Mandalay MS.

“The excellent (ulāro) King Dudipo too, who was handsome, lived to a thousand years, and of great power, relinquishing his kingdom and army, became a hermit and went to Sagga.”

130. Yo sāgarantam Sāgaro vijitvā
Yūpam subham soṇṇamayam ulāram
Ussesi Vessānaram ādabāvo
Subhoga devaññataro ahoṣi.

“There was a king named Sāgara, who subdued the countries on the further side of the Ocean, and making a sacrifice of pure gold to the fire-god, established his worship. For that good deed he is now a Deva.”

131. Yassānubhavena Subhoga Gaṅgā
Pavattatha dadhi samā samuddam
Sa lomapādo paricaryam aggim
Aṅgo sahasakkha pur' ajjhagañchiti.¹

“Again, a king named Anga, through whose glory and power the river Ganges came into existence, and the ocean of curds and milk was produced. This king, on the soles of whose feet there was long hair, inquired how he was to get to Svagga, they told him that he might go into the Himavanta, and sacrifice to the Brahmans and fire. He went there, taking with him many oxen and buffaloes, and when the Brahmans had eaten, he asked what was to be done with what was left, and they told him to throw it away. In the spot where he threw it, there sprang up a river which was the Gaṅgā.”

132. Mahiddhiko devavaro yasassī
Senāpati ti divi Vāsavassa
Sa soma² yāgena malam vihantvā
Subhoga divaññataro ahoṣi.

¹ The Mandalay MS. follows the Pāli gatha of Fausböll.

² The Mandalay MS. makes Soma to be a river of that name. The lomapādo of verse 131 ought, I think, to be Somapādo.



“Subhoga, there was a certain powerful deva, a general of Sakko’s army, who by soma sacrifice cleansed himself from that which is vile.”

133. Akāriyo lokam imam parañca
Bhagirasim Himavantam ca Gijjham
Yo iddhimā devavaro yassasi
So pi tadā adahi Jatavedam.

134. Mālāgirim Himavato ca Gijjho
Sudassano Nisabho Kākaneru
Ete ca aññeca nagā mahantvā
Cittyākatā yaññatāre hi mābāti.

“Brahma, who created this world, the rivers Bhagirati, the Himavanta and the Gijjha mountains, when he was a man, sacrificed to fire. They say, too, that the other mountains Malāgiri, Viñjha, Sudassana, Kākaneru, etc., were created with bricks through sacrificing to fire.¹ Subhoga, do you know how the salt water of the ocean came into being? No, you do not, but you know how to ill-treat them (Brahmans) and know nothing of their good qualities.”

135. Ajjhāyakam manta gunupapannam
Tapissinam yācayogo ti cāha
Tire samuddass’ udakam sajantam
Tam sāgar’ ajjhohari te na peyyoti.

“Listen to me, the Ocean caused the death of a Brahman who was versed in the Vedas, performed his duties strictly, and was ever ready to receive, therefore we may never drink its waters.”

136. Āyāgavatthūni puthū pathavyā
Samvijjanti brāhmaṇā Vāsavassa
Purimam disam pacchimam dakkhim uttaram
Samvijjamāna janayanti vedam.

¹ Has this any reference to volcanic action?

“These Brahmans, Subhoga, are like the surface of the earth in which we ought to plant the seeds of good works. On the east, west, south and north, Brahmans are the only things we ought to desire.”

Thus Ariṭṭha, in fourteen gāthā, praised Brahman sacrificial rites and the Vedas.

CHAPTER V. (*The Bodhisat's Discourse.*)

At that time all the Nāgas there assembled thought that what Ariṭṭha said was true, and Bhūridatta lay there listening to him; so, in order to dispel the wrong impression that had been given them, he thus addressed them: “Kāṇāritṭha, what you have said regarding sacrifice and the Vedas is not true; the Brahmans by their arrangement of the Vedas cannot be considered good men.

After this he recited the following twenty-seven stanzas, to show the erroneous practices of Brahmans:

137. Kalī hi dhīranam kaṭam mugānam bhavanti vedajjha-
gaṭāna Ariṭṭha
Marīci dhammam asamekkhi tattā māyā guṇābhi-
vahanti paññam.

“Loss to the wise, a gain to fools, is skill in the Vedas, Ariṭṭha; mirage-like when reflected on, their delusions take away wisdom.”

138. Vedāna tāṇāya bhavanti dassa mittadduno bhūnahuno
narassa
Na tāya te paricīṇṇo ca aggi dosantaram maccam
anariya-kammam.

“The Vedas are no protection to any one, not even to the perfidious and evil man. The worshipped fire too, gives no protection to the evil-doer.”



139. Sabbe ca maccā sadhanā sabhogā ādīpetam dāru-tiṇena
missam

Daham na tappe asamattha tejo ko tam subhikkham
dvi rasaññu kariyā.

“Rich and wealthy mortals may set fire to food mixed
with grass, but who can satisfy it? Fire, which is unlike
all else, cannot be satisfied, O double-tongued one.”

140. Yathā pi khīram pi vipariṇāma dhammam dadhi
bhavitvā navanītam hoti

Evam pi aggi vipariṇāma dhammo tejo samorohati
yogayutto.

“As milk by its changeable nature turns to curd and also
to butter; so fire, by its changeable nature, is made by him
who uses the fire-sticks.”

141. Na dissati aggim anuppaviṭṭho sukkhesu kaṭṭhesu
navesu c’ āpi

Nāmaṭṭha māno araṇim narena nā kammunā jāyati
Jātavedo.

“One sees not the fire that is inherent in the dry wood
or green. If the fire-stick is rubbed not by man, fire is not
made, it burns not.”

142. Sace hi aggī antarato vaseyya sukkhesu kaṭṭhesu
navesu cāpi

Sabbāni sussesyyum navāni loke sukkhani kaṭṭhāni ca
pajjaleyyum.

“If fire dwell hidden both in dry wood and green too,
all the green would be dry in this world; the dry wood
would burst into flames.”

143. Karoti ce dāru tiṇena puññam bhojam naro dhūmasi-
khim patāpavam

Angarikā loṇa karā ca sūdā sarīra dāhā pi kareyyum
puññam.

“If one makes merit with the smoke and flame of wood and grass, then charcoal-burners, salt-boilers, cooks and even corpse-burners would heap up to themselves merit.”

144. Atha ca hi ete na karonti puññam ajjhena aggim idha
tappayitvā
Na koci lokasmim karoti puññam bhojam naro dhūma
sikhī patāpavā.

“If they in truth do not a good deed, no one in this world can get merit by appeasing the Brāhminical fire.”

145. Kathañhi lokā pacito samāno amanuīñña gandham
bahūnam akantam
Sa devam accā parivajjayanti tadappa satṭham dvi
rasaññu bhuññeja.

“Wherefore does this world, revered being, eat, O double-tongued one, things which smell bad and which are rejected?”

146. Sikhim pi devesu vadanti h'eke āpaṃ milakkhū pana
devam āhu
Sabbedha ete vitatham gahṇanti aggi na devañña taro
na cāpo.

“Some say that flame is a god, and Milakkhas (heathens) say that water is a god, but all have a wrong opinion; fire is not one of the gods, nor water.”

147. Anindriya baddham asañña kāyam Vesānaram kamma-
karam pajānam
Paricari sugatim katham vaje pāpāni kammāni pakup-
pamacco.

“How shall evil-doers go to heaven by doing honour to fire, which is perceptibly mindless and the servant of men?”

148. Sabbābhībhūtā āhu idha jivi kattā aggissa Brahmā
paricāri koti
Sabbānu bhāvica vāsī kimattham animmito nimmita
vandit' assa.

“You say that Brahma became the ruler of all things through serving fire here in this life. If he created all and controls all, the uncreated worships the created.”

149. Hassam anijjhāna khamam atacchamam sakkāraheta
pakirisu pubbe
Te labha sakkāre apatu bhūte sandhā pitā jantu bhi
danti dhacama.

“A thing to be derided, a lie; wishing to be honoured they have lied of old; they for their own gain which was not before apparent have concocted their own law for men.”

150. Ajjhenam ariyā, pathavim janindā, vessā kasim, pari
cariyam ca sudda;
Upāyu paccēkam yathā padesam katāhu ete Vasināti
ahu.

“(Which is) For teaching Ariya, for the earth men rulers, Vesayas for tith, as servants of all Suddas. Each for his own station were made, they say, by Brahma.”

151. Etam ca saccam vacanam bhavēyya yathā idam bhāsita
Brāhmaṇehi
Na khattiyo jātu labhetha rajjam nā Brāhmaṇo manta-
padāni sikkhe.

“If these words were true as spoken by the Brahmans, none but Khattiyas would reign, none but Brahmans would teach wisdom's sayings.”

152. Na aññatra Vessā kasim kareyya Suddo na mucce
parapesanāya
Yasmā ca etam vacanam abhūtam musā ca ime odariyā
bhaṇanti.

“None but Vesayas would till land; Suddas would not be free from service; these words are false: they speak lies for the sake of their bellies.”

153. Tad' appapaññā abhissaddahanti passanti tam paṇḍitā
 attanā ca
 Khattiyā hi Vesasānam balim haranti ādāya satthāni
 caranti brāhmaṇā
 Tam tādisam saṅkhubhitam vibhinnam kasmā Brāhma-
 mān-ujum karoti lokam.¹

“Such things fools only believe, wise men and they them-
 selves see through it: Khattiyas pay tribute to Vesayas, and
 Brahmans go about carrying weapons: such a shaken-up,
 scattered world, why does not Brahma put straight?”

154. Sace hi so issaro sabbaloke Brāhmā bahu bhūtapati
 pajānam
 Kim sabbalokam videhi alakkhim kim sabbalokam na
 sukkhim akāsi.

“If verily Brāhmā rules the world, and if he be the great
 king of men, how can he behold the world thus unfortunate,
 why does he not make the whole world happy?”

155. Sace hi so issaro sabbaloke Brāhmā bahu bhūtapati
 pajānam
 Māyā musā vejāmantena cāpi lokam adhammena kim
 attham kāri.

“If verily Brāhmā the king of the world be lord of all
 mortals. By delusion, lying, magic and lawlessness, why has
 he made this world?”

156. Sace hi so issaro sabbaloke Brāhmā bahu bhūtapati
 pajānam
 Adhammiko bhūtapati Ariṭṭha dhamme sati yo vidahi
 adhamman.

“Verily if Brāhmā be the lord of the world and ruler of
 all beings, he is a lawless ruler, Ariṭṭha; though there be
 law, he rules lawlessly.

¹ Fausböll reads in line 3, Khatta na Vessa na.



157. Kitā peṅga uragā ca bhēkā hantvā kimi sujjhati
mukkhikā ca

Ete ca dhammā anariyā rūpā kambojakānam vitathā
bahunam.¹

“Caterpillars and insects, snakes and frogs, and worms, and flies, they slay and are innocent;’ these opinions of the people of Kamboja are dishonourable (non-Brahminical); they are false.”

After this he recited the following 27 stanzas to show the erroneous practices of Brahmans :—

158. Sace hi so sujjhati yo hanati hato pi so saggam nupeti
ṭhānam

Bhovādi na mara bheyyum ye cāpi tesam abhisadda-
heyyum.

“If he is pure who slays, and the slayer enters Svagga, would not the Brahmans slay one another, and those too who believe in them ?”

159. Neva migā na pasuno pi gāvo āyācanti attavadhāya keci
Vipphandamānā idhā jīvikattā yaññesu pāṇe pasum
āharanti.²

“Nor wild beasts, nor cattle, nor oxen, request their own slaughter; there whilst alive they struggle at the sacrifice; they drag cattle by exertion.”

160. Yūpassane pasu bandheca bālā citrehi vaṇṇehi mukham
na yanti

Ayante yūpo kāma duho parattha bhavissati sassato
samparāye.

“Those fools having bound cattle to the post, with vanity make bright your face (saying), ‘This sacrificial post will give you all desires in the next world, and they will last in the future.’”

¹ The Mandalay MS. reads bhinga, for bhēka, and translates it “carpenter bees.”

² For āharanti the Mandalay MS. has mārābhanti.

161. Sace ca yūpe maṇi saṅkha muttam dhaññam dhanam
rajatam jātarūpam

Sukkesu katthesu navesu cāpi sannihitaṃ tidive dive
sabba kame.

Te vijja saṅghā ca puttha yajeyyun ha Brahmaṇā kiūci
na yājayeyyum.

“Verily, if there be silver, gold, gems, shells and all kinds of wealth in the sacrificial post, in green wood and dry too, and all the delights of Deva land, all those Brāhmins would sacrifice abundantly, there is not a Brāhman who would not sacrifice.”

162. Kuto ca yūpe maṇi saṅkha muttam dhaññam dhanam
rajatam jātrūpam

Sukkesu katthesu navesu cāpi kuto duhe tidive sabba
kame.

“How can gems, etc., and all the delights of the Devas, be in a post in green wood and dry too?”

163. Saḥā ca luddā ca paluddha-bālā citrehi vaṇṇehi
mukham na yanti

Ādāya aggim mama dehi vittam tato sukhī hohi ca
sabba kāme.

“Both wicked, cruel, covetous and fools, rejoicing in all sorts of vanities (they say) take fire, to me give wealth; then be blessed and have all you desire.”

164. Tam aggihuttam saraṇam pavissa cittetu vaṇṇāhi
mukham nayanto

Oropayitvā kesamassum nakhañ ca vedehi cittam ali-
gālayanto.

“Taking refuge in sacrifice, they rejoice with various vanities.”

165. Kākā ulūkam va raho labhitvā ekam samānam bahukā
samecca

Annāni bhotva kuhakā kuhitvā mundam katvā yañña
pathossajanto.



“Like crows who have found an owl alone, they surround one in flocks, and having eaten one’s victuals they make a clean shave of one, and throw one away at the sacrificial post.”

166. Evam hi so vañcīto Brāhmanehi eko samānō bahuhi
samecca

Te yoga yogena vilumpamānam ditṭham aditṭhena
dhanam haranti.

“Thus, deceived by the Brāhmins, being alone and they many: they with their sayings get present wealth, for that which is unseen (illusory).”

167. Ākāsi yā rājuhi cānuṣiṭṭhā tadassa ādāya dhanam haranti
Te tādisā corasamā asantā vajjhā na haññanti Ariṭṭha
loke.

“When made their advisers by kings they carry off wealth. They are such thieves, and worthy to be executed, yet are not slain.”

168. Indassa bāhārasi dakkhiṇā ti yaññesu ohindanti palāsa
yaṭṭhim

Tam ceṇi saccam Maghavā chinnabāhu kenassu Indo
Asuro jināti.

“In the sacrifice they cut the palasa pole, saying it is the right arm of Indra; if that be true and Maghava is deprived of his arm, with what does Indra subdue the Asuras?”

169. Taññeca va tuccham Maghavā samañgī hantā avajjho
paramo sadevo

Mantā ime Brāhmaṇā tucchārūpā sanditṭhikā vañcanā
esa loke.

“That too is false, for Maghavā being all-powerful, slays them; he is the chief Deva and cannot be slain. These Vedas are false, they are illusions visible to all men.”

170. Nālā giri, Himavā yoca, Gijjho, Sudassano, Nisabhoga,
Kākaneru

Ete ca aññe ca Nagā mahantā cityā katā yañña karebhim ahu.

“Mounts Nālā, Himavayo, Gajjho, Sudassana, Nisabhogo, Kākaneru, these and other great mountains were brick made in sacrifice they say.”

171. Yathā pakāvāni hi iṭṭhakāni cityā katā yañña karebhim
ahu

Na pabbatā honti tathā pakāra aññā disā acalā tiṭṭha
selā.

“In this manner with bricks they are built in sacrifice, they say: mountains are not made thus, they stand firm and unshaken, being of a different nature.”

172. Na iṭṭhakā honti selā cirena na tattha sañjayati ayo na
loham

Yañña ca etam parivaṇṇayantā cityā katā yañña karebhim ahu.

“Bricks become not rock by length of time, not thus arise iron and copper.”

173. Ajjhāyakam manta-guṇūpapannam tapassim na yaca-
yogo ti cāhu

Tīre samuddassa udakam sachattam tam sāgar’ ajjho
haritenā peyyo.

“They say that a strict and learned hermit was swallowed up by the water when bathing on the shores of the ocean, and it is therefore undrinkable.”

174. Parosahassam pi samanta Vede mantūpapanne nadiyo
va hanti

Na tena byāpannarasūdakāni kasmā samuddo atulo
apeyyo.



“More than a hundred virtuous hermits learned in the Vedas have the rivers slain; their waters are not undrinkable. Why, then, is the incomparable ocean undrinkable?”

175. Ye keci kūpa idha jīvaloke loṇūdaka kūpakhane hi
khātā
Na Brāhmaṇ' ajjahari kena tesu āpo apeyyo, dvi
rassaññu, ahu.

“Here in this living world there are salt-water holes that have been dug: these have not slain Brāhmaṇs; but, O two-tongued one, why is not their water undrinkable?”

176. Pare puratthā kāyassa bhariyā mano manassa ajanesi
pubbe
Tena pi dhammena na koci hīno evam pi vo sagga
vibhangam āhu.

“In the beginning of ages to whom was there a wife? Firstly, mind created man. Therefore no one was base, and so in like manner they say is the determination of Sagga.”

177. Candāla-putto pi addhicca Vede bhāseyya mante kusalo
matimā
Natassa muddhā pi phaleyya sattadhā mantā ime
attavodhāya katā.

“Should a Candala learn the Vedas, and recite its verses, though intelligent and virtuous, his head would be split into seven pieces: they have made the verses for the purpose of slaying.”

178. Vācā katā griddha gatā gahītā dummocayā kavya-
pathānupannā
Bālānam cittam pi same nivīṭṭham tadappapaññā abhi-
saddahanti.

“They teach words made for the sake of gain.”

179. Sīhassa byagghassa ca dīpino na vijjati porisiyam balena
Manussabhāvo ca gavum va pekkhā jāti hi teesam asamā
samānam.

“To lions, tigers and leopards there is not the energy of
men.” (This is not clear.)

180. Sace ca Rājā pathavim vijitvā sajjivā assavā parisajjo
Sayam eva so sattusamghampi jeyya tassa pajā niccam
sukhī bhaveyya.

“Verily, if a king subdued the whole world and his
councillors were obedient, he would conquer all his enemies,
and his subjects would ever be happy.”

181. Khattiya mantā ca tayo ca Vedā atthena ete samakā
bhavanti
Tadeñi ca attham avinicchinitvā na bujjhati ogha
patham vacharinna.

“The instructions for Khattiyas and the three Vedas are
similar in purpose, and not being able to discern their
deception, one cannot know a word, as it were, covered with
water.”

182. Khattiya mantā ca tayo ca Vedā atthena ete samakā
bhavanti
Lābho alābho yaso ayaso ca sabbe vatesam catunnama
dhammā.

“The instructions for Khattiyas and the three Vedas are
one in their purpose : profit and loss, honour and dishonour,
these are the rules of those four castes.”

183. Yathā pi ibbhā dhanadhaññahetu kammāni karonti
puthu pathabyā.
Te vijjasu samghā pi thathe va sadda kammāni karonti
puthu pathabyā.

“And as rich men desiring wealth and corn do much
tillage on the earth, so these Brāhmins and Suddas do
many works on earth.”

184. Ibbhā hi ete damakā bhavanti nīccam ussukā kāmaganesu yuttā

Kammāni karonti puthu pathabyā tadā apaññā dviraññu rāte.

“They are like unto wealthy men, they are ever energetic in pleasure, they do much tillage upon the earth; but, O double-tongued one, they are witless in their pleasures.”

When the assembled Nāgas heard this discourse, they were delighted and gave praise. Then Bhūrīdatta caused them to turn the Brahman Nesāda out of serpent-land. Rājā Sāgara Brahmadatta, on the appointed day, surrounded by his whole army, went to the place where his father was residing.

Bhūrīdatta caused it to be proclaimed by beat of drum throughout the whole of Nāga-land, that he proposed visiting his grandfather and uncle: and going forth from the river Yamunā with a great retinue and splendour, in due course, he arrived at his grandfather's hermitage. His parents and brethren followed after him.

When Sāgara Bhūrīdatta saw the Bodhisat coming with his attendants, he did not recognize him, but said to his father in the following stanzas (185 to 198):

“O hermit, my father, who, I pray, is this who comes with drums and other musical instruments playing before him? Whose face and crown is it that flashes like lightning? He is young indeed, but his glory flashes forth like gold flowing from the furnace? Who is he? His white umbrella delighteth the heart like Jambūraj gold. Those waving cāmāris,¹ whose are they? and whose the splendidly jewelled peacock fans?

Then his father answered (199), “Dear son, this is no other than your nephew, the son of Dhataratṭha, King of the Nāgas: those others are also his men; their power is very great and their hosts are many. They are also the sons of my daughter Samuddajā.”

¹ Yak tails.

Whilst they were thus talking, the company of the Nāgas arrived and sat down in a suitable place. Samuddajā, after doing reverence to her father, returned weeping to Nāga-land. Brahmadata remained two or three days and then returned to Bārāṇasi. Samuddajā died in Nāga-land, and Bhūridatta continued his fasts for the rest of his life, and when he died he went to Deva-land with all his followers.

The Teacher then summed up the Jātaka as follows :

Bhūridatta's parents were reborn of royal race; the hunter Nesāda became Devadatta; his son Somadatta became Ānanda; Ajamukhī is now Upalavaṃṣa; Sudassena is Sariputtarā; Subhoga is Moggalāna; Kāṇāriṭṭha became Sunnakkhat (Sunakkhatto, a Prince of the Licchavi) and Bhūridatta is myself, the incomparable and omniscient Buddha.

CORRESPONDENCE.

1. A REMNANT (?) OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA.

SIR,—A somewhat curious addition to the printed literature of Pali has recently come under my notice. This is a tract of 31 pages printed at Chittagong in 1889, consisting of extracts from Pali scriptures with Bengali explanations. The book, entitled “Buddha-bhajanā,” is stated in the Bengali preface to be compiled for the “assistance of our Buddhist community” (*āmāder Bauddha samājer upakār*) in those parts. The name of the compiler, Duryodhana Bhikshu, and of others who assisted in the publication of “the Mahāthero,” Lālamohana Dhāmmāchārī (*sic*), and Doctor Bhagīrathachandra Vaduyā (“Borooah”), have quite a Bengali-Assamese appearance, and do not at all suggest a mere colony of Burmese Buddhists. Still less has the tract the appearance of an emanation of the Neo-Buddhism of Col. Olcott and his friends. It would be interesting, therefore, to know the origin of this “Bauddha samāj.”

The Pali is of the most extraordinary description. Is it the result of faulty oral tradition or merely of imperfect knowledge on the compiler’s part of the character of the alphabet from which he was transcribing into the Bengali character?

The work begins :

Buddha vandanaṃ.

Buddhapāttati buddhātaṃ, buddhānāmāṃ tābhāmntisa,
bujjhāti dhāmmā ulārāṃ, buddhordīçaṃ nāmāmāhāṃ.

A note or rubric follows in Bengali, explaining that this confused jargon of Pali is to be used in making flower-offerings.

The work consists of headings, written in Bengali, expressing the main topics of Buddhist devotion and meditation, each followed by a passage of curiously corrupted Pali, which is further explained where necessary in Bengali. Special features of this supposed Pali are (1) the prevalent use of ā for ă—perhaps, as Prof. Rhys Davids has suggested to me, in order to guard against Bengali-speaking Buddhists using the corrupt Bengali pronunciation (=ö) of the Sanskrit-Pali ā; (2) the use of the palatal sibilant (ञ, ç) not preserved in Pali; (3) the ungrammatical use of n for ṇ.

It will be interesting if any of our readers in Bengal can tell us more of this Buddhist community, and of the literary and manuscript material (if any) on which this curious contribution to Pali literature is founded.

CECIL BENDALL.

British Museum, November, 1891.

2. TSONKHAPA.

8, *Upper Woburn Place, London,*
July 2nd, 1891.

DEAR PROFESSOR,—In reference to the 'Aphorisms of Tsonkhapa,' about which you enquired, it seems that by this the work called *Sñags rim* (མཇུག་རིམ་) might be intended, which is mentioned in the German translation of Tāranātha, p. 325, l. 4, and which must have been (and is probably) at the command of Wasilieff. Neither it nor any other of the works of this author is in the Tanjur. The title means 'Method of Dhāraṇi.' Besides the above there are mentioned in Schmidt and Böhlingk's 'Verzeichniss, etc.' (Bulletin iv.),

as extant in the Asiatic Museum of the Imperial Academy, also

Sub. 435 f. the *Byan chub lam rim* (བྱང་ལྡན་ལམ་རིམ་) 'Guide to Bodhi,' which work Wasilief quotes in his 'Buddhismus,' p. 142 (154 Germ.) note.

Sub. 433, *A Biography of Tsonkhapa*.

Sub. 419, *Ritual for sacrifices to Tsonkhapa*.

Wasilief also mentions, Buddh. p. 88 (95), a hymn by Tsonkhapa called *Dmigs brtse ma* ('*Play of fancy*'), and an '*Exposition of the Teaching of the Tantras*' (p. 190 [208]). Both these would probably be found at St. Petersburg.

This is all I can find now about Tsonkhapa and his writings. None of the latter are accessible here.—Yours truly,

H. WENZEL.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(October, November, December, 1891.)

I. CONTENTS OF FOREIGN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

1. JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

Vol. xv. No. 1.

1. Tiamat. By George A. Barton, of Harvard University.
2. Arabic Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases. Collected, Translated, and Annotated by James Richard Jewett, Instructor in Brown University, Providence, R.I.
3. The Letter of Holy Sunday; also the Computation of the Sick; Syriac text and translation. By Prof. Isaac H. Hall, of New York City.

2. WIENER ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR DIE KUNDE DES MORGENLANDES.

Vol. v. part iii.

Kritische Bearbeitung der Proverbien (Fortsetzung) v. Dr. G. Bickell.

- On the Origin of the Gupta Valabhi Era, by G. Bühler.
 Indian Inscriptions to be read from below, by G. Bühler.
 Al-muśajjar, v. Max Grünert.

Anzeigen.

M. Bloomfield. The Kausika Sūtra of the Atharva-veda, with extracts from the Commentaries of Dāvila and Késava, by G. Bühler.

W. Caland. Zur Syntax der Pronomina im Avesta, v. Dr. J. Kerste.



Abel Mechitharean. Geschichte der Concilien der armenischen Kirche zugleich mit der Canones, v. F. Müller.

Kleine Mittheilungen.

Bemerkungen über die Zendalphabet und die Zendschrift. Neupersische armenische u. Pahlawi Etymologien, v. F. Müller.

3. ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT.

Vol. xlv. Heft 3.

Verzeichniss der für die Bibliothek eingegangenen Schriften u.s.w. Noch einmal der Zar, v. K. Vollers.

Ueber die lautliche Steigerung bei Lehnwörtern im Arabischen, v. K. Vollers.

Der Giftmann, v. K. Vollers.

Versuch einer Kritik v. Hamdānis-Beschreibung der arabischen Halbinsel u. einige Bemerkungen über Prof. David H. Müller's Ausgabe derselben, v. A. Sprenger.

Ein arabischer Beleg. zum heutigen Sklavenhandel in Singapore, v. C. Snouck Hurgronje.

Aus dem Geistesleben persischer Frauen, v. H. Vambéry.

Zu M. de Clercq's Catalog. seiner Sammlung sasanidischer Jemmen, v. P. Horn.

Die Accentuation der Wiener Kāthaka-Handschrift, v. L. von Schroeder.

Apollonius v. Thyana bei dem Arabern, v. M. Steinschneider.

De Parva Naturalia des Aristoteles bei dem Arabern, v. M. Steinschneider.

Liste von transcribenten Abschriften u. Auszügen vorrirend aus der Jaina-Literatur, v. Ernest Leumann.

Heinrich Thorbecke's wissenschaftlicher Nachlass u. H. I. Fleischer's Lexikalische Sammlungen, v. A. Müller u. A. Socin.

Der Zweite Corrector der Clodius'schen hebraischen Bibel Dr. med. Leo Simon Rabbiner v. Mainz, v. D. Kaufmann.

4. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE.

Vol. xviii. No. 2.

Histoire politique, religieuse et littéraire d'Édesse jusqu'à la première croisade (M. R. Duval).

La traité des rapports musicaux ou l'Épître à Scharaf Ed Din, par Sufi Ed Din Abd el Mumim Albagh-ādī (M. le baron Carra de Vaux).

Les Lolos et les Miao-tze à propos d'une brochure de M. P. Vial, missionnaire apostolique au Yun-nan (M. G. Devéria).

II. OBITUARY NOTICES.

Bishop Caldwell.—The name of Bishop Caldwell, of Tinnevelly, in South India, has been removed by death from the list of our Honorary Members. He was 78 years of age; he went out to India as the member of a Non-conformist body, but he passed into the Church of England, and was for many years Bishop of the Mission of the Society for Propagation of the Gospel. He died at Edyengoody, the headquarters of his District. He was highly esteemed and beloved by his flock, and some influential Mahometans laid flowers on his coffin as a tribute of respect. He was well known in England, and the compiler of this notice had the pleasure of his friendship.

It is, however, as the investigator of the South Indian Family of languages that Bishop Caldwell was most widely known. His "Comparative Grammar" of the Dravidian Family, originally published in 1856, was a revelation to Western philologers; and it remains, in the form of a second edition (1875), the standard authority on the subject, without a rival or a successor. Dr. Caldwell's intimate personal acquaintance with the people and their dialects, his patient study of their past, as proved by his "History of Tinnevelly" and "The Tinnevelly Shanars," and the strong religious convictions, which made pursuits that to another man would have been the relaxations of a busy



life, with him a serious and unremitting duty, enabled him to accumulate a mass of carefully verified and original materials such as no other European scholar has ever amassed in India. There are points, for example, with reference to the proportion of aboriginal words in the modern Indian vernaculars, in regard to which his conclusions have been modified by subsequent research. But his "Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages" will ever stand forth as one of the monumental works of the age. Scarcely less interesting, although on a different scale, were his contributions during many years to the *Indian Antiquary*, and the series of Sanskrit manuscripts which he brought to light in Southern India and rendered available to Western scholarship. But in this, as in every other branch of his untiring labours, he was inspired with the belief, that he was doing true missionary service. The literary work to which he himself looked back with greatest satisfaction was the part which he took during eleven years in the revision of the Tamil Bible, and, when that long labour was ended, in the revision of the Tamil Book of Common Prayer.

Nov. 16th, 1891.

R. N. C.

Raja Rajendra Lala Mitra.—This distinguished scholar was descended from an ancient stock, the Kulin Kayastha, who rank in Bengal next after the Brahmins. For upwards of forty years he had contributed to the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society papers of much interest—in all 114. The following may be mentioned:—"On Some Græco-Bactrian Relics from Rawul Pindi" (1862); "On Greek Art in India," and "On Leprosy in Ancient India" (1875); "On the Representation of Foreigners in the Ajanta Frescoes" (1878); and various papers on human sacrifices, the use of spirituous drinks, the consumption of beef, and other customs among the ancient people of India. Another branch of antiquarian research to which Dr. Mitra devoted much attention was the elucidation of inscriptions (whether on stone or copper) and of ancient coins, and his numerous

notes and treatises on these possess great historical value. His more important works were:—"Buddha Gaya, the Hermitage of Sakya Muni," a handsome monograph on that great temple; "The Antiquities of Orissa," in two volumes, a work which was the outcome of an archæological mission to Bhuvanesvara, whither Dr. Mitra was despatched by Government in 1868-69; "The Indo-Aryans," produced in 1881; and "The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal," in 1882. Dr. Mitra was often consulted by the Government in regard to antiquarian and literary matters, and he was created a Companion of the Indian Empire in 1878. He was also a Fellow of Calcutta University, and he was an Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society. He rendered an essential service to Indian learning by striking out new paths and new methods of research, based upon the examination of ancient local remains. The wisdom of the orthodox Brahmans was in a large measure a wisdom of words. Dr. Mitra practically proved to his countrymen that scholarship deals also with things. His erudition in Sanskrit literature and philosophy would have sufficed to win for him a high place as a pandit of the old order, and it secured for him, in spite of his new departures, the respect of that order. But his main work was the investigation of the actual and material relics of the past, rather than of its science and metaphysics. Educated half a century ago in one of the then few private seminaries in Calcutta conducted by Hindus on Western lines, yet independent of missionary influences, Rajendra Lala Mitra entered life as a young Hindu of the clever worldly type, with an abundant stock of knowledge, and quite willing to push his fortunes by means of it. Having distinguished himself in the Medical College, he was selected as one of the four students who were to be sent to Europe. But his family, from caste-reasons, objected, and he was diverted from the medical profession. He then began a scholar's career, and was appointed Assistant Secretary and Librarian of the Bengal Asiatic Society. Before he had reached middle life he had mastered, in addition to English and the Vernaculars of

India, Sanskrit, Persian, and Latin, with a working facility in French, German, and Greek.

When the Bengal Government determined to provide more seriously for the education of State wards, or orphan landholders and nobles placed by law under its care, Rajendra Lala Mitra was appointed director of the Court of Wards' College in Calcutta. In this congenial position he passed many years, branching out into various forms of public activity, as a municipal commissioner of Calcutta, critical in temper and caustic of speech, as an active member of the governing body of the University, and as a wise and honoured leader of the Native Landholders' Association in Bengal.

The labours by which he will be remembered, however, were of a different class. In the maturity of his knowledge he formed the design of bringing the mass of writings about ancient and mediæval India to the touchstone of the existing material remains. He explored step by step the sacred sites of the Hindus in Bengal and Orissa, gaining admission as a pandit to their innermost recesses, and producing, with the aid of the skilled draughtsmen and photography of the Surveyor General's Office in Calcutta, a useful record of their now fading inscriptions and crumbling temples and gods. His "History of the Antiquities of Orissa" would alone have raised him to a very high rank among native scholars, second only to those who, like Bhagvan Lāl Indrajī, had acquired the methods of historical criticism. But that work forms only one of fifty-five separate publications which issued from his unwearied pen in English, Sanskrit, or Bengali. As will be seen from the list of those of his works in our Library, he edited an important Buddhist text, the *Lalita Vistara*, and translated a few pages of it, and began to edit the *Prajñā Pāramitā*, another of the standard books of the Nepalese Buddhists. These works, though by no means perfect, were the fruit of much labour; they have made the general contents of these books accessible to scholars, and will have prepared the way for the future

editor of critical editions. Scarcely less important was the search for ancient Sanskrit manuscripts, which he conducted under the auspices of the Government throughout Bengal, from the Himalayas to the sea, a task undertaken just in time to rescue many invaluable documents, and to secure a vast treasure-trove from antiquity.

Nov. 16th, 1891.

R. N. C.

Professor Paul Hunfalvy.—Dr. Paul Hunfalvy was born at Nagy Szalok in the county of Szepes in Upper Hungary, on the 12th of March, 1810. His father, a simple agriculturist, could afford to give his son no better education than that obtainable at the village school. The family name was Hunsdorfer, which being Magyarized, was also adopted by the younger brother John, the famous Hungarian geographer. Whilst at the village school young Paul's intelligence and industry attracted the attention of the Pastor, who lent him books to read, and when the Pastor found with what diligence and earnestness the young lad continued his studies, he endeavoured to procure means of assisting him to higher schools; a boon which was not in the power of the poor father to give. Admitted to the Lycæum of Késmark, Paul's exemplary conduct gave great satisfaction to his masters. The holidays he spent at home and employed his time in reading the Bible and books on Geography; the deep religious feelings which characterized the man in after-life took root at this early age in the parental home.

Four years were spent at the Lycæum, during which his progress in classics was conspicuous. Whilst there he was a most assiduous visitor at the large library, where he endeavoured to learn more than the powers of his age would allow. From Késmark he went for two years to the Lutheran School at Miskolcz, where he studied especially Hungarian and ancient classics.

Moreover, he learnt as much logic, history, and other sciences as was required by the curriculum. "As I was journeying homewards from Miskolcz," says Hunfalvy in



his "Reminiscences," "and caught sight of the landscape of my native country with its snow-clad Carpathian peaks, my eyes filled with tears of joy. The world I thought was beautiful indeed, but one's home is the most beautiful of all." He returned to the Lycæum and studied the higher branches of Philosophy and Law, which, together with philology, fully occupied his time. He now began seriously to meditate on the fact that the road to real knowledge was long and arduous, poverty was staring him in the face, which made success very dubious. He refers probably to this period of his life when he writes, "I hardly know what good fortune means. As far as I can form any judgment on the subject by other people's thoughts, I cannot consider myself fortunate. The world looks up to family connection, splendour, wealth and competence as such—none of these advantages fell to my lot. Yet I was happy, I passed my early years in contentment, I enjoyed the splendid rays of the sun as they spread their warmth, no melancholy thought ever entered my mind, I never suffered hunger and the nights passed in refreshing sleep; later on I found comfort in the school, it seemed at first as if poverty had conspired to deny me that blessing. I began to contemplate the problems of human destiny, and my happiness would have been complete if doubts regarding the value of human knowledge had not disturbed my contemplations."

This seems to have given young Hunfalvy the first impulse towards individual research leading to the solid results of scientific attainments which he left behind him.

When he had finished all his studies at the Lycæum he supported himself by teaching, and after some years of hard struggle was offered the tutorship to the sons of Baron Podmaniczky at Budapest. This gave him the opportunity of being enrolled as a law student at the High Court of Judicature, and after passing examinations Hunfalvy was admitted an Advocate. Yet he never practised as a lawyer, but rather devoted himself to literature, and in company with such distinguished literary men as Toldy, Bajza,

and Vörösmarty, he contributed to the volumes of the Hungarian Athenæum. In this publication appeared his first works, namely: the "Drezdai levelek," Letters from Dresden; "Emlékezés Késmárkra," Reminiscences of Késmark; "Rhapsodiák," and "Thukydides," which, together with three other Essays, were subsequently published in a separate volume under the title of "Tanulmányok," Löcse, 1873. These essays do not possess any special elegance of style or beauty of composition, but their contents bear witness to the work of a thoughtful mind, extensive reading, critical acumen and sound judgment.

In 1871 Hunfalvy was elected corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and a year later a similar distinction was offered him by the Literary Society the "Kisfaludy Társaság." At this period his tastes had not as yet shown a definite tendency. He wrote articles in political and scientific publications, he translated the fables of Lokmán from the Arabic, and was conversant with Hebrew. He took his seat at the Academy by a Dissertation on "Thukydides," and at the Kisfaludy Társaság on the "Poetry of Aristotle." It was surmised at the time that classics were the field which he had marked out for his future labours, although just then French romance and national lyric poetry commenced to attract public attention in Hungary.

In 1842 Hunfalvy obtained the offer of the Professorship of Law at his old Lycæum, which he accepted with great satisfaction, and published his work on "Commercial Legislation." For six years he occupied the chair, during which his fame spread far and wide; students from distant parts of the kingdom came to attend his lectures, who admired not merely his clear and attractive teaching, but they loved him as a man. The poet Petöfi paid Hunfalvy a visit in 1845, and speaks of his great popularity with his numerous pupils.

In 1847 he visited several countries on the continent, and published a work on matters concerning education—the "Tanodai Szózat." Hunfalvy's name now became known.



In 1848 he was elected to Parliament to fill one of the seats for his native county. At the beginning of 1849, when the Austrian Field-Marshal, Windischgrätz, was nearing the capital, Hunfalvy, with the rest of the Parliament, followed Kossuth to Debreczin, and remained at his post till its final dissolution in August, 1849, at Szegedin. He belonged to the Peace party, and frequently spoke out in the public press on that side. He opposed the deposition of the Habsburg dynasty, and consequently the Declaration of 14th of April, which he characterized as a grave mistake. Yet, notwithstanding his moderate views, he suffered persecution and imprisonment from the Austrians. On being released, he took up his quarters permanently at Budapest, and resumed his literary pursuits; he was appointed Librarian to the Academy, which post he held till his death. Works and essays on various literary and scientific subjects issued from his pen. In 1857 he edited a "Library of Hellenic Classics," and published one volume of "Translations from Plato."

From this time forward he devoted himself, however, more thoroughly to philology, having entered on a path of research which afterwards he made his own. He was the first who, since Révai,¹ resumed the study of comparative Magyar philology, and thus became the founder of a school whose merits were soon universally acknowledged.

On the 18th January, 1851, he pointed out to the Academy of Sciences the direction in which Hungarian philology should go, if it desired to attain results worthy of philological science. In the study of Altaic languages, he thought Hungary should take the lead, and thus become an acknowledged factor in the scientific world.

With full conviction, and with all the resources of knowledge he possessed, Hunfalvy fought against the errors of his adversaries, and proclaimed the principles which should guide comparative philology, enumerating the problems which have to be solved. Concerning the Altaic languages, he endeavoured to establish the link which unites the Turk, Finn, and Magyar languages, and after studying the philo-

¹ See Journal Royal Asiatic Society, July, 1889, p. 647.

logical treasures which Anton Reguly¹ brought home from his travels in the Ural region, he brought the Finn dialects and the Mordvin and the Cheremiss languages within the sphere of his researches, leading him to the conviction that the Magyar tongue occupies a mid place between the Finn and the Turk, and stands in near relationship to the Mordvin and Vogul-ostjak languages. In these studies Hunfalvy found a faithful co-worker in Joseph Budenz, with whose aid he subsequently laid down those solid foundations of the comparative philology of the Ugor languages, which he and others should build upon. This was done in the publication called "Magyar Nyelvészet" (Magyar philology), and in the "Nyelvtudományi Közlemények" Philological transactions, the latter of which he edited till 1878.

The publications issued by Hunfalvy contained, not only papers on Ugor comparative philology, but also communications on the Altaic, Indo-Germanic, and Semitic languages, and there are also found essays on ethnographic and mythological subjects, because he was convinced that comparative philology cannot show satisfactory results in any other way than by paying attention to the ethnographic and mythological peculiarities of different nations. When Reguly returned home from his northern travels, with philological and ethnographic treasures, his health was broken by the hardships and long privations he had endured, and from which he never recovered. On his death, at the early age of 39 years, the task of working up his literary remains devolved, at the special request of the Academy, on Hunfalvy. Bearing on this subject he published several treatises, the most important of which were the following :

"The Vogul Story of the Creation of the World," in original, with translation and a dictionary, in 1859; this was the first work ever published in Europe on the Vogul people.

"Chrestomathia Finnica," Finn Olvasmányok, in 1861.

"A Vogul Föld és népe," the land of the Vogul and its people, in 1864, containing, in a well-digested form, all the results of Reguly's travels.

¹ See Journal Royal Asiatic Society, July, 1889, p. 614.

Hunfalvy determined to study the life and languages of the peoples related to the Magyar race, and to base upon such data the principles of Magyar philology, which determination he pursued with unflagging industry and enthusiasm, ready to give battle to those who ventured to attack the result of his researches. Up till quite lately Hunfalvy had to fight hard in support of his theory that the Magyar tongue was cognate to the Finn-Ugor group of languages, and not to the Turco-Tatar, as was maintained by Vambéry. But just because he was ever ready for the fight, and continued it without intermission, he was able gradually to secure pupils and associates to his school.

In furtherance of his researches Hunfalvy travelled in the Baltic provinces and in Finland in 1869, the result of which was a work in two volumes, published in 1871, under the title of "Utaza's a Balti vidéken," a journey in the Baltic Provinces. When at Dorpat, he discovered the Gospel of Matthew translated into South Vogul dialect. Based on this, he wrote a treatise on the Konda Vogul Language in 1872, which was soon followed by another on North Ostjak Language, "az éjszaki osztják nyelv," based on Reguly's literary remains. These works established Hunfalvy's reputation as a philological authority.

In his later years, he paid particular attention to Ethnography. In 1876 was published his "Magyarország Ethnographiája," Ethnography of Hungary, an important work relating to history, language and racial differences of the various nationalities inhabiting Hungary, with regard to whom he advanced several striking and new propositions, supported by clearly defined arguments. Two of his conclusions especially raised heated discussion and originated a copious literature. The first of these was the question whether the "Székler" of Transylvania were the descendants of Attila's warriors or not? The long and bitter controversy which followed, produced a work in 1870, "A Székelyek," the Székler and several articles on the same subject in the periodical called "Századok" from Hunfalvy's pen.

The second obscure problem of Ethnography was connected

with the origin of the Rumun (Roumanian, Wallach) nation. In endeavouring to throw light upon this subject, Hunfalvy gave great offence to the national pride of the Roumanians, because he ventured positively to question the theory that the Wallachs, as the Roumanians of to-day were till quite recently called, could claim the Roman Legions stationed in Dacia as their ancestors. The first and probably most important Monograph on the subject was published in Vienna, 1883, under the title "Die Rumänen und ihre Ansprüche," The Roumanians and their Pretensions (1883), followed by "Neuere Erscheinungen der rumänischen Geschichtsforschung," New Phases of Roumanian Historical Researches (Vienna, 1886); "Der Nationale Kampf gegen das Ungarische Staatsrecht," The Struggle of the Roumanians against the Hungarian Public Law (1880); "Hogyan csinálódik némely historia? Pillantások a rumun történetírásba," How some History is being fabricated. Glimpses into the rumun History (1885); "A rumun nyelv," The Rumun Tongue (Budapest, 1878) and numerous articles in the periodicals "Literarische Berichte aus Ungarn" and "Ungarische Revue." The crown of Hunfalvy's researches on this subject was expected to be a great historical work on the Rumun people which Hunfalvy brought down as far as the middle of the fourteenth century, and on which he worked on the day preceding his death. Another ethnographic work of great merit was published in Vienna and Teschen in 1881, "Die Ungern oder Magyaren," and the Transactions of the Hungarian Ethnographic Society bear the impress of his scientific interest. In the Transactions of the Hungarian Academy, and in the Proceedings of various scientific Congresses, he attended, of which that of the Orientalists at Stockholm, in 1889, was the last, there appeared many articles and essays from him. Five years ago he was nominated a life member to the House of Magnates, and when the bill for making the study of Greek optional in the colleges instead of being compulsory as in the past, was brought in, Hunfalvy spoke out with the fervour of youth against the innovation. He was Doctor of Philosophy, Professor at the University



of Budapest, an honorary member of the Academy of Sciences and corresponding member of many foreign scientific societies.

Hunfalvy's death came unexpectedly, although he was in his 82nd year, and complained of late that his strength and power of work were not the same as of old; the last two summers he spent in his native county of Szepes, at Tátrafüred on the southern slopes of the Carpathians. When the academical season re-opened this year, it being the fiftieth anniversary of his connexion with the Academy, congratulations poured upon him from private friends and public bodies, not the least amongst whom was a deputation from the Academy itself, with the President, Baron Eötvös, at its head. On the 24th of November he presided over his section at the Academy, and on the 28th received the congratulations of the Ethnographic Society, of which he was the President. In returning his thanks for the honour done to him, he spoke of the first Hungarian philologist Révai, and pointed out, as if with a presentiment of his approaching end, that should he close his eyes there would be those who could continue the work he was engaged in. "If I may," he says, "be permitted to compare my humbleness to a thing really grand, I might venture to predict that, as after John the Baptist, so after me will come much mightier men than I, who will follow in the direction I have pointed out." He was the President of the Luther Society, one of the revisors of the Hungarian Bible, and a prominent supporter of the Evangelical church.

Returning home from the meeting of ethnographers, he begged to be excused attending the public dinner which was to follow, as he felt fatigued. The next day, Sunday, the 29th November, he rose in his usual health, took his customary walk, and spent the afternoon over his work on the Roumanians; he went early to bed without the slightest complaint. About four o'clock in the morning, his wife awoke and heard a gentle snore; she lit the candle and saw after a few deep gasps, her husband peacefully pass away. It was Monday, the 30th of November.

Hunfalvy's body lay in state in the Palace of the Academy of Sciences, from whence it was conveyed to its last resting-place in the afternoon of the 2nd of December, amidst every manifestation of public sympathy and regret, an honour he so well deserved.

15th December, 1891.

THEODORE DUKA.

Mr. Rehatsek.—The *Bombay Gazette* of Dec. 19th says:—A most unusual event took place at Worli on Friday, when a European was, by a desire expressed in his will, cremated in Hindu fashion. The man was Mr. Edward Rehatsek, well known in Bombay as being possessed of extraordinary learning, a first-rate Arabic and Persian scholar, a great linguist, and of remarkable literary ability, though, since he retired from the Latin and Mathematics Professor's chair at Wilson College twenty years ago, he has led a strange life, living all alone, and welcoming no Europeans to his place of abode. Edward Rehatsek was an Austro-Hungarian by birth, and was born on July 3, 1819, at Illack. He was educated at Buda-Pesth, at which University he studied and took the degree of M.C.E. in the year 1843. After that he made a tour through Europe, spending a few months in Paris, then four years in the United States of America, and afterwards came to Bombay in 1847, when he settled down as Professor of Latin and Mathematics at Wilson College. He was also a Fellow of the Bombay University, and for twelve years was examiner in Arabic, Persian, Latin, and French. Even then he led a quiet life, seeking more the society of natives, among whom he laboured, than his European brethren; but when he retired from his professorship in 1871, his what might be termed almost hermit life began. He dwelt in a small bungalow at Khetwadi, kept no servants, went every morning to bazaar and purchased his provisions, which he cooked by his own hand. His meals were of the most frugal description, and his dress was most threadbare. He always went out for a short time morning and evening, and lately he took to cycling. It was a strange sight to see this old man, over seventy years

of age, moving slowly along the Queen's Road night and morning on his tricycle; but, though old, he enjoyed the best of health till within a few months of his death, when he was seized with an internal inflammation, from which he died yesterday morning at half-past six o'clock.

Though he had retired from his regular pursuit, it must not be imagined he was an idle man by any means. He laboured continually at his desk, chiefly translating foreign works into English, and many interesting and valuable contributions came from his pen. Most of his works were published at his own expense, for living so frugally as he did since he came to Bombay, he amassed a considerable sum of money, which he did not grudge spending on any hobby, or in giving the fruits of his study to the world with which he cared so little to mingle. Among his more prominent works were "Historical Sketch of Portuguese-India, with a List of its Officers till 1881," "The Alexander Myth of the Persians," "Gastronomical Anecdotes of the Earlier Kaliphs," "Life of Jesus according to the Mohamedans," "The Relations of Islam to Christianity, and of Christianity to Civilization," "Bombay 115 Years Ago," in five volumes, "The Diamond Fields of India," in two volumes. There are many other valuable works of the late Mr. Rehatsek now published, but the list is too long to give in detail. The above, however, will suffice to show how great a student of literature he was, and how deeply he must have dipped into research to write so many books on such a variety of subjects.

His last work was a heavy task, namely, the translating into English of Mirkhond's "History of the World" from Persian into English. It is being printed and published by the Royal Asiatic Society, and the last volume, completed a short time before his death, is now in the press, and will soon be issued.

Occasionally he would leave his recluse life and come before the public, to lay before them personally the fruits of his research, and many will remember when, before the Bombay Anthropological Society, he lectured on "Veneration



for the Dead in China," and "Hindu Civilization in the Far East," and again recently when he read an interesting and instructive paper on "Statistics of Suicides in Bombay since 1886." To the Anglo-Vernacular journal, *Native Opinion*, he was for many years a constant contributor, never missing a week without sending in an article in English. Even when laid up with the malady that proved fatal to him, he would not lay aside his pen, and only five days ago, when Mr. Hari Madhay Paranjpe, the editor of *Native Opinion*, who was one of Mr. Rehatsek's closest friends, called upon him, the poor old man, too feeble to speak, signed to his desk where lay, just completed, the last contribution that came from his pen. Mr. Rehatsek also took a great interest in Theosophy, and was in constant correspondence with Theosophical Societies in Europe. Much as he kept himself to himself, he did not want for attention from friends after he was seized with his last illness, and three doctors—namely, Dr. Deshmuck, Dr. Kunte, and Dr. John De Cunha, all former pupils of his, ministered to him. By his death-bed yesterday morning were Mr. Hari Paranjpe and two other friends, and also two servants who had been left there by Dr. De Cunha to attend to the dying man. When a professor he was much beloved by his students, and they remained his friends to the last. What money he had remaining to him was not much, but he made a will leaving it all to local charities and to be spent in prizes for primary education schools in Bombay. In his will there was also a clause which was the cause of yesterday's strange proceedings, instructing his executor, Mr. Narayen V. Mandlik, to cremate his body in Hindu fashion, and that was carried out yesterday, at the Municipal burning-ground at Worli.

At four o'clock the deceased, Mr. Rehatsek's friends, all Hindus, with the exception of Dr. De Cunha, and nearly all former pupils of the late professor, assembled at his bungalow at Khetwadi, where the corpse had, native fashion, been laid out, face exposed, on a bier, profusely decorated with flowers. A procession was formed, the corpse-bearers

going in front and the carriages with the mourners following. Worli was reached about 5.15, and the body was immediately carried to that part set aside for deceased persons having no relatives. The still smouldering embers whereon a body had been burned that afternoon were swept aside; fresh wood was piled up, and the body was placed thereon; lights were applied, and in about two hours, the remains of Mr. Edward Rehatsek, the first European ever cremated in Bombay in native-fashion, were reduced to ashes.

Sir James Redhouse.—It is our painful duty to record the death of Sir James Redhouse, K.C.M.G. He joined this Society in 1854. He succeeded Mr. Norris as Secretary in 1861, and resigned that post in 1864, being succeeded by Dr. Reinhold Rost. He was elected Honorary Member in 1886. He contributed to our Journal no less than twelve interesting papers—a complete list of which will be found in the Index to the Society's publications published in our Journal for the year 1888.

Sir James Redhouse was born in 1811; was educated at Christ's Hospital, and went to Constantinople in 1826, where he was employed by the Ottoman Government in the preparation of various military, naval, and literary works. In 1830 he visited Russia. Having begun soon afterwards the preparation of a Turkish, English, and French dictionary, he returned to London in 1834 to take steps for its publication, which was rendered useless, however, by the appearance of Bianchi's Turkish-French work. In 1838 he was appointed a member of the Translations Office of the Porte, and in 1840 was transferred to the Turkish Admiralty; from 1839 until 1853 he acted as confidential medium of communication between the Porte and the British Ambassador. In 1840 he went on a mission to the coast of Syria, then blockaded by the allied squadrons of England, Turkey, and Austria, where he was engaged in communications between the admirals and the Turkish Commander-in-Chief on shore. After other services he assisted to conclude in 1847 a treaty of peace between Persia and Turkey; and in 1854 he was appointed

Oriental Translator to the Foreign Office. In 1857 Mr. Redhouse was sent to Paris to assist in the wording of the text of the treaty of peace with Persia, which set the British troops free to aid in the suppression of the Indian mutiny. Sir James Redhouse, who was knighted in 1888, was a member of several Turkish, Persian, and other Orders. In 1884 Cambridge granted him the honorary degree of LL.D. Among his works may be mentioned an English-Turkish and Turkish-English dictionary, a manual of colloquial Turkish for use in the Crimean war, a *grammaire raisonnée de la langue Ottomane* published in Paris, and an incomplete manuscript dictionary of Arabic, Persian, Ottoman Turkish, Eastern Turkish, and English in ten large folio volumes.

He was in many respects the leading authority on the Osmanli-Turki language: to the other members of the great Turki linguistic family he had not paid much attention. He very naturally regarded the world from the Constantinople point of view, and did not hesitate to claim for the Tartar Sovereigns of that country the Kaliphat of Islam, a claim which the great Mahometan Emperors of India, whose ancestor, Tamerlane, had carried about Bajazet, the ancestor of the Sultans of Turkey, in an iron cage, laughed to scorn, and in no Mosque of India was prayer ever offered for him as the Kaliph of the Faithful.

It was a pleasure to visit year by year Sir James in his retreat at Kilburn, and converse with the great scholar: the sight of the great volumes of the great Dictionary of the Osmanli-Turki on the desks round his writing table impressed one more with the grandeur than the prudence of the undertaking. Every word of the Arabic, Persian, and pure Turki languages had been incorporated alphabetically, but, when it came to publication, at the request of the American Board of Foreign Missions, who have extensive Educational Agencies in Turkey, a selection had to be made of a much more moderate size. The National Library of the British Museum has secured these folios, which will ever remain as monuments of his industry and knowledge.

Jan. 7, 1892.

R. N. C.

III. NOTES AND NEWS.

Count A. de Gubernatis has been appointed Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Rome, and has accordingly left the Istituto di Studii Superiore at Florence.

Behramji M. Malabari, the author of "Gujarat and the Gujaratis." A life of this writer and philanthropist, by Dayaram Gidumal, acting district judge at Shikarpur, with an introduction by Florence Nightingale, is announced for publication shortly.

Vyāsakāra Śataka.—A MS. of this Sanskrit poem in Sinhalese characters has just been found in the Royal Asiatic Society's Library. Each of the hundred moral verses of which it consists is followed by a *pada-gata-sannaya*, or word for word commentary, in the Sinhalese language. There is another copy in Europe, at Copenhagen, wrongly described by Westergaard (Cat. p. 21) as *Vyāsa-śataka*. An English translation of forty-four out of the hundred verses is published by Philalethes in his "History of Ceylon," pp. 308 to 314. There is no copy of this work among the sixty-three Sanskrit MSS. in the Kandy Library (none of which are noticed in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*), though a list of them was printed in the Pali Text Society's Journal, 1882, p. 45. It would seem also to be wanting in Colombo (see *ibid.* p. 58). The date and author of the little work are entirely unknown.

The Burmese Government has started a series of open competitive examinations in Pali. Prizes and scholarships are said to be promised to the successful candidates, but the exact details have not reached Europe.

Mr. Edward G. Browne, a member of the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society, is about to publish the "Makāla-i-shakai sayyāh ki dar kaẓiyya-i-Bāb navishta-ast." This work, composed in Persian by order of Behā Ullāh, the present chief of the Bābi sect, comprises a history of that sect from its origin to the present day, together with a statement of its doctrines and principles. The present edition will contain in Vol. I. the text in facsimile,

and in Vol. II. the translation, illustrated by critical and historical notes. The volumes will be sold separately at the Cambridge University Press.

Tibet.—M. Dutreuil de Rhins, the learned author of "L'Asie Centrale," is said to be at present attempting an exploration of Tibet. When last heard from, in August, 1891, he had reached Khotan, which he places in lat. 37°·7 N. and long. 79°·55 E.

Prof. Brugsch is planning a journey into the Libyan desert, principally with the hope of finding there papyrus rolls.

Adam's Bridge.—In No. 101 of "Petermann's Mittheilungen," Dr. J. Walther discusses the mode of formation of this curious and famous link between South India and Ceylon. He thinks it was built up by ocean currents, and that neither an upheaval of the land nor the labours of coral insects had any share in its history.

A Conch Shell 1200 Years Old.—A pair of conch shells have been discovered in a poor peasant's field near Amreli on Gohelvād Ṭimbo. The larger of them weighs 3½ lbs. It bears on it an inscription in Valabhi Gupta characters, *Sī Bhaṭakadatti* (possibly the name of the owner), and an engraving of a *Veṇidāvana*, or raised enclosed bed of the *Tulasi* or Basil plant. The latter sign, and the existence of the *Sankha*, may indicate Viṣṇu worship in old Amreli, as both the *Ṣankha* and *Tulasi* are now sacred to that deity. An old Phallus of Siva had previously been found near the same spot. An inscription in the temple of Nāga Nātha Mahādeva at Amreli mentions the find of that Phallus. We know of Siva worship there in the Valabhi period from the published Valabhi grants. There are remains near by of what is probably a Buddhist stūpa, and the name Amaravallī (Amreli) would recall Buddhist associations, as its other name Grīvāṇa-vallī would recall Brahminic associations. Popular tradition gives a third name to it, viz. Kanakāvati. Not far from it are the ruins of another old town Tāmra-vatī. Old Kshattrapa, Gupta, and Indo-Sassanian coins are found in large numbers about these parts.—H. H. D.

Prāchīna Kāvya Malā.—H. H. the Gaikvād of Baroda, a member of this Society, has sanctioned Rs. 12,000 for the publication of poems of some of the Gujarati poets that flourished in his domains. Some eighteen numbers of the series are out up to date, containing poems of great merit of Kavi Premānanda, his son Vallabha, Kavi Bhālaṇa, Kavi Dayārām (the Byem of Gujarat), and Ratneṣvara among others. The researches of the zealous editors of the series, among them R. B. Hargovinddas Dvarkadas, Director of Vernacular Instruction, point to the arrangement made by Kavi Premānanda with his son and disciples who formed a large band to enrich the language of Gujarat by dividing the work among them. Some were to write verses on the model of Sanskrit, others on that of the old Prakrits, some on that of Hindustani, and others of the Urdu tales and traditions. This was so in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. H. H. is also said to have sanctioned a large sum, Rs. 50,000, for Marathi and Gujarati popular school series. A large illustrated Gujarati Dictionary is said to be under contemplation. The works of Narsimha Meheta, said to be the Chaucer of Gujarat, are intended to be similarly published by the Junaghad Durbar. A young poet is moving among other Kattyawād States for getting the works of other Kattyawādi poets collected and published. The energetic editor of an Aryo-Gujarati bi-weekly, of Bombay, has issued over four large volumes of old Gujarati Poets, *Bṛihatkāvyā Lokana*.—H. H. D.

Constable's "Oriental Miscellany."—We beg to call the special attention of our readers to this new venture under an old and honoured name, the details of which will be found in our advertisement pages. It is a good sign of the times that publishers, whose estimate of things monetary is not often over-sanguine, should find it pay to publish books on Oriental subjects, and we trust that Mr. Constable will receive sufficient support to encourage him in producing works of real and permanent historical value.

Harvard Oriental Series.—This series is to be devoted to texts, translations, and other works concerning India, its

history, religions, languages, literature, and antiquities. The aim is to supply what has been urgently needed, well-selected, and well-edited texts, easy in style, of interesting contents, and not too long, suitable, in a word, for the acquisition of facility in reading, and which can be sold at a low price. The series is to include not only works of use to advanced scholars, but also books suited to the needs of younger students. Volume I., which is already out, is the text of "The Jātaka-mālā," by Aryaçūra, edited by Professor Kern (royal 8vo. cloth, pp. xii. and 254, price 6s.). Volume II. will be the text of "Kapila's Aphorisms of the Sāṃkhya Philosophy," with the Commentary of Vijñāna-bhikṣu; edited, in the original Sanskrit, by Richard Garbe, Professor in the University of Königsberg, Prussia. This text and commentary were published about thirty-five years ago by Fitzedward Hall, but are now out of print. The new edition is in handsome English letters. A translation into German by Professor Garbe was published by the German Oriental Society in 1889. Volume III., in preparation, is on "Buddha and Buddhism," as illustrated by English translations from the Buddhist Scriptures in Pāli, by Henry Clarke Warren, Esq., of Cambridge, Mass. This will be a series of selections made in such a way as to give a systematic exposition of the subject according to the views of the native authorities and the canonical books of Buddhism. The whole is, we are glad to see, under the editorship of Prof. Lanman, whose name is a sufficient guarantee for the scholarly character of any work that may be chosen for publication.

Buddha Gaya.—A few days ago there arrived at Colombo a Japanese monk sent from Tokio to Ceylon on a special mission to inquire into the "Buddha-Gaya Mission" founded in Colombo to acquire some lands on the site, at Buddha-Gaya in India, where Gotama Buddha preached his doctrines, and to consecrate them to the service of all Buddhists. Mr. Dharmapala, the Secretary of the Mission, who is away in India now, has already purchased the lands; and he is now making arrangements to build a monastery there. Japanese and Siamese Buddhists have been appealed to for help, and



the arrival of the "Jap" to make inquiries on the subject is the result of the appeal. The Buddha-Gaya mission has succeeded in securing the site of the Bo-tree at Gaya, where Gotama Buddha attained Buddhahood. The Sinhalese monks who have gone there to take charge of the place are making rapid progress in learning the vernaculars of Bengal, and they will shortly commence the work of the propaganda. A deputation of Sinhalese, Japanese, Siamese, and Burmese Buddhists will wait on H. E. the Governor-General on his visit to Gaya about the middle of October.

Since the above was written we learn from the "Calcutta Englishman" that there has been a meeting of the Committees arranging this matter at Buddha Gayā itself. There were present the following delegates:—Japan, Ato Tokuzawa; Ceylon, Dharmapala; the Secretary of the Budgya Society, Gunaratana Bhikshu; China, Tochiya Lama; Chittagong, Girish Chandra Dewan and Krishna Chandra Chowdri. Letters promising support were received from Prince Chandradat on behalf of the Siamese Buddhists, and Mounq Shoung on behalf of the Burmese Buddhists. Letters were also read from Sir Edwin Arnold, Baron Harden Hickey, and the Australian Buddhists. Resolutions were passed calling for subscriptions from Buddhist countries for erecting a monastery and founding a Buddhist college. The meeting closed by thanking the Government of India for repairing the temple and the Indian press for the sympathy shown.

Dr. Bezold.—The Trustees of the British Museum will shortly issue the second instalment of Dr. Bezold's "Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection." This volume will contain the descriptions of nearly six thousand tablets and fragments which formed part of the famous clay library preserved by the Kings of Assyria at Nineveh. This library was founded by Assurbanipal B.C. 668-626, and contained official documents which had been sent to Sargon and Sennacherib by the generals of the army and others; as well as a series of works relating to every branch of science known to the Assyrians, and copies of

ancient classical books and legends from Babylonia. In this volume will be found a classification of omen and astrological texts, a work which has never before been attempted; and a considerable number of important extracts are printed in the Cuneiform characters.—*Athenæum*, 30th Nov. 1891.

Etruscan.—Prof. Krall, of Vienna, in examining the bands of a mummy, probably of the age of the Ptolemies, which for the last forty years has been preserved in a museum, has found a strip of linen with several hundred lines of Etruscan writing. In this text, which is the longest we possess in that language, some words occur that are to be found in Etruscan inscriptions known to us, but the whole cannot in the actual state of Etruscan studies be deciphered. The cloth was, no doubt, written on for some purpose before being carried by ship to Egypt and there used for the wrappings of a mummy. The publication of the text by the learned discoverer is awaited with the keenest interest.

Egyptian Antiquities.—Messrs. Newberry and Fraser have already left England for their second season in Egypt, and will be followed somewhat later by Mr. Blackden. Their work for this winter will be to survey, copy, and photograph the remaining historic antiquities from Beni-Hasan tombs, the tombs of el-Bersheh (XIIth Dynasty), the Speos Artemidos, and the tombs at Isbēdeh. It should be added that this archæological survey is supported by special subscription.

The Egyptian Government has asked the Caisse de la Dette for £50,000 from the general reserve fund on behalf of the Antiquities' Department, but, before granting so large a sum, the Caisse will probably require the appointment of a commission to study the purposes of its employment. It is hoped that this opportunity will be availed of to make a searching investigation into the management of the department generally, which has for a long time excited dissatisfaction amongst all nationalities, and is discreditable to the country. The Ghizeh Museum especially is without a catalogue, its exhibits are unlabelled, and its immense

quantities of valuable objects are stored away from public view to the utter disappointment of visitors who desire to do more than merely pass an idle hour in the building. The monuments scattered throughout the country are inefficiently protected, and much irreparable mischief has been and still is caused by theft and wantonness.—*Academy*, 5 Dec., 1891.

Prof. Maurice Bloomfield, of Johns Hopkins, has published in the fifteenth volume of the "Journal of the American Oriental Society" a third series of "Contributions to the Interpretation of the Veda," continuing his former method of interpreting the early mantras by help of the later literature—Brāhmaṇas, Sūtras, commentaries, and classical legends. He first deals at considerable length with the story of Indra and Namuci, which he makes intelligible by piecing together many scattered allusions. Perhaps the most novel feature in this re-constructed story is the scene where Namuci (the āsura) makes Indra (the deva) drunk with surā (brandy) instead of his own favourite soma. Secondly, he takes up the two dogs of Yama, and shows how identification with the sun and the moon in the Brāhmaṇas explains many of the conflicting attributes assigned to them in the Vedic mantras. Lastly, he discusses the much-disputed passage (Rig-veda, x. 17, 1, 2), which describes the conjugal exploits of Saranyu, his explanation being that it is a Brahmādyā (riddle or charade), not, as has hitherto been held, either a fragment or a story in a form so condensed as to be foreign to Indian habits of narration. As the basis of the riddle he finds a cosmogonic conception with which a number of mythological inventions have been combined to make up a story of a composite character.

Dr. de Cara has published a paper under the title "Della Identita degli Etehei e dei Pelasgi dimostrata per la Ceramica pre-fenica e pre-ellenica" (Rome: Befani). The work shows an acquaintance with the most recent results of Oriental and archæological research, and the views expressed in it are novel and suggestive. The author seeks

to show that the Pelasgians of Greek tradition represent the Hittites of Asia Minor and Syria, and that the culture of Mykænæ had its ultimate origin in the Hittite empire.

The Oriental School at Berlin.—The official catalogue (Verzeichniss) of the teachers and students of the Berlin Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen, for the term October 15th, 1891, to March 15th, 1892, has appeared. The teaching body seems to have undergone some changes. In the first place, the Lector in South Chinese is An Fung Tschü, whose name does not occur in the Verzeichniss for 1890. Next, Dr. Moritz is entered, not only as librarian, but as teacher of Arabic, while the dialect of Morocco is taught by Muhammad Bin Selham, a name also new. Another new teacher is the Lector in Suaheli, Amir bin Nasir Lomeri. The number of hearers is 118, against 132 in the early part of the year. The non-official courses are attended by 33 hearers.

The Bābis.—A Russian artillery lieutenant, Alexander Toumansky, having gone to Ashkabad with the object of visiting the Bābi colony there, has returned to St. Petersburg with many notes, photographs, and manuscripts. Several of the latter are described in the last issue of the 'Collections scientifiques de l'institut des langues orientales' at St. Petersburg (Part 2 for 1891). The same volume contains the complete text of some other Bābi works which form part of a volume of Bābi tracts lately presented to the library of the Institute. The description of these new treasures commences with a warm eulogium of Mr. Browne's articles in our 'Journal' for 1890.

The Rig-Veda.—The first volume of Prof. Max Müller's translation of the Rig-Veda, which has been so long looked forward to by scholars, has at last appeared just as we are going to press. It contains the translation into English, with a very elaborate commentary, of the forty-nine hymns to the Maruts, including nine not addressed specially to them, but dealing with allied subjects.

Lahore Museum.—The new buildings for this important local museum are nearly completed, and will be shortly

opened, to the great benefit of those who visit the collections there arranged under the able superintendence of Mr. Kipling, senior.

IV. NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THE DĪNKARD, Vol VI. By PESHOTAN DASTUR BEHRAMJEE SANJANA. (Published under the patronage of the Sir Jamshedji Jeejeebhai Translation Fund, Bombay, 1891.)

With this sixth volume of the Text and Translations of the Dīnkard the learned high-priest of the Bombay Parsis completes seven-tenths of the third book, or nearly one-third of the whole work so far as it is still extant. The first two books appear to have become separated from the other seven more than 870 years ago, when the latter were copied from a manuscript found in Baghdād; and no trace of the former two books has yet been discovered.

The Dīnkard is an extensive summary of information regarding the Mazda-worshipping religion, its legendary history, and its sacred books, compiled chiefly from writings no longer extant, and written in the Pahlavi language. This compilation was commenced by Ātūr-farnbag, son of Farukhzād, who was supreme high-priest in Irān early in the ninth century; and it was revised and completed, more than half a century later, by Ātūrpād, son of Hēmēd, one of his successors. Nearly the whole of its third book is quoted from the Nikēsō-i Vēh-dīnō, or Exposition of the Good Religion, which was probably the name of some important treatise on religious matters; but it also contains some answers to sceptical inquiries, and several series of admonitions issued by celebrated religious men and their opponents, which may be derived from other sources.

In preparing his edition of this Pahlavi work Dastūr Dr. Peshotan has had to provide not only for European scholars, but also for his own countrymen. He publishes the original Pahlavi text required by both parties, with an English

translation for Europeans, and a Pāzand transliteration, a Gujarati translation, and a Glossary of a few of the Pahlavi words for his own countrymen. His last two volumes contain a marked improvement, as compared with the preceding four, owing to the English translation being no longer a mere translation of the Gujarati, but being made direct from the Pahlavi, though still following the general course of interpretation adopted by the editor in his Gujarati version. This improvement has been carried out by the editor's son with great success, considering the difficulty of the task.

There is always much uncertainty in the reading of unusual Pahlavi names, and the best translators will often be led astray in such cases by the ambiguity of the Pahlavi characters. It has already been shown by Darmesteter (in *Textes Pehlevis relatifs au Judaïsme*, p. 3) that the name of the high-priest which is read Dāyūn by Peshotan, in his chaps. 197, 198, ought to be read Shēnō, he being the Saēna of Yt. xiii. 97, in the Avesta. And another correction of a similar character may now be suggested with regard to the name Asritē which is coupled with that of Hōshang in chap. 209, §§ 8, 11, and should doubtless be read Vāēgerēdō (the first letter being supplied, in two cases out of three, from the preceding word *mān*, which ought to be *min*), as it appears from Sachau's Albirūnī's *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, pp. 206, 212, that Vaikard was the twin brother of Hōshang and superintended the agriculture of the realm.¹ His name occurs again in the fifth, seventh, and eighth books of the Dinkard, but has not been preserved in the extant Avesta.

In chap. 229, § 5, *hūāfrīt* is not a name, but merely a title of the Sāsānians, which is also used in Book VIII. chap. xiii. 17. The passage in chap. 229 would be better translated as follows: "The good government by sagacity as an administrator (?) among those of the race of Yim, after Frēdūn, was first through the descendants of Mānūshchihar,

¹ I am indebted to Prof. Darmesteter for calling my attention to this statement, in correction of my translation of Dinkard VIII. xiii. 5, in *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 37.

secondly through the Kayānians, and thirdly through the well-created (or the fully-blessed) that are *descended* from the same Kayānians, who are the Sāsānians that are also so called."

Similarly, in chap. 274, §§ 2, 3, *brātrūt* is not a name, but should be read *brādarvat* "brotherly, fraternal, akin;" and the passage can be translated as follows: "Virtuous action is that which is due to the diligence that is free from the avarice which is akin to diligence. And honest comfort is that due to contentment preserved from the indolence akin to discontent." It has been suggested that *brādarvat* generally means "brotherly" in an Oriental sense which would be better expressed in English by "inimical"; but this passage does not support that view.

It must certainly be admitted that the third book of the Dīnkard is the most difficult part of the whole work, and probably the portion least interesting to scholars who are not Parsi theologians. The next three books contain some passages that may be more entertaining. But the last three books, which comprise much legendary history and a summary account of the Nasks as they existed in Sāsānian times, are likely to be far more generally interesting, especially the seventh book. If the Trustees of the Sir J. J. Translation Fund could manage to expedite the publication of the Pahlavi text, by postponing that of the translations and other accompaniments, they would be conferring a favour upon European Pahlavi scholars generally, who look forward to their next fifteen years of waiting for the completion of the publication, at its present rate of progress, with some degree of impatience.

E. W. WEST.

THE DWARFS OF MOUNT ATLAS.

Mr. Haliburton, Q.C., has published a brochure (David Nutt) giving a detailed statement of the evidence in his possession as to the existence of a race of dwarfs (with an average height of less than $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet) in the district subjoined

to Morocco immediately south of the Atlas range. It is made perfectly clear that a number of natives of Morocco believe in the existence of such a race, and that Europeans in North Morocco have seen dwarfs there who are believed to belong to such a tribe, and not to be isolated cases of arrested development or of atavism. The strongest evidence is that of a donkey-man in Tangier, $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, the son by a Moorish woman of one of the Akka dwarfs. He told Mr. Haliburton that his father, brothers and sisters were smaller than himself, and entirely confirmed the hearsay evidence (of those who had told the author or his informants about the dwarfs) as to the existence in Akka of a pigmy race. We understand from the brochure that Mr. Haliburton's conclusions have been controverted; but he does not state where; and it is difficult to see what negative evidence, except that of a trained observer who had been at the places indicated and found no pigmies, could be of much value against the carefully authenticated inquiries set out in this little book. Mr. Haliburton deserves the thanks of historical students for the trouble he has taken in the matter.

The statement of evidence as to the existence of this particular pigmy race is followed by seven pages of rather desultory remarks on dwarfs and dwarf-worship. It is suggested that nearly all the earliest myths of Greece came from the Atlas pygmies,—either direct, or through Crete, to which island they had emigrated, and it is confidently stated that "Probably on both sides of the Atlantic the ancient dwellings out in cliffs were made by dwarfs." These propositions would be sufficient to overthrow the beliefs at present held among scholars as to the Greek myths on the one hand, and the cave-dwellers on the other. If the author would produce in support of them evidence as substantial as that set out in the earlier part of the pamphlet, he would find that serious scholars would not be prevented by the revolutionary air of his theses from giving to them a respectful attention.



LECTURES ON THE COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR OF THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES. From the papers of the late WILLIAM WRIGHT, LL.D., Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. (Cambridge, at the University Press, 1890, pp. 288.)

If we overcome the feeling of sadness that the author of the above-mentioned work is no more, nothing but pleasure is in store for the reader of these lectures which he has bequeathed to the students of Semitic philology. It is particularly lamentable that he was not spared to take into consideration the two latest works in this province which claim to do away with so many views hitherto sustained, and the ingenuity of which has opened up quite a new field of investigation. Like the foregoing works Wright's book extends over the whole realm of the Semitic dialects, but it omits entirely any theory concerning the formation of the nouns as well as the usual classification of their forms. The author has probably deemed it to be beyond his task, and declined consequently to give his young hearers a system, the deficiency of which was evidently too manifest to him. But on the other hand he does not give the slightest reason for this omission, nor does he intimate the existence of any other theory, with the exception of some remarks at the beginning of the chapter on the verb. The lectures thus extend over the Phonology and all the rest of the Morphology. It is surely an unsurpassable masterpiece to treat of so vast a subject in less than 300 pages. Yet the diction is transparent and clear, nay almost popular—as the lectures were meant for undergraduates—even though every word is written with the utmost care. The unhappy circumstance that the author was prevented by death from putting the finishing touch to his book was fully made up by its being edited, prefaced and annotated by Professor W. Robertson Smith, whilst Professor Th. Nöldeke read the proofs and added notes and corrections.

The introductory chapters are devoted to a *résumé* of the latest investigations concerning the cradle of the Semitic

peoples, which the author, in common with Sayce, Schrader, and de Goeje, considers to have been in the South, and also to a survey of the single Semitic dialects.

To these general remarks I should like to attach a few details which include one or two unimportant suggestions. Referring to the chapter of the pronouns the author agrees with all other grammarians, that the demonstrative pronouns הַזֶּה and הַהוּא are a combination of הָ *resp.* הוּא with the article. It seems peculiar that no other Semitic language has this combination, whilst some place the demonstrative element *hā* before the pronoun *dā*. On the other hand no Semitic language, nor even the Phœnician, puts the article before the *pron. demonstr.* and *Mēša'* l. 3, neither. The treatment of הַזֶּה and הַהוּא as adjectives is after all only owing to external formation and is frequently omitted also in Hebrew (see the instances given in *Gesenius-Kautzsch. Hebr. Gramm.* 24th ed. p. 289, to which are to be added *Deut.* xxi. 20, *Jos.* ii. 14, 20.) We should thus expect that the ה before הָ and הוּא (with Dagesh following) should properly be not the article as such, but also a demonstrative prefix which was originally הַ, but was gradually treated as analogous to the article by sharpening the syllable and Dagesh following. The Phœnician form אַ which Wright disunites from הַזֶּה, may yet perhaps have corresponded to it, and have been pronounced 'āsā with the ה dropped, just as the Vulgar-Arabic *ādā*; as to הַהוּא and הַהוּא cp. the Vulg. Arab. *ahó* and *ahóm* [Wright, p. 107, Spitta, G.A.V. p. 76]. Whether cases as הַפֵּעַם, *Gen.* xviii. 32, הַיּוֹם in the signification *to-day*, הַשָּׁנָה *Jer.* xxviii. 16, had originally the same הַ or the real article is more difficult to decide. But with respect to the last instance we may quote the Bedouin هالسنه which Nöldeke [Wright, p. 115, note 1] dissolves in هادى السنه.¹

¹ Cp. *Gesen.-K.* *ibid.* p. 102.

As to the relative pronoun **אשר** Wright, mentioning the view which connects it with Aram. **אתר**, inclines to acknowledge the other theory of Ewald-Böttcher that it is compounded rather of **ש** + *a* prosthetic, but with the modification that its origin is to be sought for in the region of the demonstrative pronoun. The fundamental element seems to be the demonstr. **ש** (Hommel, *Z.D.M.G.* 32, 708) which in Phœnician, with the prosthetic or rather likewise demonstrative **א**, was pronounced **שא** *aš* or *aše* (Wr. p. 119, cp. *Ges.-K.* p. 102).¹ Such a word, however, being impossible in Hebrew, the second syllable was closed by a liquid or guttural *r* which originally did not belong to the root, the addition of which may yet have been supported by the tendency to trilaterality (see the examples with **ר** added at the end in *Olshausen's Gramm.* § 216c.). The liquid character of this **ר** is particularly visible in the forms **שר** [with Dagesh following] and **של** which represent the archaic form and are used preferentially in poetic passages, but were supplanted gradually by the fuller form **אשר**.

With reference to **מַעֲרָה** [p. 85, cp. *Olshausen*, § 202b.] the author mentions the Syriac **ܡܥܪܗ**. Also Levy in his Dictionary to the Targums gives to the '*Ayn a Patah*.² In two rather old Yemen MSS. belonging to the Montefiore College Library, cod. Montef. 501 [Haftārōth] and 506 [part of the Pent.] both with Targum and written with the Babylonian system of vowels, I find always **מַעֲרָתָא** with *Qāmeẓ*.

As to the chapter of the nouns, the author confines his

¹ The use of **ה** as relative pronoun in poetic speech shows the close relationship between it and **ש** resp. **שא**, cp. Aethiop. *sa*, Aram. ? cp. *Gesen.-K.* ibid. p. 308.

² Probably on account of an erroneous derivation from **עַר**. Buxtorf's *Concordantias* have the word under this root

remarks to the gender and the attaching of the suffixes. Only—as said above—at the introduction to the chapter of the verb he accentuates the close relationship which prevails between this and the noun. With Stade he confesses to have long believed that the verbal forms of the Semitic languages are really nominal forms, mostly in combination with pronouns. The question concerning the precedence of *nomen* or *verbum* has been lately raised with much vigour through Lagarde and Barth. Wright's view coincides in so far with that of Barth, as the latter, although he does not seem inclined to give a decided answer, for the nouns derived from the *Perfect-stem*, ascribes the precedence to the noun, but not for the nouns derived from the *Imperfect-stem*. This view is most likely influenced by the circumstance that the *imperfect* includes principally future actions which cannot be conceived and expressed otherwise than through a verbal idea [Wr. p. 179], whilst completed actions can easily be comprehended as something existing, or a nominal idea. This, however, is by no means sufficient to help us in dealing with the above question, which will perhaps hardly be satisfactorily answered, owing to our most scant knowledge of the development of the elements of human culture.

In treating of the verb Wright starts from the three fundamental forms *qatal*, *qatil*, *qatul*, which by doubling one of the consonants or lengthening a vowel developed into the other forms. By lengthening the first vowel, he says, arose the form *qātal*, which by changing the vowel of the second syllable into *i* became indistinguishable from the hightening of *qatil* into *qātil*. Apparently Wright does not share fully the view hitherto generally held that the participle active was developed from an older form *qātal*, but says expressly [p. 197] that the form *qātil* may be explained in one of two ways, the second of which is the hightening of the first syllable of *qatil* into *qātil*, thus corroborating the view so strongly advocated by Barth [*Nominalbildung*, p. 200, and Z.D.M.G. 44, 685]. Yet Wright, on the other hand, admits—what Barth emphatically denies—the existence of



forms *fā'al*, viz. הָתַם, Arab. طَابَعٌ = طَابَعٌ خَائِمٌ. As to הָתַם we may quote the longer form הָתַמַּת [Gen. xxxviii. 25], which may fairly be subjected to the rule expounded by Barth, Z.D.M.G. *ibid.* 606. Perhaps הָתַם had originally also an *i*-sound in the second syllable, and is only a transformation of הָתַם.

According to the theory of deriving the verbal forms from an original noun Wright regards the 3rd pers. pl. m. perf. to be *qatalūna*, in opposition to Nöldeke [Z.D.M.G. 38, 411], who declares it to be only ending in *ū*, the *n* being affixed later on. Wright seems to have thought that the *n* belonged to the ending of the plural in primitive Semitic, which however does not entirely agree with his own opinion concerning the formation of the plural of the noun by lengthening the vowel-ending of the singular, viz. into *ū*. The addition of the *n* is here hardly sufficiently explained; on the other hand, examples quoted by him from Assyrian [p. 147] *malki*, *umi*, *pagri*, etc., seem to strengthen the idea of the plural as having been formed without *n*. With this Nöldeke's ending of the plural *ū* coincides very well. The same is to be said concerning the ending 3rd pers. pl. f. which Wright traces as *qatalāna* against Nöldeke-Hoffman *qatalā*. Wright himself takes at this place notice of his disagreement with the opinions of these scholars.

The same is again repeated where Wright denotes the oldest form of the 3rd p. imp. to be *ūna*. To this much the same may be applicable as to the perfect. The ending of the 2nd pers. sing. m. perf. is regarded by Nöldeke as being *tā*, by Wright however *ta*, whilst the lengthening, according to his view, was brought forward by the weight of the accent.

H. HIRSCHFELD.



CATALOGUS CATALOGORUM. By THEODOR AUFRECHT.
(Leipzig, Brockhaus.)

This is an alphabetical list of all Sanskrit books and their authors mentioned in accessible printed catalogues of MSS. of the Brahmin literature. It does not mention editions; nor such works as have been edited, but do not appear in the lists of MSS.; nor any Indian works, whether Sanskrit or not, which are not written from the Brahman standpoint. But it does include the names of books and authors quoted in the Catalogues under other books or authors. The Catalogues of MSS. thus inedited, fifty-six in number, are set out in the preface, and include all that the author could procure. The result is a stately volume of nearly 800 pages 4to., which will be a standard work of reference for all interested in the history of thought in India, and which reflects the greatest credit on the careful industry and exact scholarship of its distinguished author. No one will be surprised to learn that this colossal work has been thirty years in preparation. But the labour and scholarship involved could scarcely have been better employed. For we have here the first step, and a most substantial one, towards that 'Dictionary of Indian Literature,' which shall do for Indianists what Murray's series of dictionaries has done for the classical student. It has been necessary, of course, in order to bring the index within any reasonable limits, to omit all detailed descriptions either of books or authors. The plan adopted is exceedingly simple and clear. Each book is mentioned in its alphabetical place with a reference to the name of the author (whenever known) and to the names and authors of commentaries upon it, and usually with a single word, or a word or two, descriptive of the subject treated. Each author is given, also in the same alphabetical order, with a complete list of the titles of his works, and the names of his teachers or pupils, his father or sons, and his date, whenever such details are known. The work is published by the German Asiatic Society, and has received a substantial subvention from the Indian Government.

ARABIC LITERATURE.

Historia virorum doctorum Andalusiae ab Aben Alfaradhi scripta, ad fidem codicis Tunicensis ed. Francisco Codera. T. i. Matrini, Typ. Guirnalda. This publication forms the 7th volume of the *Bibliotheca Arabico-hispana*.

A volume of notes and indices by *D. H. Müller* has now appeared; it forms the second part of his edition of *Ab-Hamdāni's Geography of the Arabian Peninsula*.

Among the recent publications of Croux, Paris, we may mention a *Chrestomathie magrèbine, Recueil de textes arabes inédits, avec vocabulaires*, by *O. Houdas*.

Les monuments sabéens et himyarites de la Bibliothèque nationale (Cabinet des médailles et antiques), edited by *Hartwig Derenbourg* (Paris, Leopold Cerf), in honour of the eightieth anniversary of his father's birthday. The small volume, with phototyped frontispiece, contains thirty-one inscriptions.

Hafiz.—The Divān of Hāfiz has been translated for the first time out of Persian into English prose by *H. W. Clarke*.

JEWISH LITERATURE.

Among *T. Kauffmann's* (Francfort-o.-M.) new publications are *Maimonides' Commentar zum Tractat Kilajim. Zum ersten Male im arabischen Urtext herausgegeben, mit verbesserter hebräischer Uebersetzung und mit Anmerkungen versehen*, by *Dr. Salomon Bamberger*. With a sheet of figures and designs.—*Die Nominalbildungen in der Mischnah*, by *Dr. F. Hillel*.—Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. have just issued an excellent and comprehensive book on the *Jewish Religion* by *Dr. M. Friedländer*.

AFRICAN PHILOLOGY.

The following books have been published during the last half of 1891:

I. Comparative Grammar of the Bantu languages, by *Rev. Father Torrend, S.J.*, of the Jesuit Mission on the *Zambési*. This is a large and important volume, compiled

on the model of the great Comparative Grammar of the Arian languages, but comprising a very much larger number of languages, the knowledge of which has been revealed to us during the last twenty years by the Grammars, Dictionaries and Texts prepared by Missionaries in South Africa. No doubt there are many points, which will require consideration, as our knowledge extends, but under any circumstances this is an epoch-making book. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co.)

II. Grammar of the Nyanja language on Lake Nyassa, by the Rev. George Henry, Medical Missionary of the Free Church of Scotland. This is a most satisfactory book. (Frazer, Aberdeen.)

III. Hymns by the same author in the same language.

IV. Angola Proverbs in the Mbundu or Banda language of the West Coast of Africa within the Portuguese Colony: the translations are in the Portuguese language, and the book is interesting as compiled by an educated Native. (Lisbon.)

V. Notes on the Tambúka language spoken on the West Coast of Lake Nyassa, by Dr. Elmslie, Medical Missionary of the Free Church of Scotland. This is a most useful book. (Frazer, Aberdeen.)

VI. Table of Concords, and Paradigm of Verb in the same language, by the same author. (Frazer, Aberdeen.)

VII. A few linguistic notes and Table of Concords and Paradigm of Verb in the Ngoni form of speech, a dialect of the Zulu language, spoken on the West Coast of Lake Nyassa: for this also we are indebted to Dr. Elmslie. (Frazer, Aberdeen.)

VIII. Afrikanische Petrefakten, a Study of the Grammatical Features, and Mutual Relation of African languages, in the German language, by Professor A. W. Schleicher (Berlin). We particularly welcome this book, as indicating that the attention of German linguistic scholars is beginning to be turned to the wonderful new material brought to light by honest, though untrained, British labourers in a virgin field.

IX. A Gospel in the Shitswa language spoken in the Portuguese Colony in East Africa, near Lorenzo Marquez. We publish annually in this Journal a list of the translations made by the British Bible Society; but we are indebted for this translation to the American Bible Society. It may readily be understood how exceedingly important are genuine Texts, made by capable men in the Field, to be brought into immediate use, and severe criticism by the tribe, which speaks that language, when used in the schools and chapels.

December 31st, 1891.

R. N. C.

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JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. V.—*The Book of the Apple, ascribed to Aristotle.* Edited in Persian and English by D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

A PSEUDO-ARISTOTELIAN treatise called *de pomo et morte incliti principis philosophorum Aristotelis* has been printed several times in Europe, the earliest editions being without place or date.¹ This work is a Latin translation of a Hebrew tract bearing the name "The Book of the Apple," the translator being Manfred, King of Sicily (ob. 1266), or, as Steinschneider suggests,² a Jew employed by him. The Hebrew text professes to be a translation from the Arabic made by R. Abraham B. Hisdai, an author who flourished at the end of the thirteenth century. There are MSS. of B. Hisdai's work in the Vatican and at Oxford, and it has been repeatedly printed, first at Venice, 1519.³ It was republished with a new Latin translation and a copious but irrelevant commentary by J. J. Losius, at Giessen, in 1706.⁴ A German translation was issued by J. Musen at Lemberg, 1873, and an English translation by Kalischer at New York, 1885. An edition with a brief Hebrew commentary is said to have been produced by J. Lichtstein (Grodno, 1799).

¹ Hoffmann, *Bibliographisches Lexicon*, i. 347. Fabricius, *Bibl. Gr.* iii. 281 (ed. 2), mentions certain early Latin editions of Aristotle in which it is to be found.

² *Hebräische Übersetzungen*, p. 268 (advance sheets lent the author by Dr. Neubauer).

³ See Wolf, *Bibl. Hebr.* i. p. 57; Steinschneider, *l.c.*

⁴ *Bigæ dissertationum quarum prior exhibet מוסדו ה' אב, etc.* Losius' translation is very inaccurate, and his text very corrupt.

The Arabic work which served as the basis of the Hebrew translation is not known to be in existence, nor is it noticed by the Arabic bibliographers, although reference is made to it in the encyclopædic work *Ikhwān ul-Ṣafā*.¹ The Persian translation, however, which is here printed for the first time from a Bodleian MS.² will probably make up for the loss, and will show that the Hebrew translation is a very unfaithful abridgment, in which the original purpose of "The Book of the Apple" is entirely obscured.

That the Persian is more faithful than the Hebrew is proved by the fact that a quotation made from the Arabic by an author of the thirteenth century, and discovered by Steinschneider,³ corresponds exactly with a passage in the Persian, but has nothing corresponding to it in the Hebrew.⁴

The passage runs as follows in the Arabic :

لا سمع اذا علم المتعلم الامن قبل الفلاسفة ولا بصر ناظر الامن
قبل المصباح وقال لا تقبل النفس الفلسفة الا بصحة من طبيعته ولا
ينفذ بصر البصير الا بضوء المصباح فاذا اجتمع نفذ

In the Persian as follows (l. 182 *sqq.*) :

پس آموزنده الا از جهت حکمت نتواند آموخت و نگزنده
از چراغ نتواند نگزید ارسطو گفت نفس پذیرای حکمت نشود الا
بدرستی که طبع او بود و بینش بیننده گذر نیابد الا به چراغ چون
اینهمه بهم آید بگذرد

¹ Dieterici, *Die Philosophie der Araber*, i. 106, cited by Steinschneider, *l.c.* This quotation is rather vague.

² MS. Ouseley, 96, viii. The dialogue is written on the margin of an analysis of the *de anima* of Aristotle.

³ *Catalogus Bibl. Hebr. quæ in Biblioth. Bodleiana asservantur*, p. 674, from MS. Uri, f. 19b.

⁴ The definition of "injustice" in Tebrizi's notes on the *Hamasa*, p. 7 (ed. Freytag), *هو وضع قيل هو وضع الشيء في غير موضعه*, corresponds closely with the definition given here, l. 272.

It has been the custom to assume that the author of the work was a Jew,¹ although Erasmus suggested that he was a Christian.² The passage from which these inferences were chiefly drawn was that in which Noah and Abraham are mentioned, a passage which does not occur in the Persian, and is therefore an interpolation. It would have been as reasonable to argue from it that the author was a Muhammadan, for the Qor'an is quoted there, although the quotation is concealed in Losius' edition by a gross mistranslation.³ The original work as represented by the Persian bears no trace of a Jewish origin.

It is not probable that the book ever existed in Greek: not only is there no vestige of any mistranslation of a Greek text, but also many of the phrases which cannot be banished from the argument show the influence of the Qor'an; such are *الأخرة, الملا الأعلى, عقاب, and ثواب*. The expression "to mortify one self before death" seems borrowed from a tradition of the Prophet. On the other hand, the author must have possessed some acquaintance with Greek works. The passage in which Kriton warns Aristotle against making himself warm by talking is borrowed from the *Phaedo* of Plato (p. 63 d, e). From the same dialogue comes the discussion upon suicide (p. 62). The saying attributed to "Hermes," and quoted from Aristotle's "Metaphysics" (?), is not unlike the opinion of Empedocles explained in that work. The names Simmias and Kriton are borrowed from the *Phaedo*; Zeno and Diogenes from some history of philosophy; the source of Pindar and Lysias is less obvious. A Greek writer, choosing names for the interlocutors in a dialogue, would probably have chosen those of real disciples of Aristotle. In this respect Musen's text, which gives *Aristoxenus* as an interlocutor, is an improvement.

¹ So especially Losius, *i.e.*; Carmoly, *Revue Orientale*, iii. 49 (Brussels, 1843).

² Fabricius, *l.c.*

³ *הנקרה עזאי בקרן* what is called 'Uzā in the Qor'an is rendered by him *excellentior bovium*. Musen's text is corrupt.

The author's purpose is philosophical, not religious. The last stage in the argument proves that philosophy is revealed through a chain of prophets, of whom the first was Hermes, who obtained his knowledge from the angels. Since the pseudo-Sabæans of Harran regarded Hermes as the founder of their religion,¹ and adopted the neo-Platonic idea of angel-mediators,² and since some of the most distinguished of the Arabic philosophers and translators of Greek philosophy emanated from this sect,³ it may be suggested that one of these Sabæans was the author of our treatise.

Many philosophical problems are discussed in the dialogue, but the various conclusions are ingeniously dovetailed into the leading argument, which may be briefly analyzed as follows:

The world of things is to be divided into knowledge and ignorance, and that to which they lead. Knowledge embraces both subject and object; the relation of the intelligent soul to philosophy being illustrated by that of the eye to the sunlight; while the relation of knowledge to virtue—all virtues being reducible to one—is similar to that of ice to water. Ignorance embraces all that is opposed to knowledge: this is, in the first place, the body and its passions; in the second place, the whole material world. If it be argued that the passions belong to the soul and not the body, since they disappear with the soul from the body, we answer, that they are an accidental result of the union. That they are not a necessary property of the soul is shown by the fact that the souls of the true philosophers are free from them. The existence of a result—*i.e.* a future world in which knowledge and ignorance are requited—is proved mainly by an *argumentum ad hominem*. Knowledge is incompatible with the enjoyment of the pleasures of this world, which are a hindrance to it. Yet the philosopher must pursue knowledge with some object—he who doubts this is asked why he doubts, if not for some object; and

¹ Chwolsohn, *die Saabier, passim*.

² Zeller, *die Philosophie der Griechen*, iii. 2. 420, etc.

³ Chwolsohn, *l.c.* bk. i. c. xii.

since that object is not to be realized in this world, it must be realized in another. That the future world will be like this in respect of the division into knowledge and ignorance may be argued from the analogy of the present. That knowledge and ignorance there will be respectively assigned to knowledge and ignorance is proved by *reductio ad absurdum*.

If, therefore, the future world is like this in respect of the division, since knowledge constitutes the happiness of the soul, and the power of acquiring knowledge increases as the bodily humours diminish, when finally freed from those humours the soul will have an unlimited power of acquiring knowledge and become perfectly happy. To the question why in that case suicide should not be committed, the answer of Socrates in the *Phaedo* must be given.

Although the dialogue is not free from obvious fallacy and self-contradiction, its ingenuity is no less apparent than the elegance of the Persian translator's style.

Of this argument the Hebrew translator has misunderstood or omitted almost every step, substituting for it much foreign matter, chiefly consisting in commonplaces of mediæval scholasticism about the three souls, the four principles, etc., and some legends embodied in the *Qor'an*. On the other hand, his answer to the question why suicide is not commendable is more original: any one who had reached the eminence of Abraham would be justified in perpetrating that act; but the ordinary philosopher needs time in which to perfect himself. The same reason is assigned by the commentators on the *Qor'an* for the precept "slay not yourselves."¹

The title, "Book of the Apple," has been adopted from the quotations in *Ikhwān ul-Safā* and the *Uri MS.*; I have not ventured to translate it into Persian. The Hebrew translator evidently thought the Apple was not given sufficient prominence in the dialogue, and endeavoured to

¹ A characteristic interpolation is that in which the contents of the *Book of the Soul* are described in accordance with the Hebrew פֶּסֶר הַנֶּפֶשׁ, edited by Löwenthal.

supply this defect. Vague conjectures about this "Apple" are made by Losius in his notes; Fabricius in his *Bibliotheca* gives some more useful information.

The Persian text has been re-collated with the MS. (which is almost entirely without diacritic points, and in a difficult hand) and the translation revised by Mr. J. T. Platts, teacher of Persian in the University of Oxford, who, however, is not responsible for any errors that may remain. The editor begs to tender him sincerest thanks for his kindness, and also to the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society for allowing this work to appear in their Journal.

*Remarks on the Arabic version of the Metaphysics of
Theophrastus.*

The MS. from which this text has been copied (Ouseley 95) bearing the title "Translations from Greek Philosophers," among others, contains a variety of interesting matter, which has been catalogued by Dr. Ethé with his ordinary thoroughness.¹ Perhaps the only tract in the Miscellany which can properly be called a translation of a Greek philosophical work is No. xvi., consisting of four torn leaves which originally contained an Arabic translation of the fragment of Theophrastus ordinarily known as his *Metaphysics*. We learn from Wenrich's authorities that Yahya ibn Adi (ob. 363 A.H. = 973 A.D.) rendered this treatise into Arabic from Syriac; the present translation is probably by him, though it might seem to have come directly from the Greek. Although the MS. is perfect at the commencement—for the obverse page is blank—the copy from which it was made must have contained more; for the present MS. commences in the middle of a sentence, viz. at the word *ἐκάτερα*, p. 410, l. 15, ed. Didot; p. 308, § 2, Brandis, p. iv, a. 12, Usener. The fragments—counting any line in which a word or more has been preserved as a whole line; owing to the pages having been torn obliquely, very few of the lines are

¹ Persian MSS. of the Bodleian Library, pp. 861-875.

complete—cover the following portion of Usener's edition (Bonn, *Index Scholarum*, 1890-1).

- Fol. 1. U. iv. a. 12, § 2 — v. a. 2, § 5, *κρείττονι*.
 2. U. v. b. 11, § 9, *ἐπιζητήσειεν* — vi. a. 19, § 11, *Ἀρχύτας*.
 3. U. vi. a. 19, § 11 — vii. a. 16, § 15, *λαμβάνουσιν*.
 4. U. viii. a. 8, § 17, *πῶς ποτε* — viii. b. 21, § 20, *ιδίων*.
 5. U. viii. b. 21 — i. b. 11, § 25, *δυνάμεθα*.
 6. U. x. a. 25, § 28, *ἄρξασθαι* — xi. a. 10, § 31, *οἰσοφάγου*.
 7. U. xi. a. 10 — end.

The following passage, which is fairly well preserved, will serve as a specimen of the translation (cf. U. p. xi. a. 2, § 31).

فان لم يكن هذه من قبل شى قصد به الامر الافضل فقد ينبغى ان
 نقف على حدودها ولا نضع هذا القول على جميع الاشياء مطلقا
 وذلك ان هذه الاشياء كانه [كان read] القول فيها يميل الى الجهتين
 اذا قيلت على الاطلاق واذا قيلت على واحد واحد اعنى بالقول
 على الاطلاق ان الطبيعة فى كل شى تتشوق الى الافضل وانها فيما
 يحتمل ذلك تفيد النظام والدوام وكذلك يجرى الامر . .
 والحيوانات وذلك انها حيث يمكن . . . ليس تقصر فى موضع
 من المواضع ومثال ذلك ان الحائجرة جعلت من مقدم المرى
 وكذلك جعل كانت الشهوة تجرى هذا المجرى
 الا انه قد يظهر ان ما لا يؤايتها ولا يقبل الامر الافضل كثير بل هو اكثر
 كثيرا مما يقبله وذلك ان ذا النفس قليل وما لا نفس له ولا يحصى
 كثرة واسرع تكونا مما له نفس واجود وجودا وبالجملة فان الجيد
 يسير وفى اشياء يسيرة والردى كثير العدد وخروج هذا عن الحد

فقط هو بمنزلة ما يكون فى طبيعة غاية الجهل فان الذين تكلموا
فى الجواهر باسره مثل سپوسيبس جعلوا الشريف فى الموضع الوسط
قليلاً عزيزاً واما النهايات ما عن جنبتى الوسط فهى عندهم على ما
ينبغي فاما افلاطون وشيعة فوثاغورس فانهم باعدوا الامر بعدا كثيراً
بما راوه

Translation : " And if these things are not because of anything in which the better was intended, then it is necessary that we should understand its limits and not assert this proposition of everything absolutely. For in these things the statement as it were sways to two sides, when they are stated absolutely, and when they are stated individually. I mean by the absolute statement, that nature in everything desires the better, and that she, wherever possible, bestows order and persistence. The same is the case with . . . and animals. For where it is possible . . . she does not fail in any single place. An example of that is how the throat is placed in front of the œsophagus . . and likewise there is placed . . . The desire follows the same course; only it appears that what does not obey it nor accept the better matter is abundant, nay, it is far more abundant than what does accept it. For that which is possessed of soul is of small number, whereas what has no soul is innumerable and comes quicker into existence than what has a soul, and is better in existence. And in general the good is little and in few things; and the bad large in number. And the fact that this only exceeds limit is like what is in the nature of the extremity of folly. For those who talked of substance as a whole like Speusippus made the honourable in the middle place small and rare, whereas the extremes on either side of the middle are according to them as they should be. Plato and the Pythagoreans however carried the matter very far in what they held."

It is to be regretted that the passage breaks off here.

The following readings would seem to be of some interest (cf. Usener, *Rheinisches Museum*, xvi. 264 sq.).

iv. a. 16, § 2, ὡσπερ καὶ τὰ αἰδία τῶν φθαρτῶν: the beginning of the line is lost; the Arabic, however, has كتقدم الاشياء

الازلية للاشياء القابلة للفساد

like the priority of eternal things to things which are corruptible.

iv. a. 20, § 3, οὐθ' ὅλως ἀξιώχρεα φαίνεται παντός:

ولا هي في الجملة مما يحتاج اليه وينتفع به في الكل

nor are they altogether such as are needed or can be useful in all or on the whole. This would represent πάντως.

23, ἀντὰ δὲ δι' αὐτῶν οὐδεμίαν ἔχει φύσιν:

انما هي بمنزلة ما اخترعه فنضعه وضا واما هي في انفسها فليست

لها طبيعة قائمة

They are merely likely what we invent and set up ourselves, and as for them in themselves, they have not any abiding nature.

Owing to the loss of the preceding words, it is difficult to say whether ἔχει or ἔχειν was read; nor can we be sure that *abiding* was a supplement of the translator.

The next words εἰ δὲ μή, οὐχ ὥστε συνάπτειν τοῖς τῆς φύσεως ὥστ' ἐμποιῆσαι καθάπερ ζῶην καὶ κίνησιν αὐτοῖς are represented by fragments:

وان لم تكن لها [طبيعة] قائمة فليس . . . تتصل . . . [طبيعة] حتى

تحدث فيها حياة وحركة مثلا

And if they have no permanent nature; the stroke that remains of the last word seems to me to point to ان يمكنها [they cannot] be connected with the [things appertaining to] nature so as to create in them life and motion as it were.

This would be in favour of the conjecture *οἰά τε* for ὥστε (Hoffmann). The Arabic continues: وذلك ان العدد نفسه

فضلا عن غيره وهو الذي يعتقد [فيه النا]س انه . . . ط . . .

[طبيعة قائمة وان كان ههنا جوهر ما اخر اشد تقدما وفضلا فقد ينبغي ان نروم القول فيه هل هو واحد فى العدد [او وا] حد فى النوع او واحد فى الجنس والاولى اذا كانت طبيعتها طبيعة مبدا ان يكون وجودها فى اشياء كثيرة زائدة اللهم الا ان تكون اوائل وجودها

for even number itself, much less anything else, which people believe has not an abiding [nature]. And if there be here any other substance of greater priority and excellence, we should endeavour to speak about it, whether it be one in number or [one] in species or one in genus. And it is most probable, since its nature is the nature of a beginning, that its existence is in many, abundant things, unless the first parts of its existence

p. v. a, § 5, ἡ κυκλικὴ κίνησις. Usener's insertion of the word κίνησις is distinctly confirmed by the corresponding fragment,

هى طبيعة المسوب [التشوق] التى عنها تكون حركة الدور
the nature of . . . from which there comes the circular motion.

U. v. b. 18, § 10, ὥσπερ ἀδεκτόν τι καὶ ἀσύνθετον εἶναι.

Arab. fragment غير قابل ولا محتمل للارتباط
not receiving nor enduring to be tied together.

This confirms Usener's conjecture ἀσύνθετον which the Arabic exactly represents.

U. v. b. 23, συμβαίνει γὰρ οἶον κατὰ συμβεβηκός κτλ.

كانها عرض لزمها عن الحركة الدورية
it is like an accident which attends her from the circular motion.

The words καὶ εἰς τοὺς τόπους μεταβολάς were omitted by the translator.

U. v. b. 27, κάλλιον ἂν τι παρὰ τοῦ πρώτου δέοι τῆς κυκλοφορίας κτλ.

فقد يحتاج من ال م سى يلى الوسط الى شى هو افضل
من الحركة الدورية

It would require which comes near the middle something better than the circular motion.

U. vi. a. 14, § 11, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὡσπερ ἐτέρων λόγων κτλ.

واخلى لقايل ان يقول ان الكلام فى هذا المعنى ليس هذا موضعه
لكن ليت شعزى للانسان ان يعتقد من هذا المبدأ او من هذه
المبادئ او من سائر المبادئ معها تكون وقعة . . . يتصل بها وليس
انما . . . ثم ينقطع

And it is filter for the speaker [i.e. any one] to say that this is not the place for the discussion of this subject. Only would I knew whether a man should believe from this beginning or from these beginnings or from the rest of the beginnings existing together at one time.

Wimmer conjectured in l. 17 ἄλλων ἀρχῶν, which is perhaps confirmed.

vi. b. 3, § 12, χρόνον δ' ἅμα καὶ οὐρανόν.

These words occur at the end of a line in the Arabic والزمان
مع السماء, which is not therefore in favour of Usener's *athetesis*.

vi. b. 5, οὐδεμίαν ἔτι ποιοῦνται μνείαν,

لم يذكره اصلا فضلا عن ان يشرعوا فيه

they did not mention them at all, not to speak of dealing with them; شرع is used below for ἄπτεσθαι.

vi. b. 10, § 13, Πλάτων μὲν — μόνον :

[واما] افلاطون فانه عند رده الى المبادئ قد يظن انه قد شرع فى
سائر الاشياء بانه رد الاشياء [الى] الصور والصور الى الاعداد وترقى



من الاعداد الى المبادئ فلما اخذ في الكلام فى التولد بلغ الى
الصور

As for Plato, when reducing [things] to the beginnings he might be thought to have dealt with the rest of things, inasmuch as he reduced things to the forms and the forms to the numbers and ascended from the numbers to the beginnings; and when he began to discuss generation he reached the forms.

This does not seem in favour of Usener's emendation *κατάγειν* for *κατά*.

vii. a. 15, § 15. The words *على ما قال ارو س according as Heraclitus said* appears as a solitary fragment. But the word *يستعملون* for *λαμβάνουσιν* shows that Yahya read the following paragraph.

viii. b. 4, § 18, *καὶ μέλανα ἐν αὐτοῖς*: the remnant of a line begins *الاسود فيها the black in them.*

§§ 19 and 20 are fairly well preserved in the Arabic.

viii. b. 24, § 20, *δλωσ* is represented by the Arabic *بالجملة* in general.

viii. b. 26, § 20, *ὅλον ἀριθμοῖς γραμμαῖς ζῳοῖς φυτοῖς*:

بمنزلة ما يقال فى الاعداد وفى الخطوط الخ

like that which is said about numbers and about lines, etc.

Usener's conjecture (Rh.M. p. 274) that *ἐν* should be inserted seems confirmed.

viii. b. 27, § 20, *τέλεος δ' ἢ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἔστιν δ' ἔνια* (*ἐνθα* Usener) *τῶν μὴ καθόλου τέλος κτλ*:

والمعرفة الكاملة هى من الامور الكلية كالغاية والمقصود اليها [اليه] فان السبب انما وجوده فى هذه وهى من الامور الجزئية بقدر القسمة الى اشخاص

And perfect knowledge is in respect of universal things like the end and the goal ; for the existence of the cause is in these only ; but in respect of particular things it is to the extent of the division into individuals.

The translator might seem to have read τέλεος δὲ τῶν μὲν καθόλου τέλος, τῶν δὲ ἐν μέρει.

ix. a. 7, § 21, διὰ πλείστου δὲ τὸ κατ' ἀναλογίαν :

Usener's conjecture τῶ is distinctly confirmed :

الا ان اكثر ما يقف [نقف 1.] به على ذلك بالمقايسة

except that most of what we understand it by is by analogy.

ix. a. 14, § 22, τὰ ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ τὰ ἐπόμενα :

وما من هذه في المبادي وما منها لواحق

and what of these things are in the beginnings and what of them are following.

ix. b. 1, § 24, τοῖς πλεοναχῶς λεγομένοις ἢ καὶ τοῦτ' ἄπορον.

..... الاشياء التي تقال من جهات شتى ولعل هذا

the things which are said in different ways ; and perhaps this.

x. l. 4, § 29, ἢ αἱ μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ κτλ.

The words *وكذلك نسل عما* and *likewise we shall ask concerning what*, correspond with the beginning of this sentence ; after a loss of two-thirds of a line then follows [اشياء اخر] *اشياء اخر* *other things not a few* = x. b. 6, καὶ ἕτερα οὐκ ὀλίγα. Yahya must have either read the passage bracketed by Usener, or some substitute for it.

x. b. 12, § 29, κινήσει καὶ παραιωρήσει is rendered في الحركة والاستقال, the first of which represents κινήσει.

x. b. 13, § 29. The sentence καὶ ὡς ἔνια—τοιαῦτα is omitted.

x. b. 16, § 30. The words *καὶ τὸ μέγιστον δὴ καὶ μάλιστα δοκοῦν* are rendered :

واعظم ما يدخل الشك فيه من ذلك واخصه له

the greatest point of this into which the doubt enters and the point to which it especially belongs.

x. b. 19, § 30, *εἴπερ τούτων χάριν* :

Arab. *من أجل شئى* *on account of anything*, confirming Usener's conjecture *του χάριν*. The last word is almost obliterated, but can from the diacritic points have been nothing else.

The next sentence is

وللانسان ايضا ان يبحث من امر النبات بل من امر النفس عن
السبب الذى له صار

and a man may also inquire concerning plants, nay, concerning the souls [read the soulless] of the cause for which there became . .

For p. xi. a. 1, § 31 to xi. b. 1, § 33 see above. The place which would have corresponded to *μμεῖσθαι γ' ἐθέλειν ἅπαντα* is unfortunately obliterated; the word which remains is apparently *يتقبله will receive it*. The text contains :

هذا على انهم وضعوا سببها بالتضاد لاثنونة الغير المحدودة وللواحد
يدخل فيه الخروج عن التناهى والنظام

although they made its cause to consist in the contrariety between the infinite dyad and the one, wherein enters infinitude and disorder.

xi. b. 5, § 33, *ἀνευ ταύτης* : تلك يعنى الرداوة *free from this, i.e. mischief*; similarly after *ἐτέρας* a gloss *يعنى meaning goodness*.

xi. b. 12, *ἐξ ἐναντίων γε καὶ ἐν ἐναντίοις οὐσαν*.

ἐν was added by Sylburg; Yahya must have read it, as appears from the rendering



من قبل انه من اشياء متضادة وفي اشياء متضادة

since it is of contraries and in contraries.

xi. b. 15, § 34, οὔτε γὰρ τὸ βέλτιον οὔτε τὸ τινὸς χάριν :

فان هذه تقصد . . . الافضل وان جعلت من . . . ويبعث اماما

ضروريا

for these things intend . . . the better, and if they are regarded . .

The MS. represented by Yahya was clearly better than any existing.

Although the amount to be obtained from these fragments is not as great as might be wished, it is still interesting to find them confirm some scholars' conjectures.

No. xxiii. Plato's *de legibus* is of course wholly spurious; the passages quoted by Dr. Ethé show this.

* کتاب التفاحة *

این ترجمه مقاله ایست از ان ارسطاطالیس که بوقت وفات
 املا کرده است چنین گفتند که چون ارسطاطالیس حکیم را عمر
 پایان رسید از شاگردان وی چندی بروی حاضر بودند چون نزاری
 تن و ناتوانی وی بدیدند و نشانهای مرگ از وی پیدا یافتند از حیاتش
 5 نومید گشتند مگر آنکه در وی میدیدند از سرور و نشاط و درستی عقل
 آنچه دلیل میکرد بر آنکه او از حال خود می یابد برخلاف آنکه دیگران
 از او میدیدند پس شاگردی بوی گفت که ما را جزع بر تو بیش از
 انست که ترا بر خود و از گذشتن تو غمناکتریم که تو از گذشتن خود
 اگر از انست که تو از خود چیزی می یابی بیرون از آنچه ما از تو
 10 می یابیم ما را نیز از آن آگاهی ده ارسطاطالیس گفت اما آنچه از
 خرمی من می یابید نه از انست که مرا در حیات خود طمعی
 مانده است ولیکن استواری منست بحال خویش پس از مرگ
 شاگردی نام وی شیماس گفت اگر ترا این استواری هست
 سزاوارتر که ما را نیز بنمائی سبب آن تا همچنانکه ترا وثوقست ما را
 15 نیز باشد ارسطو گفت اگر چه دشوارست بر من سخن گفتن اما
 رمجی برگزیم از برای شما نخست بشنوم از قریطون که در وی می
 بینم که در سخن یازد قریطون گفت اگر چه من نیکخواهانم شنیدن



سخن ترا وپیدا کردن دانش ای آموزنده بشرا لیکن طبیبی که
 متعهدست مرا فرموده است که اورا بسخن گفتن میار که سخن
 20 گفتن اورا گرم کند وچون گرمی بروی غالب گردد مداوات دراز تر
 گردد و دیرتر منفعت دهد ارسطو گفت من رای آن طبیب را
 بگذاشتم واز ادویه ببوی سیبی بس کنم که روان مرا چندان
 نگهدارد که من در سخن حق شما بگذارم وچون وچگونه سخن
 نگویم وبهترین امید من از دارو نیروی سخن گفتنست اکنون بیائید
 25 و مرا آگاهی دهید که شمارا یقینست فضل حکمت یا نه پاسخ
 دادند که گرامی داشتن حکمت از ما نبوده است الا از آنکه فضل
 وی دانستیم بر دیگر چیزها ارسطو گفت فضل این در دنیاست یا در
 آخرت گفتند فضل حکمت را منکر نه ایم وناچار مارا بدان آرد
 که اثبات فضیلت و منفعت وی در آخرت کنیم ارسطو گفت پس
 30 چون شمارا مرگ ناخوش آید و شهرتی را که ازان زیان بشما رسد
 بخود بندید هر چند که از شما سزد که درنگرید که تا این مرگ که
 نزد عاقله ناپسندیده است خود نیست الا از قالب [و] تن نفس
 جدا ماندن گفتند چرا بیش بدانیم گفت بدانچه یافته اید از
 دانش هیچ خرمید یا نه و بدانچه از شما درگذشت از دانش هیچ
 35 اندوهمندید یا نه گفتند بلی گفت بکدام یک از تن و روح دانش
 اندوزید بتن که مایه کوری و کوری و سستی و ناسودمندیست هنگام
 جدا ماندن روح از وی یا بروح که جاوید مردم بدان شنوا و بینا
 و دانا و گویا بود تا با اوست گفتند بلکه بزندگانی روح و نیکی وی



دانش یافته شود و بگرانی تن ازان بازماند ارسطو گفت پس چون
 40 پیداگشت که دانش نمره روح است و ازان بازدارنده گرانى تنست
 و بیافتن دانش خرم شوید و بازماندن از ان غمناک گردید ناچار
 بود که جدا شدن روح از تن بر بودن روح با تن اختیار کنید و از تن
 جداگشتن به آید روح را که با تن بودنش آخر نبینید که آرزوهای
 تن و لذات وی از زن و فرزند و مال و خورش و نوشش افزونی
 45 زیانکارند بحکمت جستن و نه شما چون این لذات را بگذاشتید
 برای نگاهداشت خرد و گزائیدن بدانش بگذاشتید گفتند آری
 گفت پس چون خستومندید که لذات تن ازان نیرو شود که
 تباهننده خرد است ناچار تن که پذیرای این لذاتست خرد را
 زیانکارتر بود گفتند ناچار رای مارا معترف کرد بدینچه از سخن تو
 50 درست گشت تا بدین سخن که رسیدیم لیکن چون کنیم وجه
 سازیم تا ما نیز بر مرگ همچین دلیر گردیم که توثی و همچین از
 حیات پرهیزیم که تو می پرهیزی ارسطو گفت سزاتر چیزی که
 جوینده دانش ازان بمقصود رسد کوشش گوینده است در آنکه
 نگوید آراست و کوشش شنونده در آنکه نشنود آراست
 55 اکنون من بکوشم در راست گفتن شما نیز بکوشید در راست و درست
 شنیدن و پذیرفتن نه شما دانید که معنی فلسفه دوست داشتن
 حکمتست و روان به اصل و ماده فلسفه است و آلا بدان خرسند نشود
 و آلا بدان آرام نگیرد گفتند آری گفت نه شما میدانید که سرور
 روان حکمتست و حکمت بنیکی نفس و روان توان یافت و نیکی



60 نفس بدرستی ویست ودرستی روان بکمی بلغم وگش وخنوست
گفتند آری گفت اگر نیکی روان بدرستی ویست ودرستیش
بکمی این اخلاطست از نیست شدن اخلاط درستتر و نیکتر گردد
گفتند ما را برگفته تو هیچ انکاری نیست و با اینهمه در خود این
نشاط از مرگ نمی یابیم که از تو می بینیم ارسطاطالیس گفت
65 چون بینش بیننده را پیش روست بمنفعت ونگهدارنده ویست
از مضرت بکوشید تا باشد که بینش شما را بیفزایم بمنفعت مرگ
ای دوستداران حکمت نه بینید که جوای حکمت که روان وی
از گناه ویژه شده است خود را میرانیده است پیش از مرگ چه
اهل و مال و جهانبانی را که حیات دنیا را از برای آن خواهند
70 ورنج بسیار و بارگران از جستن حکمت برگرفت چنانکه ازان
هر رنج الا بمرگ آسایش نیابد پس چیست نیاز آنکه بلذت
زندگانی سود نیابد بزندگانی و چیست گریز آنکه آسایش وی الا
بمرگ نیست از مرگ بلی ستمکار شد هر که نام فلسفه جست بی
آنکه سزاوار معنیش بود و نادان گشت هر که پنداشت که با راحت
75 ولذت و نعيم دنیا راه تواند یانت بفسلفه هیچ تواند بود که شمارا
تمتا بود که نام علم بر شما افتد با لذات ایجابانی از خورش
و نوش و دیگر چیزها گفتند که ما را این طمع نیست و جوای این
نه ایم و چون طمع بریم بفسلفه و کار ایجابان یابیم با آنکه دیده ایم
که چون وقتی در طعام و شراب افزونی یا در دل جنبشی پیدا
80 آید از چیزی که ضد خرد بود چون شهوتی یا خشمی یا حرصی



بحدی خرد یلرند آن هکله و رجه آن جنس تر عمر
 بیهوش خیم بدخود که بصر آید و بیست هیچ چیز که نمد شنی
 بی از بدصفتیست یسوی موربیدتر است از خورد ز بسو
 گشت نطق شرح چیز از یخت به بره چیز از جنسش
 85 گز است که در لب از شجوت برهیز کنید و پس دین گزیده
 برهیزگری بکنه نید پیخ گزیدن دین نوبت داشتی بدست
 پس هر که از بدات بی برهیزد و از مددن در دنیا نوبت گیرد شایخ
 گرفت پیخ را قوه گذشت و تمام و سیده است که او را با شایخ
 پیخ نیز بید شمس گفت من بیخم از نعمت دنیا خوبش دُر
 90 واکتی از آنچه از سخن تو یافتم بر تم که هم بر می نهادم و چون این
 در بر من ننگش جویدی آن شوم که تمامتر کنم و بر می تو بروم
 و سیرت تو گیرم ای آموزنده بشرا قریضون گفت اکنون بمن بسوه
 بینش دانش من که هیچکس نیست که نه او را مرگ زبانه است
 الا فیلسوف را هر که بدان برسد و تمام کرد گو مرگ را بجوی و بخواد
 95 و هر که ازان بازماند گو از مرگ بگریز هر چه دورتر و برهیز هر چه
 سخت تر که بیای نماند مرگ را و از غم مرگ آسایش ندهد مگر
 حکمت زینون گفت که سخن ارسطاطالیس هیچ راه نداد ما را که
 با لذتی برخوردار شویم یا ببازماندن در میان گرانیم و اینکه او بر
 مرگ از من دلیرتر است اگر چه من نیز سخت تر مانم از آنست
 100 که او در حال و کار خود صلاح آوردن کوشیده تر از من بوده است
 و اگر من خود بجز خود کرده بودمی همچنانکه او کرده است و از



خود آرزو نیاز و خشم رانده بود می همچنانکه او رانده است در من همان دلیری پدید آمدی که در وی می یابیم دیگری گفت من ازین پیش از تاختن مرگ می ترسیدم و امروز از پائیدن حیات میترسم

105 زینون گفت تو بر مرگ یافتن تواناتری که بر حیات دراز یافتن جوابش داد که سیر شدن من از عمر مرا بران نمیدارد که مرگ را بخود خوانم پیش از آنکه مرگ بمن آید زینون گفت ما دیده ایم که دوستان بسی کنند بدیدن آنکه ایشانرا ندیده باشد اگر مرگ را دوست داری چه چیز ترا از جستن وی باز می دارد پیش از آن

110 که او ترا جوید جواب داد که مرگ دوست نیست لیکن پلست که تا بران نگذرند بدانچیز نرسند که همیخواهندش و دوستش دارند زینون گفت پس پائیدن تو چیست با آنکه میدانی درست که گرامی خواهی گشت بمرگ جواب داد که من همچون نگهدارنده نغمه که اگر بپاید با رنج بپاید و اگر بگذرد و بگذاید بکرامت رسد

115 زینون گفت چیست نهاد این مثل گفت مقیم در نغمه نفس فیلسوف است و نغمهش تنست و آنچه تن نغمه اوست آرزو نیاز و خشمست و رنج بد هر نفسست در کار این اخلاق و دور کردن ایشانرا از خود و کرامت آنست که نفس در بازگشتن بدان رسد از سرور و فرح و چون مناظره ایشان بدینجا رسید دیگری گفت نام وی استفانس

120 که اگر نام فیلسوفی (را) همین فائده بودی که از نام نادانی بیرون برد اهل خود را کی در جستن آن بکوشید می دیگری گفت اگر خود برای فرزانتگی این نام مجست می این نام را زینون گفت اگر برای

هیچ چیز رغبت نکرد می بدین نام برای این بجستمیش تا از
 نزع و مهم مرگ امن یافت می قریطون گفت نزدیکترین منفتهای
 125 این علم آنست که غمهای فراوان مرا یکی کرد قراماس گفت
 چون دریابجهان خود یک غم ماند سودمندتر چیزی که بدان
 غم خورند همت کسیست که غم چیزی باقی میخورد فندروس
 گفت مردم همه در کارزارند و سزاوارتر خصمی که کارزارجوی
 آهنگ وی کند نزدیکترین دشمنان ویست و آن غمهای سینۀ
 130 اوست ایلیطوس گفت چیستند دشمنان فیلسوف فندروس گفت
 نزدیکترین دشمنان او لذات سینۀ اوست که بحکمت جستن
 زیان دارند و چون سخن این طائفه ایجا رسید شیماس روی با ارسطو
 آورد و گفت بر فرزند دلهای ما را بفروغ چراغ خود پیش از آنکه
 فروغش فرونشیند ای پدر مهربان ارسطو گفت یابنده ترین علما در
 135 علم آنست که دانش نیندوخت الا پس از آنکه نفس را فرهنگ
 داده بود و خوی خود را ستوده کرده و راست گوینده ترین گویندگان
 آنست که بگفتار نیازد الا پس از اندیشه و استوارترین کارگران
 آنست که در کار نشود الا پس از انداخت و هیچکس با هستگی
 و حزم در عزم بکار آوردن نیازمندتر از فیلسوف نیست در آنچه
 140 پیش گیرد ازین کار که رنج آن بنقد است و منفعت آن باز پس
 گوی نگرستن در پیش دار پس چون نگرستن ویرا بدیدن رسانید
 گوی دیدنرا پیشوای کردن کن پس چون دیدن ثمره کردن بوی
 بنمود گوی رنج کار کردن برگیر پیش از رسیدن بشمره و چون از سر

دیدن اختیار کردن کار کرد بهنگام آنکه نمره باید چید از کار کردن
 145 در اندوه نباید بود که هر آنکه نفس خود را از لذت بازگیرد و بار
 طلب علم بکشد برای خدا تا بپاداش آن برسد پس از مرگ و آنکه
 بهنگام مرگ غمگین شود خود را بدان باز آورد که برو خندند و بر
 کار او افسوس دارند و بجای خنده و افسوس بود آنکه دعوتی سازد
 و بنای کوشکی نهد و چون بدان رسد که مقصود دعوت و بنای
 150 کوشک بخواهد یافت اندوهمند و غمناک شود و من شناسم کسی
 را که این رنج بکشد و در پاداش آن بشک بود و چه عجب از
 کسی که بشک بود از پاداش پس از مرگ که خشم آیدش از مرگ
 و ناشاد بود بدان بل عجب دارم از کسی که از مرگ ناشاد بود با
 آنکه دعوی دارست در یقین پاداش پس از مرگ و چون ارسطو
 155 این سخن بپایان رسانید قریطون گفت اگر تو آن خواستی که ما پس
 از تو خوش دل باشیم ای آموزاننده شایسته بدین بیان خوب که
 کردی اندوه ما بیفزود بر مفارقت تو و اگر مرگ ترا سودمند است
 ما را باری زیانکارست در آنچه بر ما بماند از مشکلات مسائل که
 درین تو پناه جایی بودی دیوجنس گفت هیچ چیز سود بچیزی
 160 ندارد و زیان بدیگری الا که میان ایشان مخالفتی بود و اگر سیرت
 ارسطاطالیس او را سودمند است و ما را زیانکار از اختلاف ما و اوست
 قریطون گفت میان ما و او اختلافیست و اتفاقی بآرزو و هوا متفقیم
 و بماندن ما و رفتن او مختلفیم دیوجنس گفت اندوه شما نه از
 انست که او بمنزل کرامت خواهد رسید ولیکن باز ماندن شماست



- 165 بمنزل خواری لسیاس گفت هر دو راست گوئید و شما ستون خانه بوده اید که در آن خانه چراغها بود ستون بزرگتر بیفتاد و بر [و بار آن بر 1.] دیگر ستونها آمد و چراغ روشنتر را بنشانند خانه را روشنی کم شد و تاریکی افزون و شما نه از افتادن ستون و مردن چراغ غمگینید بلکه از تاریکی خانه و گرانی سقف پس شیماس روی بار سطاالیس آورد و گفت
- 170 ای پیشرو حکمت ما را بیا گاهان تا چیست محستترین چیزی که جوینده حکمت را آموختن آن بکار آید ارسطو گفت چون روان معدن حکمت بود محستتر دانش که او را بکار آید دانش نفس است شیماس گفت چون بجوید ارسطو گفت بنیروی خودش گفت چیست نیروی خودش ارسطو گفت آن نیرو که تو خود را
- 175 از من بدان پرسی شیماس گفت چون تواند که چیزی خود را از دیگری پرسد ارسطو گفت چنانکه بیمار خود را از طبیب پرسد و چنانکه نابینا از آنها که پیراهن وی نشسته باشند رنگ خود پرسد شیماس گفت چون خود از خود کور بود و اصل همه بینائی خود است ارسطو گفت چون حکمت در خود یعنی در نفس نهان
- 180 و پوشیده بود هم از خود کور بود و هم از دیگری همچنانکه چشم بیفروغ چراغ هم از خود کور بود و هم از دیگری شیماس گفت پس آموزنده الا از جهت حکمت نتواند آموخت و نگرنده الا از چراغ نتواند نگرید ارسطو گفت نفس پذیرای حکمت نشود الا بدرستی که طبع او بود و بینش بیننده گذر نیابد الا بچراغ چون
- 185 اینهمه بهم آید بگذر (د) شیماس گفت اگر نفوس و چشمها بنیروی

خود بی یآوری حکمت و فروغ چراغ بروشنی کارها نرسند پس هیچ چیز بنفس اولیتر از حکمت نیست ارسطو گفت چگونگی چیزی بدا آنچه پذیرد اولیتر بود از معدن خودش نه بینی که آموزگار بنام دانش سزاوارتر بود که آموزنده و نیرومند بنام نیرو لایقتر بود که نیرو 190 یاب چه آموزگارست معدن دانش که دانش ازو خیزد و نیرو مندست معدن نیرو و چون سخن بدینجا رسید لسیاس گفت این سخن بپایان آمد و من باز سر میگیرم مرا بیآگاهان از چه شود که علم نفس سزاوارتر چیز است که آموزنده محست آموزد ارسطو گفت برای آنکه دانش خوی اصل آموزگار و آموزنده است لسیاس گفت از چه دانیم 195 که دانش خوی نفس است ارسطو گفت از آنکه دانش با تن چندان بود که نفس با ویست و چون نفس از تن جدا گشت دانش از وی پوشیده گشت لسیاس گفت باشد که از تن افتاد نه از روان ارسطو گفت اگر از تن بودی از تن مرده همچنان دانش پدید بودی که از تن زنده لسیاس گفت ما همچنانکه از دانش مرده 200 بیخبریم از نادانی وی هم بیخبریم هیچ تواند بود که نادانی وی که نمیدانیم از آنست که نفس از وی جدا گشت ارسطو گفت اگر نادانی نادیدنست در کارهایش نادانی و نادیدن تن پیش از مرگ پیداترست از نادانی وی پس از مرگ لسیاس گفت اگر نادانی کوری با تن است پس از مرگ نادانی بیپوده کاری 205 باری نیست ارسطو گفت چه جدائست میان نادانی کوری و نادانی بیپوده کاری لسیاس گفت وجه یکانگیست میان ایشان



ارسطو گفت هر دو یکی اند در آنکه بر مجذوبانند نه خردمند اما نادانی بهبود کاری چون ناخوشی زشتکاریست زشتکاریست اما نادانی کوری چون بوی ناخوش است یکدی که زو بزید نسیاس²¹⁰ گفت من زشتکاری و هوا جوئی را چنان دانم که تا روان در تن نهاده شد هیچ تواند بود که این زشتکاری هم از روان خیرد نه از تن ارسطو گفت اگر زشتهای خوی امن روان بجای با آنکه روان از کارهای گردننده دورست با همه روانی بجای و هیچ روانی بسی زشتکاری نبودی و ما چون یافتیم روان فلسفه را که از زشتکاری²¹⁵ دورست و از ناپاکی شناختیم و دانستیم که پاکی روان ایشان بر هوا غلبه کرده است دست بر آرزو و خشم یافته و این خوبهارا مقهور کرده و هوا را همسان خرد کرده لسیاس گفت پس چون میان هوا و روان چندین میانه است از چه افتاد که هوا با روان از تن جدا شد ارسطو گفت روان فروزنده ایست و چون از اخلاط تن یکی²²⁰ بر سر آید تن را بسوزد همچنانکه آتش همیشه بسوزد و فروغ روانرا از تن بیرون کند چنانکه آتش روشنائی و تبش را از اندرون خوب بدر کند و هوا بیرون کردن آتش است روشنائی روانرا از تن لسیاس گفت هیچ تواند بود که روشنی خود از گرمی باشد ارسطو گفت اگر گرمی روشنی فزودی شب تابستان روشنتر از روز زمستان بودی²²⁵ همچنانکه شب تابستان گرمتر بود از روز زمستان و چون کار مناظره ایشان بدیجا رسید لسیاس گفت روان مرا زنده کردی ای آموزاننده شایسته پروائی این گفتار و ناچار روان من بدان گزائید که میان



روان وهو فرق کند و میان تبش هوا و فروزش روان و بر من روشن کردی هر یکی هوا و تن و جدائی روان از هردو صفات اکنون میخواهم که

230 فرق میان سیرت هوا و سیرت روان بنمائی همچنانکه فرق میان ایشان بنمودی ارسطو گفت هیچ مخالفت میان کار هر دو یافتی لسیاس گفت هیچ دو مخالف گوهر را نیافتم الا مخالف کار لیکن دوست میدارم که تو فرق میان سیرت روان و سیرت هوا مرا بنمائی بنشانهای روشن که کار هر یک از آن دیگر جدا کند ارسطو گفت

235 هر چه بدست همه کار هواست و هر چه نیکست همه کار نفسست لسیاس گفت من فرق میان خوبکاری روان و زشتکاری هوا از فرق میان گوهر هوا و گوهر روان بهتر نمی دانم ارسطو گفت خوبکاری و نیکی آنست که چون بتو رسد ترا بصلاح آورد و بدی آنست که چون بتو رسد در تو تباهی آورد لسیاس گفت هیچ چیز بمن نرسید

240 که از من طرفی بصلاح آرد که نه طرفی دیگر را تباه کند و چگونه او را خوب توانم خواند چون بی تباهکاری نیا فتمش ارسطو گفت چون بصلاح آورده آن طرف از تو بصلاح آرد که تو بدوست داشتن آن اولیتر باشی که بدشمن داشتن از آن خشم منگیر که گوشه ترا تباه کند که تو بدشمن داشتن آن سزاوارتر می باشی که بدوست داشتنش لسیاس گفت آن چیست که باید که من آنرا دشمن دارم و آن چیست که باید که من آنرا دوست دارم ارسطو گفت

245 تو سزاواری که خرد را دوست داری و بی خردی را دشمن لسیاس گفت پس چه آمد ازین ارسطو گفت پس در خردت

وحسدی خرد بیکار ماند آن هنگام و اگرچه آن جنبش دل بعمل نیاید پس خون بود خود که بعمل آید و نیست هیچ چیز که نگه داشتن وی را سودمندترست و بناهی بدو رسیده تر است از خرد ارسطو گفت نباشد شاخ چیز الا از بیخش و نه پاره چیز الا از جملهش

85 اگر از آنست که در دنیا از شهوات پرهیز کنید و بدل دنیا گزائید پرهیزگاری بتمام نبود و بیخ گزائیدن دنیا دوست داشتن بقاست پس هرکه از لذات وی پرهیزد و بازماندن در دنیا دوست گیرد شاخ گرفت و بیخ را فرو گذاشت و تمام و رسیده آنست که او را با شاخ بیخ نیز بود شیماس گفت من بودم از نعمت دنیا خویشتن دار

90 و اکنون از آنچه از سخن تو یافتم برانم که هم برین نمانم و چون این در بر من ننگشود جوایب آن شوم که تمامتر کنم و برپی تو بروم و سیرت تو بگیرم ای آموزنده بشرا قریطون گفت اکنون بمن بنمود بینش دانش من که هیچکس نیست که نه او را مرگ زیانکارست الا فیلسوف را هرکه بدان برسد و تمام کرد گو مرگ را بجوی و بخواه

95 و هرکه ازان بازماند گو از مرگ بگریز هرچه دورتر و پرهیز هرچه سخت تر که بجای نماند مرگ را و از غم مرگ آسایش ندهد مگر حکمت زینون گفت که سخن ارسطاطالیس هیچ راه نداد ما را که با لذتی برخوردار شویم یا ببازماندن در بیجهان گزائیم و اینکه او بر مرگ از من دلیرتر است اگرچه من نیز سخت ترسان نیم از آنست

100 که او در حال و کار خود بصلاح آوردن کوشیده تر از من بوده است و اگر من خود مجاز خود کرده بودمی همچنانکه او کرده است و از

خود آزونباز وخشم رانده بودمی همچنانکه اورانده است در من همان دلیری پدید آمدی که در وی می یابیم دیگری گفت من ازین پیش از تاختن مرگ می ترسیدم وامروز از پائیدن حیات میترسم

105 زینون گفت تو بر مرگ یافتن تواناتری که بر حیات دراز یافتن جوابش داد که سیر شدن من از عمر مرا بران نمیدارد که مرگ را بخود خوانم پیش از آنکه مرگ بمن آید زینون گفت ما دیده ایم که دوستان بسی کنند بدیدن آنکه ایشانرا ندیده باشد اگر مرگ را دوست داری چه چیز ترا از جستن وی باز می دارد پیش از آن که او ترا جوید جواب داد که مرگ دوست نیست لیکن پلست که تا بران نگذرند بدانچیز نرسند که همیخواهندش و دوستش دارند زینون گفت پس پائیدن تو چیست با آنکه میدانی درست که گرمی خواهی گشت بمرگ جواب داد که من همچون نگهدارنده نعرم که اگر بپاید با رنج بپاید و اگر بگذرد و بگذاید بگرامت رسد

115 زینون گفت چیست نهاد این مثل گفت مقیم در نعر نفس فیلسوف است و نعرش تنست و آنچه تن نعر اوست آزونباز و خشمست و رنج بد هر نفسست در کار این اخلاق و دور کردن ایشانرا از خود و کرامت آنست که نفس در بازگشتن بدان رسد از سرور و فرح و چون مناظره ایشان بدینجا رسید دیگری گفت نام وی استفانس

120 که اگر نام فیلسوفی (را) همین فائده بودی که از نام نادانی بیرون برد اهل خود را کی در جستن آن بکوشیدمی دیگری گفت اگر خود برای فرزانتگی این نام مجستمی این نام را زینون گفت اگر برای

هیچ چیز رغبت نکرد می بدین نام برای این بجستمیش تا از
 فزع و سهم مرگ امن یافتی قریطون گفت نزدیکترین منفعتهای
 125 این علم آنست که غمهای فراوان مرا یکی کرد قراماس گفت
 چون درینجهان خود یک غم ماند سودمندتر چیزی که بدان
 غم خورند همت کسبست که غم چیزی باقی میخورد فندروس
 گفت مردم همه در کارزارند و سزوارتر خصمی که کارزار جوی
 آهنگ وی کند نزدیکترین دشمنان ویست و آن غمهای سینۀ
 130 اوست ایلیطوس گفت چیستند دشمنان فیلسوف فندروس گفت
 نزدیکترین دشمنان اولذات سینۀ اوست که بحکمت جستن
 زیان دارند و چون سخن این طائفه ایجا رسید شیماس روی با ارسطو
 آورد و گفت بر فرزند دلهای مارا بفروغ چراغ خود پیش از آنکه
 فروغش فرونشیند ای پدر مهربان ارسطو گفت یابندهترین علما در
 135 علم آنست که دانش نیندوخت الا پس از آنکه نفس را فرهنگ
 داده بود و خوی خود را ستوده کرده و راست گویندهترین گویندگان
 آنست که بگفتار نیازد الا پس از اندیشه واستوارترین کارگران
 آنست که در کار نشود الا پس از انداخت و هیچکس با هستگی
 و حزم در عزم بکار آوردن نیازمندتر از فیلسوف نیست در آنچه
 140 پیش گیرد ازین کار که رنج آن بنقد است و منفعت آن باز پس
 گوی نگرستن در پیش دار پس چون نگرستن ویرا بدیدن رسانید
 گوی دیدنرا پیشوای کردن کن پس چون دیدن نمره کردن بوی
 بنمود گوی رنج کار کردن برگیر پیش از رسیدن بشمره و چون از سر

دیدن اختیار کردن کار کرد بهنگام آنکه نمره باید چید از کار کردن
 145 در اندوه نباید بود که هر آنکه نفس خود را از لذت باز گیرد و بار
 طلب علم بکشد برای خدا تا بپاداش آن برسد پس از مرگ و آنکه
 بهنگام مرگ غمگین شود خود را بدان باز آورد که برو خندند و بر
 کار او افسوس دارند و بجای خنده و افسوس بود آنکه دعوتی سازد
 و بنای کوشکی نهد و چون بدان رسد که مقصود دعوت و بنای
 150 کوشک بخواید یافت اندوهمند و غمناک شود و من شناسم کسی
 را که این رنج بکشد و در پاداش آن بشک بود و چه عجب از
 کسی که بشک بود از پاداش پس از مرگ که خشم آیدش از مرگ
 و ناشاد بود بدان بل عجب دارم از کسی که از مرگ ناشاد بود با
 آنکه دعوی دارست در یقین بپاداش پس از مرگ و چون ارسطو
 155 این سخن بپایان رسانید قریطون گفت اگر تو آن خواستی که ما پس
 از تو خوش دل باشیم ای آموزاننده شایسته بدین بیان خوب که
 کردی اندوه ما بیفزود بر مفارقت تو و اگر مرگ ترا سودمند است
 ما را باری زیانکارست در آنچه بر ما بماند از مشکلات مسائل که
 درین تو پناه جایی بودی دیوجنس گفت هیچ چیز سود بچیزی
 160 ندارد و زیان بدیگری الا که میان ایشان مخالفتی بود و اگر سیرت
 ارسطاطالیس او را سودمند است و ما را زیانکار از اختلاف ما و اوست
 قریطون گفت میان ما و اختلافیست و اتفاقی با رزو و هوا متفقیم
 و بماندن ما و رفتن او و مختلفیم دیوجنس گفت اندوه شما نه از
 انست که او بمنزل کرامت خواهد رسید ولیکن بازماندن شماست

- 165 بمنزل خواری لسیاس گفت هر دو راست گوید و شما ستون خانه بوده اید که در آن خانه چراغها بود ستون بزرگتر بیفتاد و بر [و بار آن بر].¹ دیگر ستونها آمد و چراغ روشنتررا بنشانند خانه را روشنی کم شد و تاریکی افزون و شما نه از افتادن ستون و مردن چراغ غمگینید بلکه از تاریکی خانه و گرانی سقف پس شیماس روی بار ساطالیس آورد و گفت
- 170 ای پیشرو حکمت مارا بیا گاهان تا چیست محسنترین چیزی که جوینده حکمت را آموختن آن بکار آید ارسطو گفت چون روان معدن حکمت بود محسنتر دانش که او را بکار آید دانش نفس است شیماس گفت چون بجوید ارسطو گفت بنیروی خودش گفت چیست نیروی خودش ارسطو گفت آن نیرو که تو خود را
- 175 از من بدان پرسی شیماس گفت چون تواند که چیزی خود را از دیگری پرسد ارسطو گفت چنانکه بیمار خود را از طبیب پرسد و چنانکه نابینا از آنها که پیراهن وی نشسته باشند رنگ خود پرسد شیماس گفت چون خود از خود کور بود واصل همه بینایی خود است ارسطو گفت چون حکمت در خود یعنی در نفس نهان
- 180 و پوشیده بود هم از خود کور بود و هم از دیگری همچنانکه چشم بیفروغ چراغ هم از خود کور بود و هم از دیگری شیماس گفت پس آموزنده الا از جهت حکمت نتواند آموخت و نگرنده الا از چراغ نتواند نگردد ارسطو گفت نفس پذیرای حکمت نشود الا بدرستی که طبع او بود و بینش بیننده گذر نیابد الا بچراغ چون
- 185 اینهمه بهم آید بگذرد (د) شیماس گفت اگر نفوس و چشمها بنیروی



خود بی یاوری حکمت و فروغ چراغ بروشنی کارها نرسند پس هیچ چیز بنفس اولیتر از حکمت نیست ارسطو گفت چگونگی چیزی بدانچه پذیرد اولیتر بود از معدن خودش نه بینی که آموزگار بنام دانش سزاوارتر بود که آموزنده و نیرومند بنام نیرو لایقتر بود که نیرو

190 یاب چه آموزگار است معدن دانش که دانش ازو خیزد و نیرو مندست معدن نیرو و چون سخن بدینجا رسید لسیاس گفت این سخن بیایان آمد و من باز سر میگیرم مرا بیاگاهان از چه شود که علم نفس سزاوارتر چیز است که آموزنده محست آموزد ارسطو گفت برای آنکه دانش خوی اصل آموزگار و آموزنده است لسیاس گفت از چه دانیم

195 که دانش خوی نفس است ارسطو گفت از آنکه دانش با تن چندان بود که نفس با ویست و چون نفس از تن جدا گشت دانش از وی پوشیده گشت لسیاس گفت باشد که از تن افتاد نه از روان ارسطو گفت اگر از تن بودی از تن مرده همچنان دانش پدید بودی که از تن زنده لسیاس گفت ما همچنانکه از دانش مرده

200 بیخبریم از نادانی وی هم بیخبریم هیچ تواند بود که نادانی وی که نمیدانیم از آنست که نفس از وی جدا گشت ارسطو گفت اگر نادانی نادیدنست در کارهای نادانی و نادیدن تن پیش از مرگ پیداترست از نادانی وی پس از مرگ لسیاس گفت اگر نادانی کوری با تن است پس از مرگ نادانی بهبوده کاری

205 باری نیست ارسطو گفت چه جدائست میان نادانی کوری و نادانی بهبوده کاری لسیاس گفت وجه یکانگیست میان ایشان

ارسطو گفت هردو یکی اند درانکه رمچه دارنده اهل خردند اما نادانی بیهوده کاری چون ناخوشی وزشتکاریست وزشتگوئیست اما نادانی کوری چون بوی ناخوش است وگند که ازو بزاید لسیاس 210 گفت من زشتکاری وهواجوئی را چنان دانم که تا روان در تن نهاده شد هیچ تواند بود که این زشتکاری هم از روان خیزد نه از تن ارسطو گفت اگر زشتهای خوی اصل روان بودی با آنکه روان از کارهای گردنده دورست با همه روانی بودی وهیچ روانی بی زشتکاری نبودى وما چون یافتیم روان فلاسفه را که از زشتکاری دورست واز ناپاکی شناختیم ودانستیم که پاکی روان ایشان بر هوا غلبه کرده است ودست بر آرزو وخشم یافته واین خوبهارا مقهور کرده وهوا را همسان خرد کرده لسیاس گفت پس چون میان هوا وروان چندین میانه است از چه افتاد که هوا با روان از تن جدا شد ارسطو گفت روان فروزنده ایست وچون از اخلاط تن یکی بر سرآید تن را بسوزد همچنانکه آتش هیمه را بسوزد وفروغ روانرا از تن بیرون کند چنانکه آتش روشنائی و تبش را از اندرون چوب بدر کند وهوا بیرون کردن آتش است روشنائی روانرا از تن لسیاس گفت هیچ تواند بود که روشنی خود از گرمی باشد ارسطو گفت اگر گرمی روشنی فزودی شب تابستان روشنتر از روز زمستان بودی 220 همچنانکه شب تابستان گرمتر بود از روز زمستان وچون کار مناظره ایشان بدیجا رسید لسیاس گفت روان مرا زنده کردی ای آموزاننده شایسته پروائی این گفتار وناچار روان من بدان گزائید که میان

روان و هوا فرق کند و میان تبش هوا و فروزش روان و بر من روشن کردی هر یکی هوا و تن و جدائی روان از هر دو صفات اکنون میخواهم که

230 فرق میان سیرت هوا و سیرت روان بنمائی همچنانکه فرق میان ایشان بنمودی ارسطو گفت هیچ مخالفت میان کار هر دو یافتی لسیاس گفت هیچ دو مخالف گوهر را نیافتم الا مخالف کار لیکن دوست میدارم که تو فرق میان سیرت روان و سیرت هوا مرا بنمائی بنشانهای روشن که کار هر یک از آن دیگر جدا کند ارسطو گفت

235 هر چه بدست همه کار هواست و هر چه نیکست همه کار نفسست لسیاس گفت من فرق میان خوبکاری روان و زشتکاری هوا از فرق میان گوهر هوا و گوهر روان بهتر نمی دانم ارسطو گفت خوبکاری و نیکی آنست که چون بتو رسد ترا بصلاح آورد و بدی آنست که چون بتو رسد در تو تباهی آورد لسیاس گفت هیچ چیز بمن نرسید

240 که از من طرفی بصلاح آرد که نه طرفی دیگر را تباه کند و چگونه او را خوب توانم خواند چون بی تباهکاری نیا فتمش ارسطو گفت چون بصلاح آورده آن طرف از تو بصلاح آرد که تو بدوست داشتن آن اولیتر باشی که بدشمن داشتن از آن خشم منگیر که گوشه را تباه کند که تو بدشمن داشتن آن سزاوارتر می باشی که بدوست داشتنش لسیاس گفت آن چیست که باید که من آنرا دشمن دارم و آن چیست که باید که من آنرا دوست دارم ارسطو گفت تو سزاواری که خرد را دوست داری و بی خردی را دشمن لسیاس گفت پس چه آمد ازین ارسطو گفت پس در خردت



نیفزاید الا آنچه از بیخردیت بکاهد پس دوست دار هر آنچه
 250 خردت را صلاح آرد اگرچه بیخردیت را بکاهد که فضل او با تو
 در تباه کردن بیخردی کم از فضل او نیست با تو در صلاح خرد لسیاس
 گفت جدا کردی میان روان وهوا ببیان تمش ونور که کردی ومرا
 بنمودی مخالفت کارهای ایشان بمخالفت بنیادشان وپس از تو
 پرسیدم که تا کارهای هردو بمن روشن کنی بنشانی که جدا کند
 255 کار هریک ازان دیگرو تو مرا آگاه کردی که خوبکاری کار نفسست
 وبدکاری کار هوا ومن فرق پرسیدمت کار خوب وکار زشت را تو
 گفתי هر آنچه در خرد بیفزاید کار خوب است اگرچه نادانی ازو
 بکاهد وهرچه خردرا بکاهد کار بدست اگرچه در بیخردی بیفزاید
 وهیچ یک از خرد وجهل نگاهد الا از مخالف خود ونیفزاید
 260 الا از همسان خود لیکن من هنوز ناگزیرم از بیان آنکه چیست
 که خردرا بیفزاید وچیست که بکاهد ارسطو گفت هر آنچه
 بینش ترا در کارها روشنی فزاید خردترا بیفزاید وهر آنچه
 کارها بر تو بپوشاند خردت را بکاهد لسیاس گفت آن چیست
 که روشنی دهد وآن چیست که پوشش آرد ارسطو گفت
 265 راست گوئی وآنچه بدان ماند از روشنهاست وشک وآنچه بدان
 ماند از پوششها لسیاس گفت روشنی راست گوئی میدانیم
 وپوشش شک همچنین میدانیم لیکن آن چیست که بدیشان
 ماند ارسطو گفت راستکاری که عدلست براستگوئی ماند وناراستی
 که ستمست بدروغ وشک ماند لسیاس گفت عدل وصدق در چه

270 چیز بهم مانند ارسطو گفت هر دو کار را بر نهاد خود بگذارتنست
 لسیاس گفت ستم و دروغ در چه چیز بهم مانند ارسطو گفت
 هر دو کار را از نهاد خود بیفکندنست لسیاس گفت ستم و داد
 کسی کند که کارگذار و قاضی بود و من ترا از همه کارها میپرسم ارسطو
 گفت مردم همه قاضی اند ازیشان برخی خاص اند و برخی قاضی
 275 عام اند هر که بینش او در کارها بلغزد و زبان او دروغ گوید و بد آنچه
 او را نبود در آویزد ستمکارست و دروغ زن و هر آنکه بینش او بچیزها
 رسد و زبان او راست گوید و بد آنچه او راست خرسند بود راستکار
 و دادگروست و راستگوی و ازین دو اندازه که گفتیم هیچکار مردم
 بدر نشود لسیاس گفت من چگونه بدانم که ازین دو اندازه هیچ بدر
 280 نشود ارسطو گفت باز جوی در کارهای که بر تو میگذرد و گذشت
 تا هیچ ازین اندازه بیرون شود اگر از آنست که بیرون نشود آن
 کار را نیز که بر تو نگذشت هم در شمار آن گیر که بر تو گذشت
 لسیاس گفت من چگونه آنرا که بر من نگذشت در شمار آن گیرم
 که بر من گذشت و بروی همان حکم کنم ارسطو گفت اگر چیزهای اندک
 285 از چیزهای بسیارست و اجزای چیزها باصل خود مانده اند پس
 اندک آنچه می بینی از بسیار آنست که نمی بینی و بسیار آنچه
 نمی بینی دور نیست که بدان ماند که می بینی و اگر این سخن
 درستست پس تو خوب و زشتکارهای که هنوز بر تو نگذشت
 هم در آن حکم گیر از خوب و زشتکارها که بر تو گذشته است
 290 لسیاس گفت مرا چه بدان می آرد که من بر غائب همان حکم

کنم که بر حاضر ارسطو گفتم آنچه حاضر تست رای ترا ناچار
 بدان آرد که بر غایب حکم کنی و آنچه که ترا بدان آورد که از
 دانستن حضور حاضر غیبت غائب را بدانستی لسیاس گفت
 چه مرا از دانستن حاضر باز دارد اگر من غائب را ندانم یا چه
 295 دانش من بیفزاید بغائب اگر من حاضر را بدانم چه من آن
 مایه از زمینی که می بینم آنرا که و رای آنست از زمین بمن نمی
 نماید و نه نادیدن آنچه و رای آنست که چشم من بدان نمی رسد
 بدیدن آنچه می بینم هیچ زیان میکند ارسطو گفت پس نه حکم
 می کنی که بیرون ازین زمین (که) می بینم [از] آن زمین
 300 است که نمی بینم همچنین واجب نشود که حکم کنی که و رای
 آنچه بر تو گذشت از کارها آنست که نگذشت همچنانکه حکم
 کردی که و رای آنچه دیدی از زمین آن زمینست که ندیدی
 لسیاس گفت مرا ناگزیر شد که بر غائب حکم کنم از حاضر اما
 مرا معلوم گردان که اگر از آن بود که بر غائب حکم نکنم از حاضر
 305 دانستن حاضر را هیچ زیان کند که از دانستن این مرا فائده رسد
 بحکم کردن بر غائب از حاضر ارسطو گفت چیزی را نشناخت
 هرکه او را از مخالف آن جدا نتوانست کرد لسیاس گفت
 چونست این ارسطو گفت اگر سخن داریوس حکیم درستست
 که حق را نشناخت هرکه از باطلش جدا نتوانست کرد و صواب
 310 را نیافت هرکه از خطاش باز نداشت پس تا بغائب خستو
 نشوی ترا راه نبود بشناخت حاضر لسیاس گفت این سخن گذر



یافت اکنون ای پیشوای حکمت از تو پرسم که آن کارهای که
 هائمه مردم اتفاق کرده‌اند بر زشتی آن از زنا و دزدی و مستی
 و خیانت و ناراستی و غدر و فریب و کینه و حسد و نادانی و عجب
 315 و بخود شاد بودن هم‌را در یکمعنی جمع توان آورد که بیرون
 نشود که من ازان بشناسم که ازین چیزها که بر من گذشت
 مانند آن هست که بر من نگذشت ارسطو گفت اهل این خصال
 اخلاق چون بدان یازد که او را نیست ستمکارست و دروغ‌زن
 و تباہ‌کننده بینش خود لسیاس گفت چونست این ارسطو گفت
 320 نه بینی که هیچکس ازین بدها پیش نگیرد که نخست در وی
 آرزو و خشم و آرزو مجنبد پس این کارها پیش گیرد و با آرزو و خشم و آرزو
 خرد بسامان نماند و چون خرد بسامان نبود راه راست نبرد
 و هرکه راه راست نبرد بیراه شود و هرکه بیراهست ستمکارست
 و ستمکار و دروغ‌زن در عذابست لسیاس گفت هرچه بدیهاست
 325 هم‌را در یکمعنی باز نمودی هیچ تواند بود که نیکوئیهارا نیز در
 یکمعنی بهم آری ارسطو گفت باز گذاشتن ستم نیست الا بداد
 و راستی پیوستن و از باطل پرهیزیدن نیست الا بحق گرائیدن و اگر
 ترا زشتی بدیها روشن شد ناچار بر تو روشن شد که بگذاشتن بدی
 نیکوئیست لسیاس گفت میان بدی و نیکوئی هیچ میانه هست
 330 که اگر آنکه من بدیرا بگذارم بنیکوئی نرسم و در آن میانه بمانم
 همچنانکه دروغ‌را بگذارم و بر خاموشی بمانم و نه راست گوید
 و نه دروغ و آنکه از ستمکاری باز آید و نه بیداد کند و نه دان ارسطو



گفت خامش خاموشی نگزیند مگر بردانائی یا بر نادانی اگر
 بردانائی خامش گشت راست گویدست و اگر بر نادانی خامش
 335 گشت دروغ زنت و متوقف یا بر راست متوقف گشت یا بر کر
 اگر بر راست توقف کرد دادگرمست و عادل و اگر بر کر توقف
 کرد متمکارت و بیدادگر لسیاس گفت بر من روشن کردی فرق
 میان هر آنچه بر من گذرد از خوبی و زشتی در فرق روشن و مرا
 بنمودی که آنچه بر من نگذشت هم مانند آنست که بر
 340 من گذشت بخشنده این حکمت بتو و نگهدارنده برابر آن پاداشت
 کناذ از من بخوبی که هیچ پدری بزندگانی فرزند چنین پرورش
 نکند و پس از مرگ هیچ میراث ازین گرامیتر باز نگذارد ارسطو
 گفت اگر از جواب سوال خود شفا یافتی قریطون را بگذار تا
 سخن گوید که دروی می بینم که در سخن می یازد قریطون گفت
 345 بار سخن بر تو نهادن رمجست و در گذشتن و سخن را فرو گذاشتن
 پس از امروز حسرتست ارسطو گفت هیچ سخن را از من فرو
 مگذار تا در من رمقی یابی که من خود را بران بپای آرم
 قریطون گفت شنیدم و یافتم هر چه بلسیاس دادی از جواب
 و خستو شدم بشناختن غائب از شاهد همچنانکه او شد لیکن مرا
 350 ازان شفائی تمام نیست بی آنکه بدانم که این غائب را که
 بدان اقرار دادم و خستو شدم بدانم که چونست صفات و کارهای
 غریب آن ارسطو گفت من هیچ نمیدانم در غایب و شاهد جز
 دانستن و نادانستن و پاداش این هر دو قریطون گفت من چگونه



اقرار دهم بدین در غایب ودر حاضر چه هنوز مقرر نشدم بدان
 355 واگر از آنکه در حاضر تو مرا اقرار آوردی در غائب اقرار ندهم الا
 بحدود وبرهان ارسطو گفتم آن برهان که ترا در حضور بنماید
 همان در غیبت بنماید قریطون گفتم چیست آن برهان ارسطو
 گفتم هیچ مقرر شوی که رای درست در صواب جوی آنست
 که سقراطیس گفتم قریطون گفتم چیست آنچه او گفتم ارسطو
 360 گفتم اورا یافتم که میگفت هرآنکه که بر تو رای دشخوار گردد آنرا
 دو وجه بنه که آن بی یکی از آن دو وجه نتواند بود پس پیش گیر
 تا کدام یکی شکسته شود که در باطل گشتن یکی وجه بپای آمدن
 دیگر وجه باشد قریطون گفتم بلی اورا دیدم که در مطالبات
 مشکلات چنین کردی اکنون دلیل ما چیست از کار غائب وشاهد
 365 ارسطو گفتم هیچ اقرار می دهی که نیست چیزی بیرون از علم
 وخلافش قریطون گفتم ناچارست ارسطو گفتم هیچ اقرار میدهی
 که چیزها را بصلاح باز نیارد الا همسان آن وتباه نگرداند الا خلاف
 آن قریطون گفتم درین شک نیست ارسطو گفتم پس نبینی که
 اگر پاداش علم نه همسان وی بود خلاف وی بود واگر خلاف علم
 370 بود پس پاداش دانا بنادانی بود وپاداش بینا بنابینائی بود وپاداش
 خوبکاری زشتکاری بود واینچنین نه پاداش بود بلکه نکال بود
 وهرآن که بار علم بکشد مقرر بودست که پاداش آن نخواهد یافت
 وچون این حکم باطل گشت خلاف این حق شد پس پاداش
 بینائی بمینائی رود وپاداش خوبکاری بخوبی وپاداش حکمت

- 375 جستن بحکمت یافتن قریطون گفت مرا اقرار آوردی بر ثواب دانش و عقاب نادانی ارسطو گفت اگر پیش تو درست گشت که پاداش نادان بر خلاف پاداش دانا بود و اگر نه چنین بود پاداش کوری بینائی بود و پاداش خوبکاری بدکاری و پاداش دانش دشمنی یافتن حکمت و این مذهب و قول باطلست نزدیک آن
- 380 کس که رنج طالب علمی بر گرفت بامید ثوابش و پرهیز از عقاب نادانی و در باطل شدن این مذهب حق گشتن خلافش است قریطون گفت این سخن بر من بهمانزور آید که من رنج طالب علمی بر گرفتم طلب ثوابش را و از نادانی پرهیز کردم از بیم عقابش ولیکن تو چه گوئی اگر من باز آیم ازین اقرار و انکار کنم که دانستن را
- 385 ثوابیست و نادانی را عقابی ارسطو گفت پس چه ترا بر منازعت و مناظره من میدارد رغبت بمنفعت دانائی و گریز از مضرت نادانی یا چیز دیگر قریطون گفت بلکه رغبت بمنفعت دانائی و گریز از زیان نادانی مرا برین داشت ارسطو گفت پس اقرار دادی بمنفعت دانش و زیان نادانی و ثواب ازان بیرون نیست که
- 390 نفعست و نه عقاب ازان بیرونست که زیانست قریطون گفت مقرر بمنفعت دانش بزندگانی نه پس از مرگ ارسطو گفت منفعت علم بزندگانی کدامست زیستن بکام یا افزایش دانش قریطون گفت مقرر گشتم بسود دانش و دیدم که دانش بلذات زندگانی زیانکارست ناچار بدان باز آید که سود منفعت دانش در آخرت بود ارسطو
- 395 گفت اگر تو در شکی از منفعت دانا در آخرت با آنکه لذت دنیا



نیست در دانائی پس هیچ راه نیست ترا که منفعت دانش را اثبات کنی نه در دنیا و نه در آخرت قریطون گفت بدیدم من که اگر اقرار دهم بمنفعت علم ناچار اقرار باید داد که در آخرت بود اکنون منکر میشوم که دانش را منفعتست تا انکار توانم کرد که 400 در آخرت سود مندست ارسطو گفت نه تو اختیار شنوائی و بینائی و خردمندی کنی بر کوری و کوری و احمقی قریطون گفت بلی ارسطو گفت برای منفعت اختیار کنی یا نه برای منفعت قریطون گفت برای منفعت ارسطو گفت دیگر بار مقرر شدی که منفعتی هست پس همانست لازم شود که در پیش لازم شد قریطون گفت منفعت 405 دانش را مقرر شدم پیوست تا زنده باشم از روح و آسایش دانائی که می یابم و غم نادانی که نبود و جز این هیچ منفعت دیگرش ندانم ارسطو گفت و بیرون ازین هیچ چیز دیگر هست که نه چنین است قریطون گفت چه دلیل بر آنکه بیرون ازین چیز دیگر هست و آن پس از مرگست و همچنین است که در حیات ارسطو گفت و مرگ 410 نیست جز از تن باز ماندن نفس قریطون گفت نیست جز ازین ارسطو گفت و کدام غایبست که در غیبت بصلاح ماندن الا هم بدانکه در حضور ازان بصلاح بود قریطون گفت جز ازین نتواند بود ارسطو گفت پس تو از کجا می پرسی که چیست که نفس منفعت ازان گیرد که در حال غیبت از تن بجز از آنچه 415 ازان منفعت گیرد در حال حضور یا چه بروزیان کند در حال غیبت که نه همان برو زیانکارست قریطون گفت بر است که هیچ

بیرون شدی نگذاشتی مرا در انکار منفعت دانش در دنیا و آخرت
 وزیران نادانی در دنیا و آخرت و بدین اقرار دادم ناچار و ترا راستگوئی
 داشتم بدانچه گفתי که من در حاضر و غایب چیزی نمی یابم جز
 420 دانائی و نادانی و کیفر این هر دو لیکن تواند بود که جز ازین
 چیزی دیگر بود و دیگر یافتست و من نیافتم ارسطو گفت هیچ
 جواب توان الا پس از سوال قریطون گفت نه ارسطو گفت هرگز
 سوال باشد الا پس از آنکه آنچه ازش پرسند در یاد بود قریطون
 گفت نه ارسطو گفت اگر تو یافتی آنچه ازش پرسیدی جواب آن
 425 یافتی در جواب آنچه پرسیدی از علم و جهل و کیفر هر دو و اگر تو
 در خود نیافتی آنچه از آن سوال توان کرد بر من هیچ جواب لازم
 نشد قریطون گفت بلی سوال من در آن ثابت نشد و مرا بر تو هیچ
 جواب نماندست از آنچه پرسیدم جواب یافتم ارسطو گفت پس
 شیماس را مهلت ده تا نوبت خود را بدارد در سخن شیماس گفت
 430 شنیدم هرچه لسیاس پرسید از سخن تو و آنچه بقریطون دادی
 و همه بر من روشنست مگر یک کلمه که قریطون از تو پذیرفت و مرا
 هنوز درست نیست ارسطو گفت کدامست شیماس گفت
 شنیدم که تو گفתי که در غیبت و حضور هیچ چیز نیست جز علم
 و ضدش و کیفر هر دو و مرا این از کجا روشن شود که جز این نیست
 435 ارسطو گفت تو هیچ دیگر یافتی شیماس گفت من آسمان را یافتم
 و زمین و کوه و دشت و جانور را و هرچه در خشک و تر است که من
 نتوانم که آنرا علم خوانم و نه جهل و نه جزا هر دو بی برهان ارسطو گفت



هیچ اقراردهی بسخن هرمیس که در کتاب طبایع خلق آورده ام
 شیماس گفت چیست آن سخن ارسطو گفت او خبر داده است
 440 که هیچ طبع نیرو نگیرد الا از پیوند همسان خویش وستی نیابد الا
 از پیوند مخالف خود شیماس گفت بلی چنین است که هیچ
 چیز نیست الا که تجریب در آن درستی سخن هرمیس بنماید
 ارسطو گفت پس اقرار دادی که جز علم و جهل و کیف هر دو دیگر
 چیزی نیست شیماس گفت چرا ارسطو گفت ازینها که بر
 445 شمردی هیچ نیست که نه از دنیا است شیماس گفت که نه ارسطو
 گفت هیچ دانی که چه چیز فلسفه را بران داشت که دنیا را
 فرو گذاشت شیماس گفت دانش ایشان بدید این چیزها که
 خرد را زیانکارست ایشانرا بران داشت ارسطو گفت پس
 تو ندانستی که هر چه خرد را زیان دارد مخالف خرد بود و مخالف
 450 خرد بیخردی بود شیماس گفت اگر آنچه گفتی که خرد را
 زیان دارد بر زمین درستست بر آسمان درست نیست ارسطو گفت
 و آسمان نیست الا همچو زمین درین کار شیماس گفت از چه روی
 آسمان زیانکارست همچنین بخرد که زمین ارسطو گفت کمترین
 زیان آسمان بدانائی آنست که بصرا از نفوذ و گذشتن باز داشته
 455 است پس دشمن بینائی دشمن خرد بود شیماس گفت این سخن هم
 درستست در حاضر در غایب چه گوئی ارسطو گفت غایب هیچ
 ازان بیرون نیست که یا موافق حاضر باشد یا مخالف وی شیماس
 گفت آری ارسطو گفت اگر موافقتست هیچ تواند بود که (نه)

موقوف بر بی خطی و اگر محضت فعل تواند بود نه نه محضت
 460 و فعلی که شمس است یعنی نجار نیز در دست بر محضت
 که قریضی از آن قوی تر است هر آن فعلی که از تصریح است
 که در ذکر فعلین ترک یافت نه نه در رفع کننده فعل کند است
 و نه در رفع کننده عمل کننده است - بدنه میسبب چیز
 که دفع کننده دفع کننده - شد بسیار - امرت و در آنچه که دفع
 465 کننده باشد نه دفع کننده حذف خیرند شد - امرت گفت فعلی
 ترا خیر دانست که میسبب امرت - امرت - چیزی که دفع
 بوی میبندد و زوی دفع مضرت میکند و بدین چیز دانش
 میخواند که بروج پوششی برسد دفع - یعنی جهر بعد و فرمود
 که باید که زن بسیار - امرت و دفع کننده - امرتند که خورش
 470 و پوشش و سنگت چند که ذکر شد باشد اقتصاد فرمود و بدنه که از
 اندازه گذشتن درین چیزها زیاده است دانش - امرت - جستن
 دفع کننده است و دفع دهنده نیست که هیچ روح دانائی از آن
 مخیزد و ازینست که فیلسوفان باید که نیک خرسند باشد بر
 اسباب حیات ساختن و نیک حریص باشد بآموختن شیماس
 475 گفت چیست که دفع کننده را از آن بازداشت که دفع دهنده بود
 و هر دو موافقند بدفع کردن ارسطو گفت دفع دهنده از دفع کننده
 بدان پیدا شود که هر چه دفع کننده است اگر در آن افراط رود از
 دفع کردن نیز بیرون رود و زیانکار شود و دفع دهنده که دانش است
 چندانکه بیشتر بود دفع او بیش بود و دفع کننده چندان دفع



480 کننده بود که باندازه بود نه بینی که اگر تو در خورش باندکی
 خرسند شوی دفع مضرت گرسنگی بکند و همچنین آشامیدن و لباس
 واگر افزون شود از آنچه باید همه زیانکاری کند و دفع کردن نیز
 از وی باطل شود چون سلاح گران که دارنده را بکشد و خسته کند
 و اما نفع دهنده دفع کننده که آن حکمتست بر خداوند نگرانند
 485 چنانچه سلاح گران اگر چه بسیار بود پس افلاطون که فرق میان
 نفع دهنده و دفع کننده بنماید چنانکه از سخن وی شنیدی
 شیماس گفت ازین دو حد هیچ چیز بیرون شود یا نه ارسطو گفت
 یک حد دیگر مانده است که اگر با این دو جمع شود هیچ چیز
 ازان بیرون نشود شیماس گفت کدامست ارسطو گفت کارها بر سه
 490 گونه اند نفع رساننده ایست دفع کننده و دفع کننده ایست که نفع
 رساننده نیست و مضرت دهنده است شیماس گفت کدامست
 زیانکار ارسطو گفت دفع کننده که دران افراط رود و زیان کار شود
 شیماس گفت این سخن تمام شد و از گفتار تو نفس جلا یافت
 همچنانکه نور دیده نگرنده از روشنی بروز جلا باید اکنون مرا آگاهی
 495 ده که میان آنکه جلا خرد دهد و میان آنکه جلا دیده دهد هیچ
 نزدیکی هست یا عقل و بصر هیچ بهم ماند ارسطو گفت ازین
 خوبها هستند که بگور نه همچندان بیکدیگر مانند که بکار اگر
 ازانست که جواب سوال یافتی دیوجنس را مهلت ده تا سخن
 گوید شیماس خاموش گشت دیوجنس گفت ما از فلاسفه آنرا
 500 متورعتر یافتیم که رای او تیزبین تر بود اکنون مرا خبر کن که صدق

وورع از روشنی رای خیزد یا نه ارسطو گفت هواها انواعند وخردها
 گوناگون وهر هوائی را خردی در برابرست که آن بعداوت آن هوی
 اولیترست نه شهوت عین جهالتست بخاصیت بلکه هریکی عین
 خود است اگرچه هر دو در زیان کردن بفیلسوف ومنع ثواب
 505 کردن از وی یکسانند ونه نیز آن قوت وخواهی که پرهیز فرماید عین
 آن قوت وخواهیست که جهل را باطل کند ودانش آرد ونه بر
 مخالف یکدیگرنند بلکه میان ایشان موافقتی است ومخالفتی مثل
 موافقت ومخالفت آب روان وآب فسرده یکی تنکست ولطیف
 و یکی درشت وکثیف وهمچنین دانش لطیف را جهل لطیف ضد
 510 بود وتقوی عظیم ضد شهوت عظیم باشد هرکه خوی ورعش سست
 بود وخواهی دانش نیرومند رای او در بینش درست آید وکار او در ورع
 سست وآنگه بعکس این بود کارورای او بعکس این باشد دیوجنس
 گفت این سخن چون راست بود با آنچه در پیش گفته که
 نیست هیچ چیز بیرون از دانش وجهل وجزای هر دو اکنون دانش
 515 را اثبات کردی ونادانی وورع و شهوت ودیگر چیزها ارسطو گفت
 نه بینی که آب روان وآب فسرده بهم نزدیکند همچنین است
 نزدیکی شهوت بنادانی ودیگر شنعت همچنین وچون بهم نزدیک
 شدند در عمل بنام یکی گشتند دیوجنس گفت چگونه بدانم که
 نادانی بشهوت چنان ماند که آب روان بآب فسرده ارسطو گفت
 520 نه بینی که هر دو خرد را زیانکارند همچنانکه آب روان وآب فسرده
 تبش را نبرند دیوجنس گفت این سخن گذر یافت اکنون مرا



خبر کن که سزاوارترین علوم که بدان یازم کدامست ارسطو گفت چون طلب حکمتست بهترین کارهای دنیا و ثواب آنست که مهترین ثوابهای آخرتست سزاوارتر دانشی که بدان یازی حکمتست 525 دیوجنس گفت هیچ دانشی دیگر هست جز از حکمت یا نه ارسطو گفت عامه خلق راست بهره چند از دانش و علم و راستی و وفا و سخا و دیگر حسنات ضایع که از حکمت چندان میانه دارند که صورت جانور از تمثال و رقوم دیوار دیوجنس گفت چرا این خصال را ضایع خواندی در عامه ارسطو گفت از جهت بیخبری 530 ازان دیوجنس گفت چونست این ارسطو گفت برای آنکه دانای عامه دانش خود را دران بکار برد که ورز او نیفزاید و حلیم ایشان بار آن بکشد که سزای نکال بود و راستگوی ایشان آسجا صدق بکار آرد که خود پسندد اگرچه ستنبه بود و بخشنده ایشان بر ناشایست بخشیش کند و وقای ایشان بوعدهای تلفکننده بود 535 و شنوای ایشان بیموده شنود لا جرم این حسنات در ایشان ضایع باشد و حسنات اهل علم نماند الا همچندانکه نقش بر دیوار بجانور زنده ماند دیوجنس گفت این مثل را چه نسبت است با حسنات خاسه و عامه ارسطو گفت نه تو دانسته که دانش زندگیست و نادانی مرگ گفت بلی ارسطو گفت علم دانا کردهای ویرا 540 زنده دارد و جهل نادان کردهای ویرا بمیراند دیوجنس گفت این خوبکاریهای ایشان هیچ افزونی بزشتکاری ایشان دارد یا نه ارسطو گفت بلی گفت چگونه ارسطو گفت نیکوکار عامه عزم نیکوئی



دارد و طریق خطا میکند و بدکردار ایشان عزم بدی دارد و بکردار خطا
 برد و یکسان باشند و یکی را افزونی نیست البته دیوجنس گفت
 545 اکنون دانستم که حسنات ایشان از چه روی ضایعست اکنون فضل
 حکمت بنمای که کردها الا بدان سودمند نیست ارسطو گفت هرکه
 خوبی را دید و زشتی را بگذاشت و بنیکوئی آمد موافق حکمت
 کرد و هرکه عزم خوبی کرد و خطا کرد یا عزم بدی کرد و بجائی
 آورد از حکمت درگذشت دیوجنس گفت این گفتار جمله
 550 روشن گشت اکنون مرا بنما که این کار یعنی حکمت نخست بر
 که روشن شد ارسطو گفت خردهای مردم ازان دورست که بچنین
 کار بزرگ تواند رسید بی آموختن همچنانکه چشمهای ایشان
 دورست از دیدن بی روشنائی چراغ دیوجنس گفت فلاسفه از که
 آموختند آنرا ارسطو گفت پیوسته داعیان و رسل قرون در آفاق
 555 زمین مردم را بدین کار میخواندند و از زمین ما نخستتر کسی که
 این دانش بدو رسید بوچی هرمس بود دیوجنس گفت از کجا
 بهرمس آمد ارسطو گفت روان وی را بر آسمان بردند و از ملا اعلی
 بدو رسید و ایشان از ذکر حکیم گرفتند و از وی بر زمین آمد و علما از
 وی گرفتند دیوجنس گفت من چگونه بدانم که هرمس این علم
 560 از اهل آسمان گرفت ارسطو گفت اگر این علم حقست رسیدن آن
 از بالا تواند بود دیوجنس گفت چرا ارسطو گفت نه بینی که بالای
 هرچیز از شیب او به بود که بالای آب و زبرش صافتر بود که زبرش
 و جاهای بلند از زمین خوشتر و نژده تر بود که جاهای شیب و بهترین



اعضای مردم سر باشد و پاکترین درخت میوه باشد و در همه چیزی
 565 چنین است پس سزاوارتر چیزی که از بالا رسد حکمتست و دلیل
 برین آنکه گوهر حکمت و خوی وی بر همه بچرید و بلندتر آمد
 دیوجنس گفت ای پیشوای حکمت خرد ما از خرد تو هیچ باز
 نمیگیرید با ما پیمانی کن که ما را از مخالفت یکدیگر ننگه دار
 ارسطو گفت اگر بر سیرت من خواهید بودن بکتب من اقتدا کنید
 570 دیوجنس گفت بسیارست کدام اولیتر بفصل میان ما اگر خلاقی
 افتد ارسطو گفت اما آنچه جوئید از علم اول و حکمت ربوبیت
 از کتاب هرمس جوئید و آنچه مشکل شود از علم سیاسیات و تعلیم
 خلق از کتاب طبایع خلق بجوئید و آنچه بر شما مشکل شود از
 خوب وزشتکارها از کتاب اخلاق بطلبید و آنچه از حدود سخن بود
 575 و شما را دران خلاف افتد از کتاب چهارگانه در منطق بجوئید کتاب
 اول قاطیغوریاس و دوم پاریرمنیاس و سیم امالوطیغا و چهارم اپوریطیغا
 کتاب برهان که فرق میان حق و ناحق کند و بدان برهان تواند
 انگیخت بر کارهای پوشیده

و چون سخن ارسطو بدینجای رسید روانش بیطاعت شد و دستش
 580 بلرزید و سیب از دستش بیفتاد و حکما جمله بر خاستند و نزدیک
 وی شدند و سر و چشمش ببوسیدند و برو ثنا گفتند دست قریطون
 گرفت و بر روی خود نهاد و گفت روانرا سپردم بپذیرای روان حکما
 و خاموش گشت و درگذشت یاران برو زاری کردند

سر آمد روزگار دانائی



THE BOOK OF THE APPLE.

This is the translation of a discourse which Aristotle delivered at the time of his death. It is said that when the life of the sage Aristotle approached its end, some of his disciples came to see him. When they saw the emaciation of his frame, and his weakness, and perceived about him the signs of death, they despaired of his life; only
 5 the joy, alacrity, and clearness of intellect that they perceived in him showed them that he took a different view of his condition from that which was taken by others. Then one of the disciples said to him: Our grief over you is greater than your grief over yourself, and we are more vexed than you concerning your departure; if it be that you feel otherwise than we feel about you, tell
 10 us also of this.—ARISTOTLE said: The joy that you perceive in me does not arise from my cherishing any desire for life, but from my confidence about my condition after death.—A disciple named SIMMIAS said: If you have this confidence, it were better that you should explain the ground of it to us also, that we may be as certain as you.—
 15 ARISTOTLE said: Although it is difficult for me to talk, still for your sake I will endure some trouble: but first let me hear Kriton, for I can see that he wishes to say something.—KRITON said: Although I should much like to hear your conversation, and acquire knowledge thereby, O teacher of mankind, the physician whom you employ commanded me not to induce you to talk, on the ground
 20 that talking would make you warm, and should the heat get the better of you the cure would be delayed, and the effect of the drugs impeded.—ARISTOTLE said: I will disobey

the advice of the physician, and will employ no drug but the scent of an apple; which will keep me alive till I have given you the lecture to which you have a right. Why should I not speak, when the best thing I hope to obtain from the drugs is the power to speak? Come now, tell
25 me, Do you grant the excellence of wisdom or not? They answered: Our only reason for honouring wisdom is the fact that we know it to excel other things.—ARISTOTLE said: Is its excellence in this world or in the next?—They said: We do not deny the excellence of wisdom, and necessity forces us to place its excellence and value in the
30 next world. ARISTOTLE: Then why do you abhor death and adhere to the notion that some detriment will accrue to you therefrom, when you ought to perceive that death, horrible as it is to the vulgar, is nevertheless nothing but the freeing of the soul from its bodily case?—Disc.: How so? Let us know more.—ARISTOTLE: Does the knowledge which you have acquired make you glad or not? And does the knowledge which has escaped you make you sorry
35 or not?—Disc.: The former is true in both cases.—ARISTOTLE: Through which then do you acquire knowledge—through the body, which is a blind, deaf, impotent, and useless mass when the spirit departs from it, or by the spirit whereby a man is continually rendered capable of learning, seeing, knowing and speaking, so long as it is with him?—Disc.: Doubtless through the vitality and goodness of the spirit knowledge is acquired, and by the dullness of the body
40 it is kept out of it.—ARISTOTLE: Since then it is clear that knowledge is a product of the spirit, and that the dullness of the body keeps it out, and that by the acquisition of knowledge you become glad, whereas by being precluded from it you become sorry, evidently you must prefer the separation of the spirit from the body to the persistence of the spirit in the body; and separation from the body must be better for the spirit than abiding in the body. Do you not
45 see that the desires and delights of the body such as women and children and wealth and eating and drinking still more impede the search after wisdom? and that when you abandon

those lusts you do so in order to protect the intellect and to devote yourselves to knowledge?—Disc.: Certainly.—ARISTOTLE.—Then, since you confess that lusts have the power to damage the intellect, surely the body which enjoys those lusts must be more detrimental to the intellect?—Disc.: Our judgment forces us to agree with what your discourse has

50 proved thus far; but what shall we do and how shall we act, in order to become as brave about death as you are, and as regardless of life as you are?—ARISTOTLE: The best means for a seeker of knowledge to attain his end is an effort on the part of the speaker to speak only what is true, and of the hearer to hear correctly. I will now endeavour

55 to speak truly; do you endeavour on your part to hear and receive correctly and truly. Do you not know that the meaning of the word ‘philosophy’ is ‘fondness for wisdom’? and that the mind in its substance and origin is philosophy, and only delights in it, and only obtains peace therefrom?—Disc.: Certainly.—ARISTOTLE: Do you not know that wisdom is the joy of the mind, and that wisdom can be obtained by goodness of soul and mind: now

60 goodness of soul consists in its adjustment, and the adjustment of the mind consists in diminution of phlegm, rheum and blood?—Disc.: Aye.—ARISTOTLE: If the goodness of the mind lie in its adjustment, and its adjustment in the diminution of those humours, when those humours altogether depart, it will become sounder and better?—Disc.: We cannot fail to admit the truth of what you say, but nevertheless we do not find in ourselves the same pleasure in death that we

65 perceive in you.—ARISTOTLE: Since sight guides the seer to his gain and preserves him from harm, try to let me increase your sight as to the advantage of death. O friends of wisdom! do you not see that the seeker after wisdom whose soul has become free from sin has mortified himself before death in respect of friends, and wealth, and empire, for the sake of which men desire the life of this world, and undertaken

70 much sorrow and a heavy burden in seeking wisdom—sorrow so great that it can only be relieved by death? What desire has he for life who enjoys none of the pleasures

of life: and why need he flee from death who can only rest in death? Nay! He does wrong, whosoever seeks the name of philosophy without being worthy of its meaning: and he is ignorant who fancies that in the comforts,
75 pleasures and delights of this world the road to philosophy can be found. Can you desire that the name of knowledge should be bestowed on you whilst you are enjoying the pleasures of this world, of eating, drinking, and so on?—
Disc.: We have no such desire, nor do we seek any such thing. How could we aspire to be philosophers while caring for this world, when we have seen that whenever there has
80 been any excess in food or drink, or there manifests itself in the heart any motion of something contrary to the intellect, such as lust, or anger, or covetousness, or envy, the intellect remains inactive all that time; whereas, if that motion come not into play, then the blood only is at work, and there is nothing which serves better to protect it, and from which protection is more sought than the intellect.—
ARISTOTLE: The branch of a thing does not come but
85 of the root, and the part is not but of the whole. If ye abstain in this world from lusts, but are attached to this world in your heart, your abstinence is not perfect. Now the root of attachment to the world lies in love of self-preservation. Hence every one who abstains from its lusts, but desires to remain in the world has caught the branch and neglected the root; whereas he is perfect and has reached the goal who has both root and branch.—SIMMIAS: I have been abstemious in regard to the pleasures of this
90 world; but now from what I have heard you say, I am anxious to remain in it no longer. Should that not be granted me, at least I shall endeavour to walk in your footsteps, and adopt your way of life, O teacher of mankind!—KRITON: My mind's eye now shows me that there is no one to whom death is not detrimental except the philosopher. Whosoever has attained thereunto and become perfect, let him seek death and desire it; but whoso has
95 failed to attain thereto, let him flee from death his farthest, and avoid it his hardest. For nothing but

- wisdom withstands death and gives peace from its pain.
 —ZENO said: Aristotle's discourse leaves us no right to participate in pleasure or to endeavour to remain in the world, and the fact that he is more courageous about death than I—though I do not fear it very much—comes
 100 from his having been at greater pains than I to set his affairs right; had I looked after myself as he has looked after himself, and banished from myself avarice, desire, and anger, as he has banished them from himself, as great courage would be perceptible in me as we perceive in him.—
 ANOTHER said: Until this day I used to dread the approach of death; now what I fear is the protraction of life.—ZENO:
 105 You are better able to attain death than to protract life.—
 He answered: My weariness of life does not induce me to summon death myself, before it comes to me.—ZENO: We have known friends do much to see the friend who has not seen them; if you love death, what prevents your seeking
 110 it before it seek you?—He answered: Death is not a friend, but a bridge which men must pass before they can arrive at that which they desire and love.—ZENO: Then why do you remain, although you know for certain that death will make you nobler?—He answered: I am like a guardian of the frontier-pass who, if he abide, abides with regret, and if he advance and conquer, will attain to honour.—
 115 ZENO: What is the meaning of your parable?—He said: The soul of the philosopher is stationed at the pass, its pass being the body; on the other side are wants, lusts, and passions. Every soul has sore trouble in dealing with these enemies, and in keeping them away. The glory consists in the joy and pleasure whereto the soul attains at parting.—When their discussion had reached this point, another named STEPHANUS (?) said: If the name of 'philosopher'
 120 have no other use than to preserve its owner from the name of 'ignorant,' why should I make any effort to obtain it?—Another said: Merely for the sake of honour I would not seek this name.—ZENO said: Did I desire this name for nothing else, I should desire it for the sake of obtaining security from the fear and horror of death.—KRITON said:

- 125 The greatest of the benefits of that science is that it makes for us many cares into one.—**KRAMAS** (?) said: Since in this world one thing alone, sorrow, is permanent, the most profitable thing for us to sympathize with is the high aim of one who is concerned about a thing that is everlasting.—**PINDAR** said: All men are at war, and the fittest enemy for the warrior to attack is the enemy nearest home; and that enemy is the trouble of his own breast.—
- 130 **ELETUS** (*Theaetetus* ?) said: Who are the philosopher's enemies?—**PINDAR** said: His most particular enemies are the pleasures of his breast, which hinder his search after wisdom.—When the discourse of these people had reached this point, **SIMMIAS**, turning to **Aristotle**, said: Enlighten our hearts with the rays of thy lamp ere its light be quenched, good father!—**ARISTOTLE**: The most acquisitive of scholars is he who acquires no knowledge
- 135 until he has disciplined himself and corrected himself; the most accurate of speakers is he who attempts not to speak save after meditation, and the soundest of workers is he who acts only after deliberation. And no one more needs deliberation and caution in carrying out a plan, than the
- 140 philosopher in undertaking matters of which the trouble is present and the reward prospective. First let him meditate; then, when meditation brings sight, let him make sight his guide to action; and if sight show that the action will be remunerative, then let him endure the trouble of doing before he reaps the fruit. And when after seeing he resolves to undertake the work, at the time when he should
- 145 reap the fruit he ought not to be vexed at the trouble he has endured. For he who weans his soul from pleasures and undertakes the labour of searching for wisdom for the sake of God, and to gain the reward therefor after death, if at the hour of death he exhibits melancholy, makes himself an object of laughter and derision. So too does he become an object of laughter and derision who makes a feast and lays the foundation of a palace, and when about
- 150 to attain the purpose of his feast and of the building of his palace becomes sad and gloomy. I have known

men who have undertaken this task while in doubt concerning the reward—nor is there any wonder that one who is in doubt concerning the recompense after death should be grieved and sorrowful about dying—but I do wonder at any one who is grieved at death while professing to believe in a recompense after death.—When Aristotle
 155 had brought this discourse to a conclusion, KRITON said: If you desire us to be contented after your departure, O worthy teacher! the eloquent speech which you have made must increase our sorrow at your departure; and if death be profitable to you, to us it is most detrimental, on account of the unsolved difficulties remaining among us for which you were our refuge.—DIOGENES said: The
 160 same thing cannot be profitable to one thing and detrimental to another unless there be some contrariety between the two latter; if Aristotle's departure be profitable to himself and detrimental to us, this must be because of some difference between us.—KRITON: There is both agreement and diversity between us and him; we agree in our wish and desire, and differ about our remaining and his departure.—DIOGENES: Your grief comes not of his being about to enter the house of honour, but rather of your remaining in the abode of
 165 disgrace.—LYSIAS said: You both speak well. You were the pillars of a hall wherein were lamps; the greatest pillar has fallen, and the weight has come upon the other pillars; the most brilliant lamp is extinguished, the light in the hall is diminished, and the darkness increased. Nor is it the falling of the pillar nor the extinction of the lamp that troubles you; but rather the darkness of the hall and the weight of the roof.—SIMMIAS, glancing at
 170 Aristotle, said: O guide to wisdom! tell us what is the first thing which it behoves the seeker after wisdom to acquire?—ARISTOTLE: Seeing that the soul is the source of wisdom, the first knowledge which is profitable for him is knowledge of the soul.—SIMMIAS: How should he seek it?—ARISTOTLE: By his own virtue.—SIMMIAS: What is his own virtue?—ARISTOTLE: That virtue whereby you asked
 175 me about yourself.—SIMMIAS: How is it possible for any one

to ask any one else about himself?—ARISTOTLE: Even as the sick man asks the physician about himself, and even as the blind man might ask those about him of his own colour.—SIMMIAS: How can the self be blind about the self, 180 when the self is the source of all sight?—ARISTOTLE: When wisdom is secreted and concealed in the self, that is the soul, it is blind to itself, and to others alike: even as the eye without the light of a lamp is blind both to itself and others.—SIMMIAS: Then the learner can only learn through wisdom, and the seer can only see with a lamp.—ARISTOTLE: The soul becomes capable of receiving wisdom only by its natural correctness, and the sight of the seer becomes penetrating only through a lamp. When the two come together, it can 185 penetrate.—SIMMIAS: If the soul and the eyes cannot attain brightness in their functions by their own virtue, unaided by wisdom and the lamplight, then nothing is nearer akin to the soul than wisdom.—ARISTOTLE: How can anything be nearer akin to that which it takes in than its own source? Do you not see that the teacher has a better right to the name of knowledge than the taught? and that the possessor of force has a better title to the name of force than one who 190 is acquiring it? For the teacher is the source of knowledge, seeing that knowledge flows from him, and the strong is the source of strength.—When the discourse reached this point, LYSIAS said: This subject is finished, and I will now begin afresh. Tell me how it is that knowledge of the soul is the worthiest thing for the acquirer to acquire first?—ARISTOTLE: Because knowledge is an essential property of teacher and taught.—LYSIAS: How am I to know that know- 195 ledge is a property of the soul?—ARISTOTLE said: Because knowledge is in the body only so long as the soul is in it; and when the soul is separated from the body, knowledge disappears from it.—LYSIAS: It may come from the body rather than the soul.—ARISTOTLE: If it were of the body, it would appear in the dead body as much as in the living body.—LYSIAS: We are as ignorant of the knowledge 200 of the dead, as we are of their ignorance. May it be that the *ignorance* of it which we do not know may come from

the fact that the soul is departed from it?—ARISTOTLE: If ignorance be blindness to one's own concerns, then the ignorance and blindness of the body before death are even more evident than its ignorance after death.—LYSIAS: Though the ignorance of blindness may be in the body after

205 death, the ignorance of folly is not there assuredly.—ARISTOTLE: What is the difference between the ignorance of blindness and the ignorance of folly?—LYSIAS: Wherein is the identity?—ARISTOTLE: The two are identical in that they both afflict people of understanding. As for the ignorance of folly, it is like badness and evil-doing and evil-speaking; and as for the ignorance of blindness, it is like an evil smell and the fetid matter whence it proceeds.

210 —LYSIAS: I only know of the existence of foulness and sensuality while the soul is in the body: can it be that this foulness proceeds from the soul and not from the body?—ARISTOTLE: If foul habits were of the original essence of the soul, while the soul was abstracted from accidental states, this foulness would appear in every soul, and no soul would be without it; how then could we have learned that the

215 philosopher's soul is free from foulness, and uncleanness? Whereas we have learned and know well that the purity of their souls has gained the upper hand over lust and overcome desire and passion. They have subdued these inclinations and harmonized lust with reason.—LYSIAS: If then between lust and the soul there be so great a difference, how comes it that passion and the soul part together from the body?—ARISTOTLE: The soul is a flame, and when some

220 one of the humours of the body prevails, it kindles the body as fire kindles fuel, and causes the light of the soul to issue from the body even as a fire brings brightness and heat out of wood. And passion is as a fire that brings the brightness of the soul out of the body.—LYSIAS: Can it be that brightness itself comes from warmth?—ARISTOTLE: If brightness varied with heat, a summer night should be

225 brighter than a winter day, even as a summer night is warmer than a winter day.—When the dialogue had reached this point, LYSIAS said: You have enlivened my mind,

O teacher! this discourse is worthy of deep consideration. Most assuredly I must endeavour to distinguish between soul and passion, the heat of the latter and the brightness of the former. You have made clear to me each of the two, passion and the body, and the distinction of the soul from both, according to their attributes. Now, I would

230 have you show the distinction between the conduct of the soul and of the passion, even as you have shown the distinction between themselves.—ARISTOTLE: Do you know of any distinction between their functions?—LYSIAS: I know not of any distinction between their substance, but only between their functions: but I would fain have you show me the difference between the conduct of the one and that of the other by signs clear enough to distinguish the work of the one from that of the other.—ARISTOTLE: All that

235 is bad is the work of the passion and all that is good is the work of the soul.—LYSIAS: I know the difference between the good conduct of the one and the foul action of the other no better than the difference between their substances.—ARISTOTLE: Good action or goodness is that which, when it comes to you, puts you right; and badness is that which, when it comes to you, does you harm.—LYSIAS:

240 Nothing has ever come to me which has done good to a part of me but has damaged some other part. How can I call it "good" when I never have found it free from harm?—ARISTOTLE: When the thing that is beneficial benefits that part of you which you are more bound to love than to hate, be not vexed if it harm some part of

245 you which you are more bound to hate than to love.—LYSIAS: What part of me is it which I am bound to hate, and what, that I am bound to love?—ARISTOTLE: You should love your intellect and hate your unintelligent part.—LYSIAS: What comes of this?—ARISTOTLE: Why, nothing increases your intellect but that which lessens your non-intelligence. Love therefore that which improves your

250 intellect, even though it lessen your non-intelligence. For the advantage done you by it in decreasing your non-intelligence is not inferior to that done you by the improve-

ment of your intellect.—LYSIAS : You distinguished between soul and passion by your illustration of heat and light ; and you showed me the difference of their functions by showing the difference of their origin. I then asked you to make clear to me what they each do by some sign which should
 255 sever the work of the one from the work of the other ; you then told me that well-doing was the work of the soul and ill-doing the work of the passion. I asked you the difference between good and bad actions. You answered that whatever increases the intellect is a good action even though non-intelligence is increased by it, and whatever causes decrease of intellect is bad, even though it
 260 increase the non-intelligence. Neither intelligence nor non-intelligence is diminished except by its opposite, nor increased except by what agrees with it. Now, I still require an explanation of what it is that increases the intelligence and what it is that lessens it.—ARISTOTLE said : Whatsoever adds brightness to your vision of things increases your intelligence, and whatsoever makes things dark to you lessens it.—LYSIAS said : What is it that gives them brightness, and what is it that veils them?—
 265 ARISTOTLE : Truth-speaking and whatever resembles it is an illuminator, doubt and whatever resembles it a cloke.—LYSIAS said : I understand how true-speaking illuminates and how doubt darkens ; but what are the things *which resemble them*?—ARISTOTLE : Right-doing or justice resembles true-speaking, and injustice or iniquity resembles
 270 falsehood and doubt.—LYSIAS : In what respect do justice and veracity resemble each other?—ARISTOTLE : Each of them consists in leaving things in their own places.—LYSIAS : And in what respect do falsehood and injustice resemble each other?—ARISTOTLE : Each consists in removing things from their own places.—LYSIAS : Justice and injustice are the work of administrators and judges only ; whereas I am asking you concerning things in general.—ARISTOTLE : All men are judges, only some private, others
 275 public. He whose judgment errs, and whose tongue speaks false, and whosoever appropriates what is not his,

such a man is unjust and a liar: whereas he who sees things aright, and whose tongue speaks the truth, and who is satisfied with what is his, is righteous, just, and veracious. Nor is any human action outside the two patterns which we have described.—LYSIAS: How am I to know that

280 nothing falls out of these two kinds?—ARISTOTLE: Enquire among the events which are passing and have passed over you, whether any of them lies outside these patterns. If none such be found, include those events which have not yet passed over you among those which have passed over you.—

LYSIAS: How am I to include what has not yet happened to me with what has happened, and pass the same judgment upon it?—ARISTOTLE: If the few be part of the many

285 things, and the parts of a thing resemble the whole, then the few things which you see belong to the many things which you do not see, and it is probable that the many things which you do not see are like what you do see. If this reasoning be correct, then you may well pass the same judgment upon the good and evil which have not yet happened to you as upon the good and evil which have

290 happened to you.—LYSIAS: What should make me judge of the absent as of the present?—ARISTOTLE: That which is present must necessarily make you pass a judgment on what is absent; or the thing which makes you know the absence of the absent from knowing the presence of the present.—LYSIAS: What prevents my knowing the present without knowing the absent? Or how is my knowledge

295 of the absent increased by my knowledge of the present? That portion of the earth which I see does not show me the portion which is beyond; neither does my not seeing

the portion to which my eye cannot reach hinder my seeing the portion which I can see.—ARISTOTLE: But do not you pass judgment that beyond the earth which we

300 see there is the earth which we do not see? Similarly must you not necessarily pass judgment that beyond those events which have happened to you are those which have not happened, even as you passed judgment that beyond the portion of the earth which you saw there was the earth

which you did not see?—LYSIAS: I am constrained to admit that I must judge by the absent of the present. Only tell me this: If I pass no judgment from the present on the absent, does my knowledge of the present suffer any detriment? By knowing which I may derive benefit in judging of the absent from the present.—

ARISTOTLE: No one knows a thing who is unable to distinguish it from what differs from it.—LYSIAS: How so?—ARISTOTLE: If the saying of the wise DARIUS be true, that no one knows the truth who cannot discriminate it from the false, and no one knows what is right who cannot sever it from what is wrong, then so long as you are not acquainted with the absent, you have no means of knowing the present.—LYSIAS: This subject is over. Now, O guide to philosophy! I would ask you this: Is it possible to embrace in one notion all those things concerning the baseness of which mankind are agreed, fornication, theft, drunkenness, deceit, injustice, treachery, fraud, malice, envy, ignorance, pride, self-complacency, so as to exclude nothing, whereby I might know that the events which have not yet passed over me are like to those which have passed over me?—ARISTOTLE: The possessors of these qualities and characteristics are unjust, false, and self-blinding, insomuch as they strive after what is not theirs.—LYSIAS: How so?—ARISTOTLE: Do you not see that no one sets about any of these iniquities before avarice, desire, or anger bestir itself in him, after which he sets about them. Now with avarice, desire, and passion reason cannot remain at peace. And the reason being out of order, it cannot take the right path, and whoso does not take the right path goes astray; he that goes astray is a wrong-doer, and the wrong-doer and the liar are in torment.

—LYSIAS: You have collected under one notion all the vices; could you do the same for the virtues?—ARISTOTLE: To abandon injustice is to adhere to justice and right; and to avoid the false is to strain after the true. If the foulness of the vices has been made clear to you, it must inevitably have been made clear that virtue consists in abandoning



vice.—**LYSIAS**: Is there any mean between vice and virtue?
330 so that having got rid of vice I might not attain to virtue,
but remain at the mean; like one who, abandoning falsehood,
stops short at silence and speaks neither truth nor
falsehood; or one who avoids iniquity and does neither
injustice nor justice?—**ARISTOTLE**: He who is silent elects
to be so either with ignorance or with knowledge; if he be
silent with knowledge, he is a speaker of truth; if with
335 ignorance he is a liar. So, too, whoso pauses does so
either for fraud or for right; if for right, he is just and
righteous; if for fraud, he is iniquitous and a doer of
injustice.—**LYSIAS**: You have made clear to me the difference
between all the good and the bad that may happen to me
by a clear distinction, and have proved to me that whatever
has not happened to me must resemble what has happened.
340 God, who gave thee wisdom, and who protects thee, give
thee therefor a meet reward! Never has father in his
lifetime tended his child better, or after death left him
a more honourable inheritance!—**ARISTOTLE**: If you are
satisfied with the answer to your questions, let Kriton speak,
for I can see that he wishes to do so.—**KRITON**: It is painful
345 to impose on you the burden of speaking, whereas it is
sad to be quiet and leave the subject to be finished on some
later day.—**ARISTOTLE**: Withhold nothing, so long as you
see a spark of life in me on which I can sustain myself.—
KRITON: I heard and understood all the answers you gave
Lysias; and I agreed as he did that the absent is to be
350 known from the present. But I am not quite satisfied
without knowing what are the qualities and unknown
operations of that “absent” to which I confessed and
agreed.—**ARISTOTLE**: I know of nothing in the present
or the absent, save knowledge and ignorance, and the
reward of the two.—**KRITON**: How could I acknowledge
this of the “absent and the present,” when I have not yet
acknowledged it of the present? And though you should
355 force me to acknowledge it of the present, I will not acknow-
ledge it of the absent, save by definition and evidence.—
ARISTOTLE: The evidence which tells you it of the present

will also tell it of the absent.—KRITON: What evidence?—
 ARISTOTLE: Do you not agree that the right way in seeking
 the truth is what SOKRATES said?—KRITON: And what did
 360 he say?—ARISTOTLE: I am told that he said, Whenever you
 are in difficulty about a question, give it two alternatives,
 one of which must necessarily be true; then proceed till one
 of the two is refuted, for with the refutation of the one
 alternative will come the establishment of the other.—
 KRITON: Yes, I have observed that he acted thus in difficult
 investigations. Now what evidence have you about the
 nature of the present and absent?—ARISTOTLE: Do you not
 grant that there is nothing outside knowledge and its con-
 trary?—KRITON: I must do so.—ARISTOTLE: Do you grant
 365 that things are bettered only by their like, and damaged
 only by what is unlike them?—KRITON: Undoubtedly.—
 ARISTOTLE: Then do you not see that if the recompense of
 knowledge be not like it, it must be the contrary of it? And,
 if it be the contrary of knowledge, then the recompense of
 370 the wise will be ignorance, and the recompense of the
 seeing blindness, and the recompense of well-doing ill-
 doing? Now such as this would not be a *recompense* but
 a *punishment*. Then whoever bears the burden of knowledge
 must allow that he will gain no recompense for it. This
 judgment being false, the opposite of it is true. The
 recompense for seeing will be sight; for well-doing, good;
 375 for seeking wisdom, finding wisdom.—KRITON: You have
 forced me to agree that knowledge will be rewarded and
 ignorance punished.—ARISTOTLE: If you are satisfied that
 the recompense of the ignorant is the reverse of the re-
 compense of the wise—otherwise the reward of blindness
 would be sight and that of goodness badness, and that of
 hating wisdom obtaining wisdom. Now such a view or
 380 doctrine must be false in the eyes of him who has borne
 the labour of pursuing knowledge in the hope of the
 reward thereof, and in order to avoid the penalty of
 ignorance. This opinion being proved false makes the
 opposite necessarily true.—KRITON: This argument applies as
 forcibly to me, since I have borne the burden of the searcher

- after knowledge with a view to the reward thereof, and have avoided ignorance fearing its penalty. But what will you say if I withdraw this concession, and deny that knowledge is rewarded and ignorance punished?—ARISTOTLE:
- 385 Then what induces you to discuss and to argue with me? The desire for the benefit of knowledge and the endeavour to avoid the harm of ignorance or something else?—KRITON: Nay, desire for the benefit of knowledge and the endeavour to avoid the harm of ignorance induce me to do this.—ARISTOTLE: Then you have acknowledged that knowledge is beneficial and ignorance detrimental. Now a reward
- 390 is not other than beneficial, and a penalty is not other than detrimental.—KRITON: I acknowledge that wisdom is beneficial during life, not after death.—ARISTOTLE: What is the advantage of knowledge during life? A pleasant life or increase of knowledge?—KRITON: I granted the value of knowledge, and I have seen that knowledge is detrimental to the pleasures of life; it necessarily follows that the advantage of knowledge must be in the next world.—
- 395 ARISTOTLE: If you doubt the benefits accruing to the wise in the next world, while knowledge precludes the enjoyment of this world, it is impossible for you to assert that knowledge is of value in either world.—KRITON: I see that if I grant that knowledge is beneficial, I must acknowledge that it is so in the next world. I will now deny that it possesses any advantage, in order to be able to deny that it is
- 400 of advantage in the next world.—ARISTOTLE: Do you not then prefer hearing, seeing, and understanding to blindness, deafness, and folly?—KRITON: Yes.—ARISTOTLE: Do you prefer them for the sake of some advantage or not?—KRITON: For the sake of some advantage.—ARISTOTLE: Once again then you have acknowledged that there is some advantage; and you have the same conclusion forced on you as before.—
- 405 KRITON: I have ever acknowledged the value of knowledge, so long as I live, in respect of the comfort and peace that I gain from it, and the pain of ignorance that I am freed from; but I know of no other benefit therefrom.—ARISTOTLE: Then is there anything else beyond this which is otherwise

than it?—KRITON: What evidence is there that there is anything else beyond this, which exists after death and is as it was in life?—ARISTOTLE: Now death is nothing else but
 410 the soul surviving the body?—KRITON: It is nothing else.
 —ARISTOTLE: Then is anything "absent" which is benefited in absence except by that whereby it is also benefited in presence?—KRITON: It must be so.—ARISTOTLE: Then why do you ask what it is from which the soul derives benefit in the state of absence from the body other than that
 415 from which it derives benefit in the state of presence? Or, what can harm it in the state of absence that does not harm it likewise in the state of presence?—KRITON: You have left me no loophole to deny the value of knowledge in this world and the next, and the harm of ignorance in both; these I must acknowledge, and I allow that you are right in stating that in the present and the absent I know of nothing save knowledge, ignorance, and the recompense of the two.
 420 It may be, however, there is something besides these which others have learned, though I have not.—ARISTOTLE: Can an answer be given but after a question?—KRITON: No.
 —ARISTOTLE: Can a question ever be asked before that which is asked about comes into the mind?—KRITON: No.
 —ARISTOTLE: If you have a clear notion of that about which you have asked, you have obtained the answer thereto
 425 in the answer which you received to your question about knowledge, ignorance, and their recompense. But if you have no notion in your own mind of that about which you would ask, I am not bound to reply.—KRITON: True, my question was not justified, and no answer is due from you. I have obtained the answer to my question.—ARISTOTLE: Then give Simmias leave to speak in his turn.—SIMMIAS
 430 said: I heard all that Lysias asked concerning your statements, and the replies you gave Kriton: and all is clear to me except one word that Kriton accepted from you, but which is not clear to me as yet.—ARISTOTLE: Which?—SIMMIAS: I heard you say that there is nothing either in "absence" or "presence" except knowledge, its opposite, and the recompense of the two. Now how can it be clear

to me that there is nothing save this?—ARISTOTLE: Do
 435 you know of anything else?—SIMMIAS: I know of the
 heavens and the earth, the mountains and the plains, the
 animals, and all else that is on the dry and the moist,
 which I cannot call knowledge, nor ignorance, nor the
 recompense of either without proof.—ARISTOTLE: Do you
 agree with the saying of HERMES, quoted by me in the
 book of physics?—SIMMIAS: What is that saying?—
 ARISTOTLE: HERMES states that no object acquires strength
 440 except by union with its like; and that none acquires
 weakness except by union with what is unlike it.—
 SIMMIAS: Yes, it is so; there is nothing in which
 experience does not show the truth of Hermes' saying.—
 ARISTOTLE: Then you have acknowledged that nothing
 exists except knowledge, ignorance, and the recompense of
 the two.—SIMMIAS: How so?—ARISTOTLE: Of the things
 445 which you have enumerated there is none that does not
 belong to this world.—SIMMIAS: Certainly.—ARISTOTLE:
 Know you what it is that induces philosophers to abandon
 this world?—SIMMIAS: Their knowledge, by seeing that these
 things are detrimental to the intellect, induces them to take
 this course.—ARISTOTLE: Then have you not learned that
 whatever harms the intellect is the opposite of the intellect,
 450 and the opposite of the intellect is non-intelligence?—
 SIMMIAS: If what you say, that these things harm the
 intellect, be true of the earth, it is not true of the heaven.
 —ARISTOTLE: Nay, the heaven differs not from the earth in
 this matter.—SIMMIAS: In what respect are the heavens as
 detrimental to the intellect as the earth?—ARISTOTLE: The
 least detriment occasioned to knowledge by the heaven is
 this, that it prevents the sight from penetrating and passing
 455 through; now that which is inimical to sight is inimical to
 intelligence.—SIMMIAS: This theory is true of the present;
 what of the absent?—ARISTOTLE: The absent must either
 be like or unlike the present, must it not?—SIMMIAS: Yes.
 —ARISTOTLE: If it be like it, must it not help its like?
 if it be unlike, must it not oppose it and thwart it?—
 460 SIMMIAS: Now, indeed, I must certainly agree to all that

Kriton accepted from you. Now tell me the explanation of a single saying that I have met with in the works of the great PLATO: that everything that does good averts ill; but not everything that averts ill does good; and that the philosopher should amass a great quantity of those things
 465 which both avert ill and do good, and be content with a small number of those things which avert ill but do no good.—ARISTOTLE: Plato tells you that only those things suit the philosopher which bring him good and avert ill from him; and thereby he means knowledge which brings illumination to the mind and averts the darkness of ignorance; and he bids him acquire much of it. And of that which averts ill but is unprofitable, which is food,
 470 clothing and lodging, he bids him be content with as much as is absolutely necessary, because to exceed the limit in these things does harm to the intellect, whereas to seek the mean averts ill, but does no positive good, since none of the pleasures of knowledge proceeds therefrom to the mind. Hence it behoves the philosopher to be easily satisfied with obtaining the means of subsistence and very eager to acquire knowledge.—SIMMIAS: What is it that
 475 prevents that which averts ill from doing positive good when both agree in averting ill?—ARISTOTLE: That which does positive good differs from that which averts ill in this, that whatever averts ill only, if it be pursued to excess, ceases even to avert ill, and becomes detrimental; whereas that which does positive good, *i.e.* knowledge, the more there is of it the more beneficial it is; whereas that which averts ill only does so, so long as it
 480 in moderation. Do you not see that if you are satisfied with a modicum of food, it averts the mischief of hunger? similarly drink and clothing; whereas all, if there be more of them than is necessary, become detrimental, and their power of averting ill even is annulled, like heavy armour which wounds or kills its bearer. Whereas that which both does good and averts ill (that is, wisdom), however much
 485 there be of it, does not, like heavy armour, weigh down its possessor. Thus did Plato distinguish between that which

does good and that which averts ill, according to what you heard of his sayings.—SIMMIAS: Is there any other term besides these two or not?—ARISTOTLE: One other term remains; if it be added to these others, nothing is left out.—

490 SIMMIAS: What is that?—ARISTOTLE: Things are of three sorts: the thing which both does good and averts ill; that which averts ill, but induces no good; and that which does harm.—SIMMIAS: What is it that does harm?—ARISTOTLE: A thing which averts ill, when carried to excess, so as to become detrimental.—SIMMIAS: This subject is concluded. My mind is as much brightened by your instruction as the eye of the seer by the light of day. Now tell me: Is there any affinity between that which gives brightness to the mind and that which gives brightness to the eye? Or,
495 is there any resemblance between the mind and the eye?—

ARISTOTLE: They are things which do not resemble each other so much in substance as in function. If you have received the answer to your question, let Diogenes speak.—Simmias became silent.—DIOGENES then said: I have observed that those philosophers whose mental vision has been most
500 acute have been the most temperate. Now tell me: Do goodness and temperance spring from brightness of mental vision or not?—ARISTOTLE: There are different sorts of passions and divers sorts of intellects. Over against each passion there is an intellect best capable of opposing that passion. Lust in its nature is not the essence of folly, but each is a separate essence, though both are at

505 one in harming the philosopher and keeping him from his recompense. Nor again is that faculty and quality which recommends self-restraint identical with the faculty and quality which overcomes folly and brings knowledge; neither are they opposed to each other; rather is there resemblance and also diversity between the two, like the resemblance and diversity between running water and ice; the one being fine and rare, the other hard and coarse; just so is fine ignorance opposed to fine knowledge, and

510 strong piety to strong lust. And if a man's habit of temperance is weak and his property of knowledge strong,

his judgment sees aright, while his conduct, so far as continence goes, is weak; while the intellectual vision and the conduct of him whose case is the opposite are opposite.—

515 **DIODENES**: How can this be right, when you have said before that nothing exists except knowledge, ignorance, and the recompense of each? *Now* you have acknowledged the existence of knowledge, ignorance, continence, lust, and other things.

—**ARISTOTLE**: Do you not see that running water and ice resemble each other? Similar to this is the resemblance of lust to ignorance, and the rest are like this too. Being similar in operation they become one in name.—

DIODENES: How do I know that ignorance is to lust as running water to ice?—**ARISTOTLE**: Do you not see that 520 both hurt the intellect, just as running water and ice neither tolerate heat?—**DIODENES**: This subject is over. Now tell me: Which science is the most proper for me to pursue?

—**ARISTOTLE**: Since the pursuit of philosophy is the best of the pursuits of this world, and the recompense therefor is the greatest of the recompenses of the next world, philosophy is the best science that you can pursue.—**DIODENES**: Is 525 there any other knowledge besides philosophy or not?—

ARISTOTLE: The vulgar herd have a sort of knowledge and science and truth and honesty and generosity and other wasted virtues, which are as different from wisdom as the form of an animal is from a picture or sketch on a wall.—

DIODENES: Why do you call those virtues of the vulgar 530 herd *wasted*?—**ARISTOTLE**: On account of the ignorance of the vulgar with regard to them.—**DIODENES**: How so?

—**ARISTOTLE**: Because the vulgar wise man brings his knowledge into play there where it will not increase his gain, and their merciful man spares him who is worthy of exemplary punishment, and their veracious man brings his veracity into play when it pleases him, though the truth be obscene, and their liberal man is liberal to the unworthy, and their faithful man keeps his promises to people's 535 ruin, and their hearer hears to no purpose. Beyond a doubt these good qualities are wasted in them, and no more resemble the virtues of the wise than a painting on

a wall resembles a living animal.—**DIODENES**: How does your illustration correspond with the virtues of the few and of the many?—**ARISTOTLE**: Have you not learned that knowledge is life and ignorance death?—**DIODENES**: Yes.—**ARISTOTLE**: The knowledge of the wise man vivifies
 540 his actions, whereas the folly of the ignorant mortifies his.—**DIODENES**: Then are their good actions any better than their bad ones or not?—**ARISTOTLE**: They are not.—**DIODENES**: How so?—**ARISTOTLE**: The well-doer of the vulgar intends to do good, and takes a wrong path. The evil-doer among them intends evil and carries it out in the wrong way. They are just alike and neither has the advantage.—
 545 **DIODENES**: I know now in what way their virtues are wasted. Now show the superiority of wisdom without which no actions are profitable.—**ARISTOTLE**: Whosoever has seen good, abandoned evil, and entered into goodness has acted in accordance with wisdom; and whosoever has intended good and erred, or intended evil and carried it out, has departed from wisdom.—**DIODENES**: This
 550 whole subject is clear. Now tell me: To whom was this thing, I mean wisdom, first made clear?—**ARISTOTLE**: The minds of men are far from being able to attain to any thing so grand without teaching; just as their eyes are far from seeing without the light of a lamp.—**DIODENES**: From whom did the philosophers learn it?—**ARISTOTLE**: The heralds and ambassadors of the different ages in the
 555 different regions of the globe were constantly summoning mankind thereunto; and the first person on earth to whom that knowledge came by revelation was Hermes.—**DIODENES**: Whence came it to Hermes?—**ARISTOTLE**: His mind was taken up to heaven and it came to him from the Archangels, who had got it from the record of God. From him it came to the earth, and was received by the sages.—**DIODENES**: How am I to know that Hermes obtained that
 560 knowledge from the inhabitants of heaven?—**ARISTOTLE**: If that knowledge be the truth, it can come from above.—**DIODENES**: Why?—**ARISTOTLE**: Do you not see that the upper part of each thing is better than the lower? The

upper part of water and its surface are purer than the lower; the higher parts of the earth are pleasanter and fairer than the lower parts; the best member of a man is his head, the purest thing in a tree is its fruit; and so
 565 on with everything. The fittest thing, therefore, to come from on high is wisdom. Another proof is this: the substance and nature of wisdom have overcome and out-topped everything else.—**DIODENES**: O guide to wisdom! Our minds vary not the least from thine. Make a compact between us which will guard us from differing with one another!—**ARISTOTLE**: If you would follow my ways,
 570 imitate my books.—**DIODENES**: There are so many. Which will settle differences between us best if any such arise? —**ARISTOTLE**: Questions concerning the “first science” and the science of theology you should seek from the book of *Hermes*; for difficulties in the way of politics [you should go to the *Politics*, and for] difficulties in natural science, to the *Physics*; for difficulties about good and bad actions, to the *Ethics*; whereas if any difference arise
 575 among you about the definitions of speech, you should refer to the four books of *Logic*, the first *the Categories*, the second *περὶ ἑρμηνείας*, the third *ἀναλυτικὴ*, the fourth *ἀποδεικτικὴ*, or book of *Demonstration*, which tells you how to distinguish between true and false. There you will obtain light on dark matters.

When Aristotle had spoken thus far, his soul became powerless; his hand shook, and the apple fell out of his
 580 hand. The philosophers all rose and came near to him, and kissed his hand and eyes and eulogized him. He grasped *KRITON*'s hand and laid it on his face, saying, “I commit my spirit to the Receiver of the spirits of the wise.” Then he ceased and his spirit passed away. His friends lamented over him, saying, “The day of knowledge is over.”

ART. VI.—*Marwari Weather Proverbs*. By VIDYĀ BHĀSHKAR
PANDIT LĀLCHANDRA, of Jodhpur (Marwar), M.R.A.S.

॥ उगतेरोमाचली आथम-
तेरीमोघ। डंककहेहेभडुली
नदीयांचटसीगोघ ॥ १ ॥

If there be at sunrise stripes of red light in shape of fish and at sunset red rays of light stretching in diverging stripes from the west, Dunk says to Bhadli that rivers shall have foams.

मघामांचतमेहा. नहीतो-
उडंतषेहा ॥ २ ॥

If it rains in Magh the rain is heavy, and if not, dusty winds will blow (ends in famine).

मघामेहमांचत. मघामेह-
गचंत ॥ ३ ॥

In Magha either the rain copiously falls or it ends.

रोहणतपेमिरगलावाजै
आद्रामेह अचिंत्योगाजै ॥ ४ ॥

Heat in Rohin and wind in Mirag are certain to bring on unexpected thunder (rain) in Adira.

रोहणवाजैमिरगलातपे.
राजाजूंजेपरजाषपें ॥ ५ ॥

Winds in Rohin and heat in Mirag will cause the King to enter into war and thus ruin his subjects.

शुक्रवारीवादली. रही-
त्राणीसरहाय भीम कहेहे-
भडुली. वरसांविनांनजाय
॥ ६ ॥

If it is cloudy on Friday and remains so till Saturday next, Dunk says to Bhadli that it must rain.

दुसमनकीकिरपा बुरी.
भलीसेनकी चास. जबसूरज
गर्मीकरै. तब वरसण की
आस ॥ ७ ॥

Enemy's kindness is bad,
but good is friend's unkind-
ness, for when it becomes close
and hot it rains.

सांवनमास सूरियो बाजै.
भादरवे परवाई. आसूमास
समंद्रो बाजै. काती साख
सवाई ॥ ८ ॥

When North-East wind
blows in Sawan (August)
Eastern wind in Bhádun
(September) and the sea
wind in Asoj (October) the
crop is 20 annas in Kartik
(November).

पवन बाजे सूरियो. हाली
हलाव किउं पूरियो ॥ ९ ॥

If North-East wind blows,
farmers, why have you given
up regular ploughing (it will
rain instantly).

तीतरपंखी वादली. अंबर
लीलो कच. डंककहेहेभडली.
कांकड कूदे मच ॥ १० ॥

If there be a partridge-
feathered cloud and deep blue
sky, Dunk says to Bhadli that
fish will jump even in plains
(all the plains will be under
water, *i.e.* so heavy will be
the rain).

तीतरपंखी वादली. जो
पच्छिम दिझा जाय. पहर
अगरां मांयनें. जलथल एक
कराय ॥ ११ ॥

If a partridge-feathered
cloud go the west, within
fifty-four hours it will rain
cats and dogs.

किरकांटो बजरंगकरे.
हंख चढे अति साप. पृथ्वी
वरसाली तणी. अवतरसी
ईंद्र आप ॥ १२ ॥

If the chameleon changes
colour, the snakes climb a
tree, it will rain in torrents.

पपेयो पिव पिव करे. वाजै
उत्तर वाय. मची जल ऊप-
रतिारे. आवे मेह सवाय
॥ १३ ॥

If the sparrow sings, the North wind blows, and the fish swim on water surface, rain may be expected.

जेठमास जो जाय तपंतो.
कुणाराखेजलधर वरसं तो
॥ १४ ॥

If Jeth is intensely hot who can prevent the excessive fall of rain.

अगस्त ऊगां मेहन मंडे.
जोमंडेतो धार न रवंडे ॥ १५ ॥

After the rise of Canopus the rains do not set in, and if it rains, it falls in unbroken showers.

पांणी पाला पादत्राहि.
उत्तराद सूं आवै ॥ १६ ॥

Rain, frost, and kings come from the north.

तीतरपंखी वादली. विधवा
काजल रेख. वा वरसे वा
घरकरे. तामें मीन न मेख
॥ १७ ॥

A cloud like partridge-feather, a widow with collyrium-marked eyes, one will rain, the other again keep house; of this there can be no doubt and is not to be criticized (or no need to consult constellation to discover this).

परभाते गेह उंबरा. डो-
फारां तपंत. राढूं तारा नि-
रमला. अब चेला गचंत
॥ १८ ॥

When there are rolling clouds in the morning, heat at midday, at night clear stars, it is time to be off, my son, i.e. there are signs of drought and famine.

सावन मास उडावे गुड्डी.
आज नही तो का ले डूबी
॥ १९ ॥

If you fly a kite in Sawan, if not to-day, to-morrow it will sink (because rain will wet it).

किरती एक झूबकडो. ओ-
गन सह गलिया ॥ २० ॥

A flash of lightning in
Kirti cancels all bad omens.

आदरा बाजे वाय. झूपडी
झोला खाय ॥ २१ ॥

If the wind blows under
Adra, the hut will rock (*i.e.*
will be abandoned on account
of the famine which will
follow).

सांवण पहिली पंचमी. जो
बाजे बज वाय. कालपडे
सज देचामें. मिनख मिनखनें
खाय ॥ २२ ॥

If on the 5th day of Sawan
the wind blows strong, a
famine will prevail through-
out the land, and man will
eat man.

भो रसमेंगहडंबरा. अथण
सीता बाव. सह देवो जो-
सोकहे. यह कालां तथा
उपाव ॥ २३ ॥

Rolling clouds in the
morning, a cool breeze at
eve, are signs of famine says
Sahdes Joshi.

सांवण पहिले पचमें. जो
तिथ टोटे जाय. गाढन झेले
बाचडा. टाबर बेचे माय
॥ २४ ॥

If a day be cancelled (by
the Hindi Calendar) in the
first fortnight of Sawan, the
cow will not keep its calf and
the mother will sell her child.

माहा महाने पडे न सीत.
मेंगा अनाज जानियै मात
॥ २५ ॥

If the month of Mah
(January) is not cold, know
friend that grain will be dear.

बले बूटी तले टूटी ॥ २६ ॥

It has rained in the hills
and "tale" is blessed or "The
low lands are content."

अगस्त जगा नें मेहपूगा
॥ २७ ॥

Canopus has risen and the
rain is past. There is said to
be no rain usually after the
star canopus appears above
the horizon.

- आभाराता नें मेह माता Red horizon indicates heavy
॥ २८ ॥ rain.
- आभो पीखो नें मेह खीखो Yellow horizon indicates
॥ २९ ॥ rain scanty.
- ईसानी बीसानी ॥ ३० ॥ Lightning in N.E. is sure
to bring on rain.
- रोहणी रेली रूपये री
अधेखी ॥ ३१ ॥ Rain in Rohin and the
crop is eight annas or re-
duced by half.
- वरसे भरनी. छोडे परनी
॥ ३२ ॥ Rain in Bharin will make
a husband quit his wife (so
severe will be the famine
that he would not be able
to support his better half).
- असखेषा बूटा. वैदां घरे
बधावना ॥ ३३ ॥ Rain in Ashleca is welcome
to doctors (a disease is sure to
prevail).
- मिरगां बाव न बाजियो.
रोहण तपी न जेठ. केनां
बादो झूपडा. वससां वडला
हेठ ॥ ३४ ॥ If winds blow not in Mirag.
If heat be intense in Rohin
and Jait, why should we build
a hut as we shall have to live
under banyan (will be home-
less on account of famine and
consequent emigration).
- असाड सुनवमी, घणवा-
दलघणवीज, कोगखेरखखे-
रदो, राखी बलदनेंवीज
॥ ३५ ॥ If there be too many clouds
and flashes of lightning on
the 24th of Asad, clean all
your granary and only keep
quantity sufficient for seed
and plough, the year will be
a good one and no stock of
grain, except seeds, will be
required.

ART. VII.—*Some Remarks on the BĀBĪ TEXTS* edited by Baron Victor Rosen in Vols. I and VI of the Collections Scientifiques de l'Institut des Langues Orientales de Saint-Pétersbourg.¹ By EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.R.A.S.

THE Institut des Langues Orientales of St. Petersburg has an admirable custom, which it were well if other similar institutions would imitate. From time to time it publishes, under the title of *Collections Scientifiques*, not mere catalogues of recent acquisitions, but full accounts of the more interesting manuscripts which have been added to its library, with copious extracts, tables of contents, and critical notes. The sixth volume of these *Collections* has lately appeared in two parts, of which the second is almost entirely filled with a description, from the pen of Baron Rosen, of certain BĀBĪ MSS. acquired by the Institut. It is this second part of vol. vi that I propose specially to discuss here, but of the BĀBĪ texts contained in vol. i (published in 1877) I shall also have something to say.

Before proceeding further, I wish to enumerate briefly the publications to which in the course of this article I shall have occasion to refer, and to specify the abbreviations by which they will be hereinafter denoted. They are as follows:—

- (1) *Collections Scientifiques*, etc., vol. i, *Manuscripts Arabes*, by Baron V. Rosen (St. Pet. 1877), denoted as *Coll. Sc. i.*

¹ I omit in this article all but incidental reference to vol. iii of the *Collections Scientifiques* (*Manuscripts Persans*), published in 1886, which contains descriptions of the *Persian Beydn* and the *Ikán*. Of the former I am now engaged in the preparation of a complete text, and I gladly take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to the *Academy* and the *Institut* of St. Petersburg for their liberality in permitting me to borrow the MSS. of this work contained in their collections.

- (2) *Collections Scientifiques*, etc., vol. vi, *Manuscripts Arabes*, (non compris dans le No. 1) . . . et *Bábys*, by Baron V. Rosen (St. Pet. 1891), denoted as *Coll. Sc. vi*.
- (3) My first paper on the Bábís (*The Bábís of Persia. I. Sketch of their History and Personal Experiences amongst them*) in the July number of the *J.R.A.S.* for 1889 (pp. 485–526), denoted as *B. i*.
- (4) My second paper on the Bábís (*The Bábís of Persia. II. Their Literature and Doctrines*) in the October number of the *J.R.A.S.* for 1889 (pp. 881–1009), denoted as *B. ii*.
- (5) My recently published *Traveller's Narrative*, written to illustrate the *Episode of the Báb* (Cambridge, 1891), of which the first volume, containing the Persian text, is denoted as *T.N. i*, and the second volume, containing the English translation, introduction, and notes as *T.N. ii*.

Were it possible, I would fain consider Baron Rosen's work by itself, without reference to my own. But it is not possible to avoid such reference; for, just as I, in my second paper in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1889, which dealt with the literature of the Bábís, as well as in the *Traveller's Narrative*, had Baron Rosen's researches continually in view, so he, in his later writings, constantly alludes to my work, often correcting, supplementing, or criticizing most kindly and most pertinently the statements and conjectures which I have advanced. To withdraw or modify such of these conjectures as are no longer tenable, to harmonize, as far as possible, the results of our independent researches, to epitomize, for the benefit of those not specially engaged in this branch of Oriental studies, the results of Baron Rosen's valuable discoveries, and to add some few new facts which have come to my own knowledge, is the object of this article. With these preliminary remarks, I proceed to the detailed examination of the texts published by Baron Rosen.

I. THE BÁB'S COMMENTARY ON THE SÚRA-I-YÚSUF,
OTHERWISE CALLED THE KAYYÚMU'L-ASMÁ.

Coll. Sc. i (MSS. Arabes) contains descriptions of two Bábí MSS. The first of these (pp. 179–191) is conjectured by Baron Rosen to be the *Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsuif* (K̄ur'án, xii), composed by the Báb at the beginning of his mission. In *B. ii*, pp. 904–909, I gave some account of this book, based on Baron Rosen's notice of the St. Petersburg MS., and remarked that there existed in the British Museum Library a MS., marked Or. 3539, which appeared to be a copy of the same work. Quite recently I obtained from a learned Ezeli, resident at Constantinople, a MS. which is professedly a transcript of the Báb's *Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsuif*. This I have compared with the British Museum MS. as well as with Baron Rosen's description of the St. Petersburg Codex, and I have satisfied myself that all three MSS. are copies of the same work, and that this work is none other than the Báb's celebrated *Commentary*. A *Commentary* in the strict sense of the word it is not, but rather a mystical and often unintelligible rhapsody, containing as many chapters as the original *Súra* in the K̄ur'án does verses, viz. one hundred and eleven. Five of these chapters (Nos. i, ii, iii, iv, and lxi) are described in the British Museum MS. as containing forty-two verses each. The number of verses is inserted, as in the K̄ur'án, after the name of the *súra*. Thus the second chapter or *súra* is headed *سورة العلماء وهى اثنتى واربعون آية*, *شیرازیتة*, "The Chapter of the Doctors, consisting of 42 verses. Revealed at Shiráz," and so with the others. In my MS. the number of verses is prefixed only to chapter xlii, which is described as containing forty verses, but in the letter which accompanied the MS. the sender wrote as follows :

این کتاب قیوم الاسماء خوش خط و صحیح استنساخ شده خط آن
هم بشیوه خط بیان است که شکسته حیوان باشد. تنها نقی که

پیدا کرده اسامی سورها را ننوشته است و نسخه دیگر هم نداشتیم که از روی آن نوشته شود از کرمان و یا از اصفهان و طهران اسامی سورها بخوانید هر سوره مشتمل بر چهل آیه است که عدد لّی (۳۰ = ل : ۱۰ = ی) باشد که در آیه مبارکه رأیهم لی ساجدین اشاره شده است . ولی فهمیدن کتاب قیوم الاسماء بدون کتاب مستقیظ که شرح و تفسیر آن است ممکن نیست و آن هم در جزیره و اسلامبول موجود نیست یا از کرمان بخوانید یا از اصفهان و طهران تا برای سرکار بفرستند .

“This book, the *Ḳayyumu'l-Asmá*, has been well and correctly transcribed. Its writing is in the style of the *Beyán*, which is [called] *shikasté-i-ḥayaván*. The only defect which it has, is that the names of the *súras* have not been inserted, and we had not another copy from which to transcribe them. You must get these names from *Kirmán*, *Isfahán*, or *Teherán*. Each *súra* contains 40 verses, which is the number [equivalent] to لّی ‘to me’ [ل=30, ی=10], in allusion to the blessed verse [of the *Kur’án*, ch. xii, v. 4], ‘I saw them performing obeisance to me.’ But it is impossible to understand the book *Ḳayyumu'l-Asmá* without the book *Mustaykidh* [see *T.N.* ii, p. 341], which is its commentary and explanation; and there is no copy of it either in the Island [i.e. Cyprus] or Constantinople. Write for it to *Kirmán*, or *Isfahán*, or *Teherán*, that they may send it for you.” It appears, therefore, that each chapter properly contains 40 verses. As regards the names of the *súras*, for the omission of which the sender of my MS. apologizes, they appear to be altogether absent in the MS. described by Baron Rosen, but a good many of them are given in the British Museum Codex, and a very few in mine. A list of these names, as far as they are given, with the corresponding numbers of the *súras*, I subjoin.

Chapter i. . . . سورة الملك	Chapter xxxi. . . . سورة العز
„ ii. . . . العلماء	„ xxxii. . . . الحق
„ iii. . . . الايمان	„ xxxiii. . . . البصر
„ iv. . . . المدينة	„ xxxiv. . . . الاشارة
„ v. . . . يوسف	„ xxxv. . . . العبودية
(In my MS. this is called	„ xxxvi. . . . العدل
سورة حسين, but ch. lxi	„ xxxvii. . . . التعبير
bears the same title.)	„ xxxviii. . . . الفاظه
„ vi. . . . شهادة	„ xxxix. . . . الشك
„ vii. . . . الزيارة	„ xl. . . . الانسان
„ viii. . . . التوحيد	„ xli. . . . الكتاب
„ ix. . . . السر	„ xlii. No title.
„ x. . . . العما	„ xliii. . . . الوحدة
„ xi. . . . السطر	„ xliv. . . . الرؤيا
„ xii. . . . العاشورا	Chs. xlv.—liii. Without titles.
„ xiii. . . . الفردوس	Chapter liv. . . . سورة الغلام
Chs. xiv.—xvi. Without titles.	Chs. lv.—lx. Without titles.
Chapter xvii. . . . سورة الباب	Chapter lxi. . . . سورة الحسين
„ xviii. . . . الصراط	„ lxii. Without title.
„ xix. . . . السينا	„ lxiii. . . . سورة الرحمة
„ xx. . . . النور	„ lxiv. Without title.
„ xxi. . . . الشجر	„ lxv. . . . سورة الغيب
„ xxii. . . . الماء	„ lxvi. Without title.
„ xxiii. . . . العصر	„ lxvii. . . . سورة الانشاء
„ xxiv. . . . القدر	„ lxviii. . . . الرد
„ xxv. . . . الخاتم	„ lxix. . . . الرجوع
„ xxvi. . . . الحمل (p)	„ lxx. . . . القسط
„ xxvii. . . . الانوار	„ lxxi. . . . القلم
„ xxviii. . . . القرابة	„ lxxii. . . . الجعير
„ xxix. . . . المحورية	„ lxxiii. . . . الكهف
„ xxx. . . . التبليغ	

The remainder of the chapters (lxxiv–cxi) are without titles.

To each chapter, save the first, is prefixed a verse from the *Sūra-i-Yūsuf* and a group of mystical letters. A list of the latter, from ch. ii to ch. xx inclusive, is given by Baron Rosen, and this agrees with my MS. with the following exceptions:—Ch. x in my MS. has *آلمع* for *آلمع*; ch. xii has *كَن* for *كَن*; ch. xvii has *آلمعز* for *آلمعز*; chap. xviii has *كهمس* for *كهمس*; and ch. xix has *آلمر* for *آلمر*. The first chapter forms a sort of preface or introduction to the work; the second is a “commentary” on v. 1 of the *Sūra-i-Yūsuf*; the third a “commentary” on v. 2, and so on, up to ch. lxxxi, which is a “commentary” on verses 80 and 81. From this point onwards each chapter corresponds to the verse in the *Sūra-i-Yūsuf* which bears the same number, ch. lxxxii being a “commentary” on v. 82, ch. lxxxiii on v. 83, and so on. But, as in Baron Rosen’s description, only the first half of v. 103 is prefixed to ch. ciii, while the second half of this verse, together with v. 104, is prefixed to ch. civ. The irregularities in the arrangement of the verses prefixed to chapters liii and liv, noticed by Baron Rosen, are absent in my MS. The British Museum MS., like the St. Petersburg Codex, is without title, but to my MS. is prefixed a full title, as follows:—

كتاب قَيُّومِ الْأَسْمَاءِ تَفْسِيرِ أَحْسَنِ الْقِصَصِ
وهو سورة يوسف لأن عدد قَيُّومٍ مطابقٌ مع يوسف
١٥٦ ١٥٦

“The Book of the *Kayyumu’l-Asmā*, the Commentary on ‘The Best of Stories,’ which is the *Sūra-i-Yūsuf*; for the number of *Kayyum* (ق+و+م=40+6+10+100=156) agrees with the number of *Yūsuf* (ف+و+س+ي=80+60+6+10=156).”

Amongst the Bábís, therefore, this work is indifferently known as *Sharḥ* or *Tafsīr-i-Sūra-i-Yūsuf* (“Commentary on

the *Súra-i-Yúsf*"), *Aḥsanu'l-Kiṣāṣ* ("The Best of Stories," a title given, in *Kur'án* xii, 2, to the history of Joseph), and *Ḳayyúmu'l-Asmá* (the word *Ḳayyúm* being numerically equivalent to *Yúsf*). We find in the Persian Beyán (*Vaḥíd* vii, ch. i) the following passage corroborative of this identity:—

هنوز شنیده نشد که کتاب قیوم اسماء بعدد نفس قیوم که عدد
اسم یوسف علیه السلام است بر اسحقاق خود نوشته باشد و حال
آنکه از بد ظهور تا امروز چه قدر کتابها نوشته شده که دین ایمان
باو نمر نمی بخشد *

"It hath not yet been heard that the book *Ḳayyúmu'l-Asmá* ([so called], according to the number inherent in *Ḳayyúm*, which is the number of the name of Joseph, upon whom be peace) hath been written out as it deserves, yet withal, how many books have been written from the beginning of the 'Manifestation' to the present day, lack of belief in which hath no result."

The book is again referred to in ch. 18 of *Vaḥíd iv* of the Persian Beyán in the following words:—

نه اینست که بر او فضل خاصی شده بلکه همان فضل در حق
کَلّ شده ولی خود را محتاج داشته از آن فضل زیرا که در آن
سنه ظهور کتاب شرح سوره یوسف بکَلّ رسید . . .

"Not that special grace was shewn to him [alluding to one who had accompanied the Báb on the pilgrimage-journey and believed in him, probably, therefore, Hájí Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí of Bárfurúsh, afterwards called *Jenáb-* or *Hazrat-i-Ḳuddús*, or else Suleymán Khán], for that same grace was shewn to all, though they veiled themselves therefrom. For in that year of the 'Manifestation' [A.H. 1260] the Book of the Commentary on the *Súra-i-Yúsf* reached all."

If aught else be required to establish the identity of the *Ḳayyúmu'l-Asmá* with the Commentary on the *Súra-i-Yúsuḡ*, and to prove that it is this work, and no other, which is contained in the MSS. under consideration, it is supplied by a passage from the *I'kán*, quoted and remarked on by Baron Rosen, at p. 43 of *Coll. Sc. iii*. This passage is as follows:—

سبحان الله در اول از كتب خود كه اورا تيموم اسماء ناميده و
 اول و اعظم و اكبر جميع كتب است اخبار از شهادت خود
 ميدهند و در مقامی این آیه را ذكر فرموده اند يا بقیة الله قد فدیت
 بكلی لك و رضیت السب فی سبیلک و ما تمنیت الآقتل فی
 محبتك و كفی بالله العلی معصماً قديماً

“Glory be to God! In the first of his books, which he named *Ḳayyúmu'l-Asmá*, and which is the first, the greatest, and the chiefest of all books, he [*i.e.* the Báb] foretells his own martyrdom, and, in one passage, utters the following verse:—‘O Remnant of God! I am wholly sacrificed to Thee; I am content to be reviled in Thy way; I crave naught but to be slain in Thy love; and God the Most High sufficeth as an Eternal Refuge’”¹

On this passage Baron Rosen remarks:—“Ce passage est très-important, parce qu’il nous donne le nom authentique d’un des ouvrages fondamentaux de la secte. Il s’agit maintenant de retrouver ce passage dans les manuscrits bábys connus jusqu’ici.”² Well; the passage in question actually occurs in ch. lviii of my MS. of the Commentary of the *Súra-i-Yúsuḡ*, in what appears to be verse 37 or 38. The whole of the verse (or verses, for I am not sure whether

¹ This passage is also quoted in the *Traveller's Narrative* (vol. i, p. 4; vol. ii, pp. 3-4).

² Cf. also *B. ii*, pp. 952-3, and n. 1 on latter.

a division should not be made at the word (نصيراً) is as follows:—

يا سيّد الاكبر ما انا بشئ الآ وقد اقامتنى قدرتك على الامر ما
 اتكلت في شئ الآ عليك وما اعتصمت في امر الآ اليك وانت
 الكافي بالحق والآله الحق من ورآئك المحيط وكفى بالله العليّ
 على الحق بالحق القويّ نصيراً يا بقيّة الله قد فديت بكلي لك
 ورضيت السب في سبيلك وما تمّيت الآ القتل في محبّتك و
 كفى بالله العليّ معصما قديماً وكفى بالله شاهداً ووكيلاً *

My MS. has 22 lines to the page, contains ff. 202 (the last blank), and concludes with the following colophon:—

تمام شد كتاب مستطاب تيوم الاسما در تفسير احسن
 القصص بدست اقل بندگان حسين ايراني
 غرّه شهر ربيع الثاني سنه ١٣٠٩

“Here endeth the precious book of the *Ḳayyūmu'l-Asmá* in explanation of the ‘Best of Stories,’ by the hand of the least of [God’s] servants, Huseyn the Persian, on the first day [*ghurré*] of the month of Rabí‘ ’uth-Thání, A.H. 1309” (Nov. 4, A.D. 1891).

Concerning the British Museum MS. (Or. 3539) I have two remarks to make. *Firstly*, owing to the same catch-word occurring at the foot of two closely adjacent pages, the leaves between f. 105 and f. 112 are improperly arranged. Their proper order, as I have ascertained by comparison with my own MS., is as follows:—105, 110, 111, 108, 109, 106, 107, 112; in other words the leaves at present numbered 110, 111, 106, and 107 *should* be transposed and numbered respectively 106, 107, 110, and 111. *Secondly*, the first page is smudged and blurred, as though with water, to such a degree as to be illegible. Now when I was in Cyprus in March, 1890, Subḥ-i-Ezel incidentally mentioned, in the course of one of our conversations, that at one time

the Báb, for some reason or other, issued a general order that such of his followers as had in their possession copies of his Commentary on the *Súra-i-Yúsuf* should "wash them out" or obliterate them. Between their love for their Master, and their love for his book, the Bábís found themselves in a dilemma, from which the majority of them sought escape by expunging a single page of the Commentary. It seems to me very probable that this accounts for the state of the first page of Or. 3539, the remainder of which is in perfect preservation.

I cannot here speak at greater length on the *Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsuf*, but before passing on I would remark that, sooner or later, it will have to be fully and carefully examined, and copious extracts, if not the whole work, published. It was the first, and, for a long while, the chief sacred book of the Bábís, and in it the earliest form of the Bábí doctrine must be sought. Apart from this it appears to me almost certain that some passages, at least, will be found in it to throw new light on the Báb's life and character.

II. THE SÚRATU'L-MULÚK, OR 'CHAPTER OF THE KINGS,' BY MÍRZÁ HÛSEYN 'ALÍ OF NÚR, COMMONLY CALLED BEHÁ'U'LLÁH.

The second Bábí MS. described in *Coll. Sc. i* (pp. 191-212) consists of "a collection of 30 pieces, mostly very short, which, judging by the tone and style, all belong to the same author." The twentieth of these pieces is, however, of considerable length, and is addressed collectively "to the Kings." Its contents are fully described by Baron Rosen, and copious extracts from it are given. Before proceeding to discuss it, I will in a few words dismiss the other 29 letters, of which, with one exception (No. 29), only the opening words are given. There can be practically no doubt that they are all by the same author, and that he is none other than Behá'u'lláh, the chief of the Behá'í Bábís, now resident at Acre, where I visited him in April,

1890 (see *T.N.* xxxix-xli). A similar collection of fifty-five letters is contained in the British Museum MS. Or. 3114, which was purchased on Jan. 9th, 1886, from Baron von Kremer, for whom, according to a rather illegible pencil-note in German on the first page, it appears to have been bought in Acre by one Yúsuf Khálidí from "the spiritual chief of the Bábís there living in exile" (evidently Behá'u'lláh). This MS. I have examined, but with negative results, for it contains none of the letters described by Baron Rosen. This, however, is not surprising, since the number of these *ahcáh* or epistles addressed by Behá'u'lláh to his followers (who regard them all as equally inspired) is practically illimitable.

I now pass to a consideration of the far more important *Súratu'l-Mulúk*, the twentieth piece contained in the MS. (No. 438), described at pp. 191-212 of *Coll. Sc. i.* This MS. contains, as Baron Rosen informs us, ff. 72, of which the *Súratu'l-Mulúk* occupies ff. 36^b-57^a, or rather more than a quarter. The description of it here given was written in 1877, and, since the history of the Bábís, subsequently to the year 1852 (when most of the still surviving chiefs of the sect, including Mírzá Huseyn, 'Alí Behá'u'lláh and Mírzá Yahyá *Subh-i-Ezel*, emigrated from Persia and took up their abode at Baghdad), was then unknown in Europe, its authorship and many of the allusions contained in it could not at that time be determined by Baron Rosen. In the elucidation of this later history it was my good fortune to render some service to science—service to which, in *Coll. Sc. vi.* (pp. 141-3, etc.), Baron Rosen awards a more than ample tribute of praise. Now when, in the summer of 1889, I came to write my second paper (*B. ii*) on the literature and doctrines of the Bábís, this *Súratu'l-Mulúk* greatly puzzled me. So much did it seem to me to differ both in style and tone from the *Epistles of the Kings* (*Alwáh-i-Saláṭin*), of which Behá'u'lláh was confessedly the author, that I finally came to the conclusion that "the letter described by Baron Rosen was not by Behá, but by one of the other Bábí chiefs, possibly Ezel" (*B. ii*, p. 958).



But Baron Rosen's recent researches have proved conclusively that I was wrong, and that Behá'u'lláh is the author of the *Súratu'l-Mulúk*, as well as of the *Alwáh-i-Salátín*. His ingenious arguments, the substance of which I shall state immediately, will be found at pp. 145-8 of *Coll. Sc. vi*. Disregarding, for the present, an important postscript of twelve pages, dated Oct. 15th, 1890, of which I shall have to speak subsequently, this volume (that is to say the second part of it) contains descriptions of four Bábí books recently presented by M. Gamazof to the library of the *Institut*. The first three of these, which are dismissed very briefly, are: (1) A MS. of the *I'kán*, dated A.H. 1299; (2) A copy of the Bombay lithographed edition of the same; and (3) A MS. of the كتاب اقدس, which I originally misnamed لوح اقدس (see *Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 243, n. 1; *B. ii*, pp. 972-981 and 1007-1008; and *T.N. ii*, p. 211). Two and a half pages suffice to describe these, since their contents, nature, and authorship have already been determined and made known. Far otherwise is it with the fourth MS. (No. 48/465), the description of which fills nearly 100 pages, and the contents of which, briefly stated, are as follows:—

- (1) The *Súratu'l-Mulúk*, already described from another MS. (No. 438) in *Coll. Sc. i*, pp. 191-207 (Ff. 1^b-39^b).
- (2a) The *Súra-i-Heykal*, of which the *Epistles to the Kings* (*Alwáh-i-Salátín*), described by me at pp. 953-972 of *B. ii*, form a portion (Ff. 40^a-109^a).
- (2b) The Letter to the Sháh of Persia (*Lawh-i-Sulţán*), together with the instructions to the bearer written on the outside of the packet. The latter are of singular interest. By the kind permission of Baron Rosen I was enabled to include them (both text and translation) in vol. ii of my *Traveller's Narrative* (pp. 390-392). It is not certain whether this Epistle should be regarded as part of the *Súra-i-Heykal* or not. Baron Rosen (*Coll. Sc. vi*, pp. 216-217) expresses his opinion in the negative, as follows: "Nous avons vu plus haut, p. 195, que

dans le titre de la lettre se trouvaient les mots, "هذا ما نزل في الهيكل لحضرة السلطان" ['This is what was revealed in the *Heykal* to His Majesty the King'] "On en pourrait peut-être conclure que la lettre fait partie de la سورة هيكل dont M. Browne nous a révélé l'existence et qui est probablement identique avec le texte imprimé plus haut, pp. 149-192. Pour ma part je croirais plutôt que cette lettre n'en fait pas partie et qu'elle a été composée un peu plus tard que la *sourat-al-heykal*.¹ Dans ce cas les mots ما نزل في الهيكل doivent naturellement avoir un autre sens, que je n'ose point préciser pour le moment" (Ff. 109^b-143^a).

- (3) "A piece without title, which contains, in comparatively simple language, some definite information as to the transference of the sectaries from Adrianople to Acre. In the margin one reads سلطان روم. It is possible, therefore, that this document may have been intended for the Sultan" [sc. of Turkey]. I myself am inclined to identify this epistle with the "letter to Sulṭān 'Abdu'l-'Azīz" to which I referred at p. 520 of *B. i* (Ff. 143-154^a).
- (4) "A piece without title, which is the لوح رئيس of Mr. Browne (II. pp. 960-63). In the margin one again reads "سلطان روم" (ff. 154^a-166^a).
- (5) "Without title. A sort of hymn of triumph on the occasion of the death of one of the most violent enemies of the new religion, who, as would appear, had gone to Paris for medical advice." Fu'ád Páshá and 'Alí Páshá were the two Turkish statesmen who were chiefly concerned in the removal of the Bábís from Adrianople in 1868, and against whom the Bábís therefore cherish a deep resentment. Amongst the notes which I took of my conversations with Şubḥ-i-Ezel in March, 1890, I find the following:

¹ I find some difficulty in accepting this view. See pp. 281-2 and 313 *infra*.



—“Fu’ád Páshá was first وزير ماليه (Minister of Finance) and then وزير خارجيه (Minister for Foreign Affairs). He and ‘Alí Páshá (then Prime Minister) combined to expel the Bábís [*sc.* from Adrianople]. The former died abroad, it is said a renegade from Islám. The latter was not so bad. Şubḥ-i-Ezel wrote him a petition asking not to be sent to Acre, and he laughed and sent a verbal message offering the choice of three places, Bosnia, Philippopolis, and Tekir-dághí. ‘Alí Páshá died a few months after Şubḥ-i-Ezel came to Cyprus.” It appears, then, that I was mistaken in alluding (*B. i*, 492) to “the death of ‘*Aḥ* Páshá away from his native country” as one of the events foreshadowed by Behá’u’lláh, and that the name of *Fu’ád Páshá* should be substituted. Meḥmed (Muḥammad) Fu’ád Páshá, son of the celebrated ‘Izzet Mullá, was born in 1814. He received a medical training, but later abandoned this profession for diplomacy. He became Minister for Foreign Affairs for the second time in 1855. In 1867 he accompanied the Sultan to England and France. He died at Nice, *whither he had gone for the benefit of his health*, February 12, 1869. These particulars are taken from the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. ix, p. 805, article *Fuad Pasha*, and on the whole they agree well with the supposition that his death was the occasion of this letter. Just as the Persians, for the most part, know no England but London, so would they naturally enough regard Nice as practically the same as Paris. This letter I shall therefore provisionally call ‘the Epistle of Fu’ád Páshá’ (ff. 166^a–168^b).

- (6) Another epistle, without title, in Persian (Ff. 168^b–170^b).
- (7) Behá’u’lláh’s answer to a question concerning the nature of the “First Point” (*i.e.* the Báb) addressed to him by one of the “Letters of the Living,” or members of the original “Unity” (واحد) (Ff. 171^a–182^a).

It is the discussion of this most interesting MS., which contains so much that is new and important, that has led Baron Rosen to reopen the question of the authorship of the *Súratu'l-Mulúk*. The conclusion to which he comes is that it was written by Behá'u'lláh, and that it was written at an earlier date than the *Atwáh-i-Salátt*n, or "Epistles to the Kings." The arguments whereby he justifies this conclusion (and, as I have said, they appear to me irrefragable) are as follows:—

- (a) The MS. containing this copy of the *Súratu'l-Mulúk* contains also a number of other documents, of which Behá'u'lláh is undoubtedly the author. Considering the hatred which subsists between the Behá'ís and the Ezelís, it is extremely unlikely that writings of Behá'u'lláh and Şubḥ-i-Ezel should be included in the same volume.
- (b) The cyphers ۱۰۴, prefixed to most of the letters contained in this volume, as well as to MSS. of the *Kitáb-i-Akdas* and *I'kán* (both of which are known to have been written by Behá'u'lláh), stand also at the head of this copy, and at the end of the other previously described copy of the *Súratu'l-Mulúk*. Now these cyphers, as Baron Rosen points out, can hardly stand for anything else than the corresponding letters ۱, ۴, ب, ۴, Behá, who in this case must be regarded as the author.
- (c) The difference of *tone* which I remarked between that portion of the *Súratu'l-Mulúk* addressed to the Sháh of Persia and the separate *Epistle to the Sháh* carried to Teherán in July, 1869, by Badí' (see *Coll. Sc. vi*, pp. 193–5, and *B. ii*, pp. 956–7) is admitted by Baron Rosen, "but," he adds, "it would be rash to conclude from it that the two documents emanate from different authors, since we are still but imperfectly acquainted with the character of Behá and the circumstances of his life." Baron Rosen also

considers (and I now agree with him) that the difference of *style* between the documents is not sufficiently great to justify my thesis.

- (d) Baron Rosen points out a passage, occurring in the letter to the Queen of England, wherein kings and rulers in general are exhorted to live in peace with one another, and to spend less on the maintenance of vast armies, so that the money thus saved may be spent for the benefit of their subjects. In this passage occurs the following expression:—كذلك وصيّناكم فى اللوح الذى ارسلناه قبل تلك مرّة اخرى — “This did we counsel you in the Epistle which we sent *before this on another occasion*” (cf. *B. ii*, pp. 971-2). Well, a precisely similar injunction actually occurs in the *Súratu'l-Mulúk*, and there can, as Baron Rosen says, be little doubt that it is to this that Behá'u'lláh alludes. Baron Rosen gives the text of the two parallel passages side by side (*Coll. Sc. vi*, pp. 147-8), and of these parallel texts I here subjoin a translation, that the closeness of their similarity may be made apparent to all.

From the *Súratu'l-Mulúk*.

“Fear God, O Kings, and transgress not the ordinances of God, and conform to that whereunto ye are commanded in the Book, and be not of the transgressors. Beware that ye oppress not anyone [even] to the extent of a single mustard - seed, but [rather] pursue the path of justice, for verily it is a straight path.

From the *Epistle to the Queen of England*.

“O concourse of Kings! Verily we see you increasing your expenditure each year, and laying the burden thereof on your subjects; this is naught else than a great injustice! Fear the sighs of the oppressed and his tears, and lay not burdens upon the people beyond their endurance, neither ruin them to build up your palaces.

From the *Súratu'l-Mulúk.*

“Next, be at peace one with another, and reduce your armies that your expenses may be diminished, and that ye may be of those who are in easy circumstances. And [even] if ye should raise up differences between yourselves, ye will not need great military forces, but only so much as will suffice for you to guard your domains and realms. Fear God, and act not extravagantly in anything, and be not of those who are prodigal! We know how ye increase your expenses daily, laying the burden thereof on your subjects; this is beyond what they can bear, and verily it is a great injustice. Act justly, O ye Kings, amongst mankind, and be ye mirrors of justice in the earth; this is incumbent on you and befitteeth your dignity, were ye of those who judge equitably.”

From the *Epistle to the Queen of England.*

“Be at peace one with another; then will ye not need large armies or stores for their equipment, but only such a force as will suffice for you to protect your realms and domains. Beware that ye forsake not the counsel given you on the part of One Wise and Trusty! Agree together, O concourse of Kings; thereby shall the blasts of discord be lulled amongst you, and your subjects shall live in peace and those who are about you, did ye but know. If one amongst you arise against another, rise up against him: this is naught but evident justice. *Thus did we exhort you in the Epistle which we sent before this on another occasion.*”

The parallelism between these two passages, pointed out by Baron Rosen, is so evident that no one, I think, will be inclined to doubt that both emanate from the same pen, or that the first is alluded to in the closing sentence of the second. We may therefore take it as proved that the *Súratu'l-Mulúk* was written by Behá'u'lláh, and that

it was written before the "Epistles to the Kings" (*Alwah-i-Salātin*) which form a portion of the *Sūra-i-Heykal*.

Baron Rosen is now publishing the whole text of the *Súratu'l-Mulúk* (together with the other 29 letters contained in the MS. described in *Coll. Sc. i*, pp. 191-212) in the *Zapiski* of the Oriental Section of the Russian Imperial Society of Archæology, and until this appears it would be premature to enter into a full discussion of the document or the date of its composition. Still it may not be amiss to notice such indications of the period to which it must be referred as occur in the extracts given in *Coll. Sc. i*. Now, there are certain passages which, taken by themselves, would tempt us to detect a reference to Acre, and the fact that other passages negative this hypothesis shews us how cautious we should be in attaching too definite a meaning to the vague and mystical expressions in which these Bábí texts for the most part abound. The first of these passages occurs on pp. 192-3 of the aforementioned volume, and is as follows:—

ان يا ملوك الارض اسمعوا ندآء الله من هذه الشجرة المثمرة
المرفوعة التى تنبت على ارض كئيب الحمراء برية القدس وتغن
باته لا اله الا هو العزيز المقتدر الحكيم هذه بقعة التى باركها الله
لوارديها وفيها يسمع ندآء الله من سدره قدس رفيع *

"O Kings of the earth! Harken to the Voice of God from this fruitful, lofty Tree,² which grows in the Land of the Red Sandhill, in the Desert of Jerusalem,³ and is vocal with the melody of 'Verily there is no God save Him,

¹ Cf. *Qur'án*, xxviii. 30.

² The Báb continually calls himself شجرة حقيقت "The Tree of Truth" (cf. *T.N.*, pp. 219, n. 12; 224, 225, 230, 294), and Behá'u'lláh here (and I think elsewhere) applies the same term to himself. The allusion is to the "Tree on Sinai" (the Burning Bush) from which Moses heard the words انا الله "Verily I am God." See *Qur'án*, xxviii. 30.

³ It is probable, however, that the word *al-kuds* ("the Holy") may here have a less definite meaning.

the Mighty, the Potent, the Wise.' This is the place which God hath blessed to those who approach it, and wherein is heard the Voice of God from a lote-tree holy and high."

This passage certainly appears to refer to Acre, which might fairly be described as "in the Desert of Jerusalem"; which is actually called by the followers of Behá *حمرآ* "The Red Place" (in reference, as I was informed by Behá's sons, to a little hill hard by Behá's dwelling, which is covered in the spring with red flowers); and which is situated amongst sand hills.

Here is another passage (apparently addressed to the Sultan of Turkey) in which allusion would seem to be made to Acre (*Coll. Sc. i*, pp. 197-8):

أسمعت يا أيها الملك ما ورد من وكلائك وما عملوا بنا ام كنت
من الغافلين وان سمعت وعلمت ليم ما انهيتم عن فعلهم ورضيت
لمن اجاب امرك و اطاعك ما لا يرضى لاهل مملكته احد من
السلاطين و ان لم تكن مطلعاً هذا اعظم من الاولى ان انت من
المثقين اذا اذكر لحضرتك بما ورد علينا من هؤلاء الظالمين فاعلم
باتا جئنا بامرک و دخلنا مدينتك بعز مبين و اخرجنا عنها بذل
التي لن تقاس به ذلته في الارض ان انت من المظلمين و اذبهونا
الى ان دخلونا في مدينة التي لن يدخل فيها احد الا الذينهم عصوا
امرک و كانوا من العاصين و كان ذلك بعد الذي ما عصيناك في
اقل من آن فلما سمعنا امرک اطعناه و كنا من المطيعين *

"Hast thou heard, O King, what hath befallen us at the hands of thy ministers, and what they have done unto us, or art thou of the heedless? If thou hast heard and known, why didst thou not withhold them from their action, and why didst thou sanction against one who responded to

1 ادخلونا .

thy command and obeyed thee [proceedings] which no [other] king would sanction against the people of his country? And if thou didst not know, then this is more grievous than the first [case], if thou art of those who fear God. Then will I tell Your Majesty of what befell us at the hands of these oppressors. *Know then that we came at thy command and entered into thy city with conspicuous honour, but were expelled from it with dishonour, wherewith no dishonour in the world can be compared, if thou art of those who are informed. And they made us go until they caused us to enter in unto a city which none entereth save such as have disobeyed thy command and have been of the [number of the] transgressors; and this though we disobeyed thee not for so much as a moment! For when we heard thy command we obeyed it, and were of the obedient."*

Two passages in the above extract I have italicized, because it is to them especially that I wish to refer. In the *Traveller's Narrative*, just edited and translated by myself, which was inspired, if not written, by Behá'u'lláh, we find it stated (text, p. 118; translation, p. 90) that "throughout this journey" (from Baghdad to Constantinople) "the governors and officials observed the utmost consideration and respectfulness, while march and halt were alike dignified and honourable." It seems probable, then, that by "the city" into which Behá'u'lláh and his companions "entered," in his own words "with conspicuous honour," Constantinople is meant.

As to the second passage italicized, it certainly seems to describe Acre better than Adrianople; at least I am not aware that the latter is specially used by the Turks as a place of banishment for criminals or political offenders, while the former certainly is. Hence Behá'u'lláh continually calls Acre *سجن عكا* "the prison of Acre" (*T.N.* vol. ii, p. 146); "a place of exile for murderers and robbers" (*ibid.* p. 73), and the like; while Adrianople is generally entitled *ارض سر* "the Land of the Mystery," and, moreover, according to

the *Traveller's Narrative* (vol. i, pp. 121-2; vol. ii, pp. 92-3), the Bábís were there treated not only with indulgence but "respect and deference," so that one is disposed to doubt whether Behá could consistently describe it in the words here used.

A few lines lower, however (*Coll. Sc. i*, p. 198), we find a passage, of which the translation is as follows: "And they brought us until we reached [what is] in their fancy the Land of Transgressors (بلدة العصاة), and when we reached it we found therein no house wherein we might dwell, wherefore we alighted in a place whereunto none entereth save every miserable stranger. Therein we abode for some few days; but the thing waxed grievous unto us by reason of the straitness of the place; wherefore we hired houses, abandoned by their tenants, because of their extreme coldness . . . , which none inhabiteth save in the summer; but it was in winter-time that we took up our lodging there, neither had my family, nor those who were with me, clothing to shield them from the cold of that bitter weather."

Now the first part of this passage is still quite consistent with the supposition that Acre is referred to; and the complaint uttered by Behá of the absence of proper accommodation for the exiles on their arrival finds a parallel in one of the other epistles published in *Coll. Sc. vi* (p. 218, ll. 13-18), which describes the hardships endured by the Bábís on their arrival at Acre, where they were first imprisoned in the barracks. But the concluding words of this same passage supply a very strong argument against this theory, for it is evident from them that the Bábí exiles arrived at this "Land of Transgressors" in the dead of winter. Now there is no doubt that they were removed from Adrianople to Acre in *August*, 1868 (*B. i*, p. 526; *B. ii*, pp. 984 and 988, stanza 11 of Nabíl's chronological poem; *Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 218, n. 1; *T.N. ii*, pp. 378, n. 2, 380), so that they could hardly have suffered from *cold* on their arrival there! On the other hand, if Nabíl's poem is to be trusted, they reached Adrianople in *Rajab*, *ا.ح.*

1280,¹ corresponding to *December*, A.D. 1863; and even though Nabíl be mistaken in the year, as Baron Rosen is disposed to think (*Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 218, n. 1),² it is still not unlikely that he may have given the month correctly.³

This argument appears to me quite to outweigh the evidence of isolated expressions which, taken alone, would seem to point to Acre; for severe suffering from cold is not a thing about which there can be any mistake or forgetfulness, and it is impossible that any one could feel cold at Acre in August. And in one passage in the Epistle to the Emperor of the French (*Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 181, ll. 17-18) Behá does describe Adrianople as his "prison":—"Matters waxed more grievous to us daily, nay, hourly; until they brought us forth from the Prison" [Adrianople] "and caused us to enter into the Most Grievous Prison" [Acre] "with manifest injustice." And a few lines lower down on the same page (ll. 24-25) he actually alludes to the previous letters which he designed to send to the Kings (*i.e.* as it would appear, this same *Súratu'l-Mulúk*, which we are now considering) in these words:—"Verily when we reached the Prison we designed to convey to the Kings the letters of their Lord, the Mighty, the Laudable." If we could only be sure that here also "the Prison" (without an epithet) denoted Adrianople, and that Behá was consistent in his terminology, the matter would be proved beyond doubt!

There is, however another passage in the *Súratu'l-Mulúk* which gives us surer ground to go upon. It occurs on p. 195 of *Coll. Sc. i*, ll. 5-7, and runs thus:—

ان يا ايها الملوك قد مضت عشرين من السنين وكتا في كل

¹ Not A.H. 1281 as stated at p. 525 of *B. i*. See p. 308 *infra*.

² See p. 307 *infra*.

³ Instances of this are pretty common, but one example will suffice. The Báb appears to have been born on Muharram 1st, A.H. 1236 (*cf. B. ii*, p. 993, and *T.N. ii*, pp. 218-222), but in the text of the *Traveller's Narrative* (vol. i, p. 2; vol. ii, p. 2) the date of his birth is given as Muharram 1st, A.H. 1235 (*cf. also Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 252). It is easy to see that an *anniversary* is more likely to be correctly remembered than a *date*.

منها في بلاء جديد وورد علينا ما لا ورد على احد قبلنا ان انتم من
 السامعين *

“O Kings! *Twenty years* have passed in each one of which we have been visited with some new affliction, and wherein there hath befallen us what hath not befallen any one before us, if ye will be of those who hearken.”

Now since the Báb first proclaimed his doctrine in A.H. 1260 (A.D. 1844), this passage would seem to have been written about A.H. 1280 (A.D. 1863-64). It may, indeed, have been written somewhat later, since the “afflictions” of the Bábís did not begin till A.H. 1261, when the Báb’s missionaries at Shíráz were subjected to very cruel treatment by Huseyn Khán, the Governor of Fárs (*B. i*, 521; *T.N. ii*, pp. 5-6), but it can hardly have been written earlier. The removal of the Bábís to Adrianople took place, according to Nabil, in Rajab A.H. 1280 (December, A.D. 1863),¹ according to Baron Rosen (*Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 218, n. 1) in A.D. 1862 (A.H. 1278-9). The *Súratu’l-Mulúk* would therefore seem to have been written about the beginning of the Adrianople period. It is, at any rate, difficult to suppose that it was written so late as A.H. 1285 (A.D. 1868), which was the beginning of the Acre period; while the allusions which it contains to the action of the Persian Minister at Constantinople and the support accorded to him by the French Ambassador (*Coll. Sc. i*, p. 194, l. 6 from the bottom *et seq.*, and *Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 146, top), forbid us to suppose that it was written before the removal of the Bábís from Constantinople to Adrianople.

There is still another reason for referring the composition of the *Súratu’l-Mulúk* to the Adrianople period. Stated briefly this reason is as follows: (1) The Epistle to the King of Persia appears, from internal evidence, to have been composed, or at any rate begun, before Behá left Adrianople. (2) Behá describes the *Súratu’l-Mulúk* as having been

¹ See pp. 307-8 *infra*.

written at a time when the Bábís had endured *twenty years* of persecution (pp. 280-1 *supra*), while in the Epistle to the King of Persia he speaks of the persecution having lasted *more than twenty years*. The natural assumption is that the former document was written at an earlier date than the latter, and consequently some time before the end of the Adrianople period.

The passage in the Epistle to the King of Persia, which implies that it was written before Behá left Adrianople, occurs in *Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 213, last line, and p. 214, first line, and runs as follows :

فسوف يخرجوننا اولو الحكم والغنا من هذه الارض الّتي سمّيت
بادرنه الى مدينة عكا

“And the lords of authority and wealth are about to send us forth from this land, which is named Edirné [Adrianople], to the city of ‘Akká [Acre].”¹

The other passage in the Epistle to the King of Persia, alluded to, will be found in *Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 203, ll. 12-14, and *T.N. i*, p. 148 ; *ii*, p. 119, and runs as follows :

واين طائفه بيست سنه متجاوز است كه در ايام و ليالى بسطوة
غضب خاقانى معذب و از هبوب عواصف قهر سلطانى هريك
بدياري افتاده اند

“But as to this sect, it is *more than twenty years* that they have been tormented by day and night with the fierceness of the Royal anger, and that they have been cast each one into a different land by the blasts of the tempests of the King’s wrath.”

Now even granting that the expression in the *Súratu’l-Mulúk*, “twenty years have passed,” be not *absolutely* definite, it is at any rate *relatively* so. When Behá speaks thus, we may doubt whether he reckons from the date of

¹ See *Traveller’s Narrative*, *i*, p. 146, where the passage stands somewhat differently, though the general sense is the same.

the Báb's 'Manifestation' (A.H. 1260), or the beginning of the minor persecutions (A.H. 1261), or the period of the great massacres and persecutions (A.H. 1265-8), but at any rate we may fairly assume that he is consistent in his method.

For the reasons above stated it appears to me probable that the *Súratu'l-Mulúk* was written some time—possibly a considerable time—before the end of the Adrianople period. It is worth noting in this connection the statement of the Ezeli author of the *Hasht-Bihisht* (see *T.N. ii*, pp. 358-9), that Behá began his propaganda by letters from Adrianople.

III. BEHÁ'U'LLÁH'S SÚRA-I-HEYKAL, OR 'CHAPTER OF THE FORM,' AND THE ALWÁH-I-SALÁTÍN, OR 'EPISTLES TO THE KINGS' WHICH IN PART COMPOSE IT.

In my first paper on the Bábís (*B. i*, p. 520) I mentioned and enumerated certain Epistles addressed by Behá'u'lláh to various potentates, to wit:

1. The Sháh of Persia.
2. Sultán 'Abdu'l-'Azíz,
3. Napoleon III.
4. The late Emperor of Russia.
5. The Pope.
6. The President of the United States.
7. The Queen of England.

In a footnote on the same page I remarked: "Of the second and sixth of these I do not possess a copy, and of the existence of the latter I am doubtful." I may now add that I believe the sixth to be altogether mythical, and that, as has been above shewn, the first Epistle at any rate, and possibly some of the others, were written not at Acre but at Adrianople.

In my second paper (*B. ii*, pp. 953-971) I gave a fuller account of these letters, and translated certain illustrative

passages from each. "Taken collectively," I wrote (*loc. cit.* p. 954), "these letters constitute what is known amongst the Bábis as the *Súra-i-Heykal*, which I think includes also some shorter letters addressed to sundry other people."

The whole text of this *Súra-i-Heykal* (for there can be practically no doubt that it is this document) has now been published by Baron Rosen in *Coll. Sci. vi*, pp. 148 *et seq.* It forms the second piece in the *Institut* MS. marked No. 48/465, and contains, besides other matter, several of the afore-mentioned *Alwáh-i-Salátin* or "Epistles to the Kings," namely, (1) The Epistle to the Pope (*Coll. Sci. vi*, pp. 172-8); (2) The Epistle to Napoleon III. (*Coll. Sci. vi*, pp. 178-186); (3) The Epistle to the late Emperor of Russia (*Coll. Sci. vi*, pp. 186-188), of which in my MS. only a portion was given; and (4) The Epistle to the Queen of England (*Coll. Sci. vi*, pp. 188-192). Whether the Epistle to the Sháh of Persia, and the other letters which follow it (pp. 270-2 *supra*), should be regarded as forming part of the *Súra-i-Heykal* or not is doubtful.

Before proceeding to discuss Baron Rosen's text of the *Súra-i-Heykal*, it seems desirable to give a short description of the MS. used by me in preparing my description of the *Alwáh*, in which the arrangement is somewhat different.

Description of the Kirmán MS. which formed the basis of my account of the ALWÁH-I-SALÁTÍN (B. ii, p. 954).

Contains ff. 40, each leaf measuring 17·5 × 10·5 centimetres. Written throughout in a small and rather illegible *shikasta* hand. Some marginal notes and glosses. Contents:

Ff. 1^b-19^b. The *Kitáb-i-Akdas* (formerly misnamed by me *Lawh-i-Akdas*).

Ff. 20^a-21^b. A *tarjî'*-band in praise of Behá.

Begins:

من خدا جویم و خدایم کو
نقد جان بر کف و بهایم کو

جز توام از دو کون بیگانه
بخدا جز تو آشنایم کو

Ends with the *band* or refrain :

جز بها نیست جلوه گاه خدا
گر تو جوئی خدا بجوز بها

F. 21^b. Three short prayers, which I give *in extenso* :—

طلعت مبارک

ای رب فاجعل ذکرک مؤنسی و وجهک مقصودی و رضاک
مسلمی و ثنائک عملی و املی بین العالمین و الحمد لله محبوب
العارفین *

طلعت مبارک صبحی نه مرتبه بخوانند

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو وان نقطة البيان عبده و بهائه وان ادله
الحی حروف لنفسه کل بامرہ من عنده یخلقون *

حضرت نقطه صبحی نونزده مرتبه بخوانند

هل من مفرج (?) غیر الله قل سبحان الله هو الله قل کل عباد
له و کل بامرہ قائمون *

Ff. 22^a–30^a. The *Laḥ-i-Sultān*, or Epistle to the King of Persia (*Coll. Sc. vi*, pp. 195–216). To this is prefixed the following prefatory note :—

این لوح مخصوص حضرت سلطان در ادرنه نازل این عبد خادم
مخصوص آمجنابان ارسال داشت که قرائت فرماید (*sic*) و لغات
عربیّه بعضی را که در نظر این عبد بود حسب الامر غصن الله الاعظم
معانی نوشته شد *

“This Epistle was revealed in Adrianople¹ specially for His Majesty the King [of Persia]. This servant, the confidential attendant of their Excellencies,² sends it for you to peruse. The meanings of sundry Arabic phrases which were in my mind have been written down agreeably to the command of God’s Most Mighty Branch” (*Ghuṣnu’lláhi’l-A‘zam*, i.e. Behá’s eldest son, ‘Abbás Efendí. See *B. i*, pp. 518 and *T.N. ii*, p. 393, n. 2). Then comes the heading—

هو آله تعالى شانه العظمة والافتدار

followed by the text of the *Lawḥ-i-Sultán*, which closely agrees with Baron Rosen’s text, even to the marginal glosses, but differs here and there from the text contained in the *T.N.*, which has evidently been toned down in places to suit a wider audience and to avoid giving offence to non-believers.

Ff. 30^a–32^b. The *Lawḥ-i-Ra’is* (*Coll. Sc. vi*, pp. 224–231), separated from the previous *Lawḥ* only by a break in the line of about half an inch and the invocatory words *بسمه الابي*.

Ff. 32^b–34^b. The Epistle to the Pope (*Coll. Sc. vi*, pp. 172–178), to which is prefixed the following heading:—

من اجزاء الهيكل قد نزل لرئس اروميه من لدن مالك البريه *

“Of the parts of the *Heykal*. Revealed for the Chief of Urúmiyya [*sic*!] on the part of the Lord of Creation.”

Ff. 34^b–37^a. The Epistle to Napoleon III. (*Coll. Sc. vi*, pp. 178–186), headed:—

من اجزاء الهيكل ما نزل في الهيكل لملك باريس *

“Of the parts of the *Heykal*. What was revealed in the *Heykal* for the King of Paris.”

¹ This is important, as confirming the conclusion already arrived at (p. 282 *supra*) concerning the date of this Epistle.

² Apparently Behá’u’lláh and his sons (*Aghápán*), the “confidential attendant” being, in all probability, Aká Mirzá Aká Ján of Káshán called *Khádimu’lláh*. (See *B. i*, p. 519, and *T.N. ii*, Index, *s.v.* *Khádimu’lláh*).

Ff. 37^a-37^b. A portion of the Epistle to the late Emperor of Russia (*Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 186), headed:—

من اجزاء الهيكل ما نزل في الهيكل لملك الروس *

“Of the parts of the *Heykal*. What was revealed in the *Heykal* for the Emperor of Russia.” As I suspected (*B. ii*, p. 969), this proves to be only a portion of the Epistle in question. The whole is given by Baron Rosen.

F. 37^b. A short letter addressed to Mírzá Muḥammad ‘Alí.

Begins:

هو الاقدس الاعظم الاقدم
 بافتخار جناب آقا ميرزا محمد علي نازل شده
 يا محمد قبل علي در عالم و آنچه در او ذكر شده و ظاهر گشته تفكر نما ...

Ends:

ان ربك لهو الحق علام الغيوب يسمع و يرى و هو الفرد الواحد
 العزيز الودود البهاء عليك و على الذين شربوا ما شربته بحبيبي (?)
 العزيز الممنوع *

Ff. 37^b-38^a. Another short letter addressed to the same person.

Begins:

نيز بافتخار آجناب از سما مشيت نازل شده
 هو المشتاق من افق البقاء
 يا محمد قبل علي از شطر سخن (?) سخن) مالك اسماء اين ندا بشنو ...

Ends:

كن في كل الاحوال متمسكاً بعناية الله و متشبثاً بذيله و ناطقاً
 بشانه منقطعاً عن الذين كفروا و اعرضوا ان اتى الله بنور مبين البهاء
 عليك و على ثابت فائز مستقيم *

Ff. 38^a-38^b. A letter to Mirzā Muḥammad Taqī of Yazd.

Begins :

در اعتراض میرزا محمد تقی یزدی نازل شده
هل الآيات نزلت قل اى ورب الناس هل انت الساعة بل قضت
ومظهر البيّنات قد جائت الحاقّة و اتى الحقّ بالحجّة والبرهان ...

Ends :

لعمري انه باب رحمة ربك طوبى لمن يقرئه فى العشى والاشراق
انا نسمع ذكرك فى هذا الامر الذى منه ايدك جبل العلم و ذلك
الاقدام والبهاء عليك وعلى كلّ مقبل اقبل الى العزيز الوهاب قد
انتهى واتم ان اصبر ان ربك لهو الصبار *

F. 38^b. Letter to Akā Mirzā Huseyn.

Begins :

بافتخار جناب آقا میرزا حسین نازل شده
هو السامع المجيب
قد حضر كتابك لدى المظلوم وجدنا منه عرف اقبالك الى الافق
الاعلى فى يوم اعرض علماء الارض وامرائها

Ends :

البهاء المشرق من افق سما ملكوتى عليك وعلى الذين ما منعهم
شبهات اهل الاديان عن نير الايقان و ما خوفتهم سطوة كلّ ظالم بعيد *

Ff. 38^b-39^a. Another letter addressed to the same person.

Begins :

ايضاً بافتخار جناب معظم اليه نازل شده
بسمى المشرق من افق سما البرهان
انا كما ماشياً فى البيت و ناطقاً بآيات الله دخل العبد الحاضر
بكتابك و عرضه لدى المظلوم

Ends :

البياء على اهل البياء الذين شربوا رحيق الوحي من ايدى عطا
رؤهم المشفق الكريم *

Ff. 39^a-39^b. A letter to Aká Mirzá Ibráhim.

Begins :

بافتخار جناب آقا ميرزا ابراهيم نازل شده
هو المهيمين على الاسماء

حمد مقدس از ذكر و بيان مقصود عالميانرا لائق و سزااست

Ends :

البياء عليك و على ضلعك كبر عليها من قبل المظلوم و بشرها
برحمتى التى سبقت من فى السموات و الارضين و مخنتم (?)
الكتاب بذكر من علمك و عزتك و اشهدك و هداك الى صراطى
المستقيم الذى به ناحت قبائل الارض كلها الا من اتى الينا بقلب
سليم و السلام *

Ff. 39^b-40^a. Another Epistle.

Begins :

هذا كتاب جعلناه لقائنا للذين اقبلوا الى آله فى تلك الايام التى
فيها تغيرت البلاد . . .

Ends :

يشهد آله و الذين طافوا حول العرش انتم فزتم بلقائه و طفتم حول
كعبة امره و حضرتم تلقاه وجهه آله هو المقدر على ما يشاء لاله الا
هو العزيز المئان لعمرى قبلنا منكم ما اردتم و نكون معكم فى كل
الاحيان و البياء عليكم من لدن عزيز مستعان و السلام *

F. 40^a. A prayer.

Begins :

يا الهى كيف ادعوك بعد عصياني نفسك و اغفالي عن مواقع
حكمتك و ادبارى عن مقاعد مناجاتك

Ends :

فاستلک اللهم بسعة رحمتک و احاطة علمک و غاية جودک و
منهى رضاک ان تصلى على الورقة المباركة من الشجرة الوثية ليست
بشرقية ولا غربية بما انت عليه من النفحات البديعه و الكرامات
القديمه و ان تغفر لى و لوالدى و من تحب فى هذه الساعة على
تلك الارض بمک و جودک و سلطان قيوميّتك انک انت الله
المقتدر المئان و السلام *

Having now described the contents of my MS., it behoves me to say something of the manner in which it came into my possession. While I was at Kirmán in July, 1888, some of my Bábí friends informed me that a poor *ákhúnd*, or teacher of their acquaintance, who was not a Bábí, had copied out for himself certain Bábí documents, but that, inasmuch as the possession of such was in itself somewhat of a risk, he would be glad to sell them for a small sum of money. Accordingly, on the evening of July 29th, this *ákhúnd*, Mírzá Aḥmad by name, was brought by two of the Bábís to my lodging. Soon after his arrival he produced the MS. in question, and agreed to let me buy it of him. I observed, while turning over the leaves, that he had (as a safeguard to himself, in case the book should be found in his possession by Musulmán) written at the end of the *Kitáb-i-Aḳdas*, that it was the Book of "the accursed, misguided, misleading sect" of the Bábís. Fearing, lest he should get into trouble with my Bábí friends, if they should chance to see these words, I closed the book and laid it aside. Shortly afterwards I was led outside into the garden by one of the two Bábís, who wished to speak to me in private. On my return I found my anticipations verified. The other Bábí had, in my absence, taken up the MS. and seen the objectionable words, and was now pouring out the vials of his wrath on poor Mírzá Aḥmad, who, shivering with fear and shame, was on the verge of tears. I did my best to make

peace, but with small success, until Mírzá Ahmád washed out the abusive paragraph, and, under the previous colophon—

قد كتب في أيام الله المقتدر المختار في ليلة ثامن شهر شوال
المكرم سنة ١٣٠٥

wrote in their place as follows :

بحمد الله وتوفيقه وكرمه اين كتاب مستطاب اقدس كه از تصنيفات
حضرت مستطاب بهاء روى و روح العالمين له العداة است و از
آفتاب افق اشراق نازل شده است و در بيان احكام و تكاليف
عباد و كافه انام است التماس دعا از خواننده آن هست و السلام
شهر ذيقعدة ١٣٠٥

“By the praise of God and His favour and grace. This is the precious Most Holy Book (*Kitáb-i-Akdas*), which is [one] of the works of His Most Excellent Holiness *Behá* (may my life and the life of the worlds be a sacrifice to him), and was revealed by the Sun of the Horizon of Illumination, and sets forth laws and regulations for [God's] servants and for all mankind. Request is made for the prayers of the reader. *Vale*. The month of *Zi'l-Ka'da*, A.H. 1305” [July, 1888].

Now it is very seldom that we come across a Bábí MS. transcribed by one who is not himself a Bábí, and this perhaps accounts for the fact that in point of accuracy this MS. leaves much to be desired. Indeed, so inaccurate is it in places, that the sons of Behá, to whom I shewed it, would have destroyed it if I had not begged that it might be spared.

From this digression I now return to a consideration of the text of the *Súra-i-Heykal*, published by Baron Rosen (*Coll. Sc. vi*, pp. 149–192), in which, for the present, I do not include the Epistle to the King of Persia, the *Lawh-i-Ra'is*, and the other documents enumerated at pp. 270–2 *supra*.

The *Súra-i-Heykal* is divisible, as Baron Rosen points out (*Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 149), into two parts, of which the second part (p. 172, l. 15–p. 192, l. 2) contains in uninterrupted succession, (1) the Epistle to the Pope, (2) the Epistle to the “King of Paris,” (3) the Epistle to the Emperor of Russia, and (4) the Epistle to the Queen of England. Inasmuch as these were described in my second paper on the Bábís in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1889, I shall have but little to say of them here. The first part of the *Súra*, on the other hand, now first made available to Orientalists, deserves a fuller notice. It contains Behá’s formulation of his claims, and declaration of his divine nature and mission, coupled with reproaches addressed to such of the Bábís as refuse to acknowledge them, and angry denunciations of his rival and half-brother Mírzá Yahyá *Subh-i-Ezel*. Speaking broadly, then, we may say that the *first* part of the *Heykal* is addressed to the Bábí community, the *second* part to the rulers of Christian lands. Of this first part I can, perhaps, best convey some idea by translating from it certain selected passages, prefixing to each, the number of the page in *Coll. Sc. vi*, on which the original text occurs.

Selected passages from the First Part of the Súra-i-Heykal.

(P. 150, l. 5) “Blessed be He who hath caused to descend upon his servant the burden of the heavens and the earth; herein we do verily praise Him, and none knoweth it save the wise. Glory be to Him Who hath cast His Beauty under the claws of hatred amongst the wicked; verily we acquiesce in this, and none understandeth it save them who have understanding. Glory be to Him, Who hath entrusted Huseyn,¹ amidst the hosts of the enemy

¹ *i.e.* Behá’u’lláh. Though he is generally spoken of, when mentioned by name, as [Mírzá] Huseyn ‘Alí, it would appear from this and other passages, especially the opening words of the *Súratu’-i-Muták*, and a passage in another

while the spears of violence and hatred reach his body every moment; verily, we thank Him for what He hath decreed against His afflicted servant who turns to Him and stands for Him.

“And when I saw myself at the culminating point of affliction, I heard a voice of the most wonderful and sweetest over my head; and when I turned my face I beheld the HÚRÍ¹ of celebration of my Lord's Name floating in the air on a level with the head, and I saw her to be rejoicing in herself, as though the fashion of Paradise were apparent in her face, and the splendour of the Most Merciful were displayed in her cheek. And she was speaking between the heavens and the earth with a voice wherewith hearts and intelligences were attracted. And all the wounds within me and without me were made glad with glad tidings wherewith my soul was rejoiced, and the honourable amongst [God's] servants were filled with joy. And she pointed with her finger towards my head and [thus] addressed all who are in the heavens and the earth: —‘By God, this is, indeed, the Beloved of the worlds, but ye understand not. This is, indeed, the Beauty of God in your midst, and His authority amongst you, did ye but know. And this is, indeed, the Mystery of God and His Treasure, and the Command of God and His Glory unto whomsoever is in the kingdom of command and creation, if ye will understand. Verily this is, indeed, he whom all who inhabit the realms of Eternity desire to meet, and beside them those who rest within the pavilions of splendour; but ye turn away from his beauty.’

letter contained in MS. No. 438 (see *Coll. Sc. i*, p. 192 and n. 2) that he sometimes calls himself either Huseyn simply, or Huseyn ibn ‘Alí. So, in ch. lxxxiii of the *Commentary on the Súra of Joseph*, the Báb, who is generally called [Mírzá] ‘Alí Muḥammad, speaks (apparently) of himself as Ibn Muḥammad ‘Alí. Yet Behá's father was named ‘Abbás and the Báb's father Riẓá.

¹ This celestial *Húri* or angel occupies a prominent position throughout the first half of the *Súra-i-Ḥeykal*, and seems to play a part analogous to that taken by the angel Gabriel in the revelations of Muḥammad.

“O people of the Beyán! ¹ If ye will not help him, God will help him with the hosts of the heavens and the earth, and beside them the hosts of the Unseen, by His command, ‘Be,’ and it shall be! And He will raise up by His will a creation, whereof none knoweth save Himself, the Protecting, the Self-subsistent. These will He purify from the stain of vain conjecture and passion, and will raise up to the station of sanctity, and by them He will make manifest the signs of glory of His rule on earth: thus hath it been devised on the part of God, the Mighty [p. 151], the Loving.

“O people of the Beyán! Do ye deny him whom ye were created to meet, and do ye then rejoice in your seats? And do ye take objection to him, of whom one single hair is more precious in God’s sight than whomsoever is in the heavens and the earth? Do ye then mock at us?

“O people of the Beyán! Produce what ye have that I may know by what proof ye formerly believed in the Manifestations of the [Divine] Command, and by what argument ye are to-day puffed up with pride. By Him, who created me from the Light of His Beauty, I have not found any more heedless than you, nor any blinder than you: verily, ye seek to justify your faith in God by the Epistles which are in your hands, [but] when verses are revealed and the lamp shines brightly, ye reject him by whose pen matters are determined in a Preserved Tablet. Ye read the verses and deny their Source and their Revealer: thus hath God taken away your sight, as a recompense for your actions, did ye but know it. Ye write the verses in the evening and at dawn, and then ye are veiled from him who reveals them! . . .

¹ The expression **مأ البیان** “people,” or “church of the Beyán,” is ordinarily used to denote the adherents of the old dispensation of the Bábí religion, or, in other words, Bábís pure and simple, as contrasted with Behá’ís.

“O Supreme Pen!¹ Hear the voice of thy Lord from the Lote-tree beyond which there is no passing,² in the bright abode of [the Divine] Unity, that thou may'st find thyself refreshed and fragrant by the strains of thy Merciful Lord, and that thou may'st be sanctified from sorrow by these gales, which breathe from the region of My Name, ‘the Forgiving.’ Then raise up in this Form [*Heykal*] forms of the [Divine] Unity, that they may tell in the kingdom of creation of their Lord, the Supreme, the Most Splendid, and may be of those who are illuminated by the lights of their Lord. Verily, we have appointed this Form [*Heykal*] the Source of Being amidst the new creation, that all may be assured that I am able to do what I will by My Word ‘Be, and it is.’ And under the shadow of each Letter of the Letters of this Form [*Heykal*] we will raise up a creation whose number none knoweth, save God, the Protecting, the Self-Subsistent.”

Here begins that portion of the *Súra* from which it derives its name of “*Heykal*.” This word means “body,” “form,” “temple,” “altar,” and it appears to be used in somewhat different senses in different passages. In some cases, as in the above paragraph, Behá seems to apply it to himself, as being the corporeal “temple” which the Deity inhabits. In other places (e.g. p. 158, ll. 9–13) it would appear to denote this particular revelation—the *Súra-i-Heykal*. In different parts of the *Súra* the Eye, the Hearing, and the Tongue of the *Heykal* are addressed; and elsewhere, the four letters H. Y. K. L. composing the word, are severally and successively apostrophized in like fashion. Altogether, however vague may be the sense in which the term is employed, its occurrence is so constant, and the importance attached to it evidently so great, that the name of the *Súra*

¹ By this expression Behá appears to denote himself, as the instrument whereby God's pleasure is made known to men.

² *Kúr'án*, liii, 14.

is amply accounted for. Interesting as this is, it is so long and so obscure that I cannot here do more than notice a few of the most important and characteristic passages. Chief amongst these is one in which Mírzá Yahyá *Subh-i-Ezel* is accused of having tried to poison Behá. This passage I have translated in full at pp. 368-9 of vol. ii of my *Traveller's Narrative*. As a comment on it I will therefore here give the Ezelí account of the same transaction, translated from a MS. which I recently obtained of a very rare and interesting work entitled *Hasht Bihisht*, composed, as I was informed, by the late Hájí Seyyid Jawád of Kirmán, an ardent partizan of *Subh-i-Ezel's*. It will be seen that not only the charge of attempted fratricide, but also the charge of bringing a false accusation of the same against the victim of the attempt, is brought by both factions of the Bábís against the chief of the rival faction. Which version, if either, may be true, it is impossible to decide, but at least the fierce animosity which subsists between the Ezelís and the Behá'ís will be sufficiently apparent from a perusal of either.

[Translation from the *Hasht Bihisht*]: "The first juggle and trick of sorcery which he [*i.e.* Mírzá Huseyn 'Alí *Behá'u'lláh*] outlined was this, that he brought to *Hazrat-i-Ezel* a dish of plain food, with one side of which he had mixed some poison, intending to poison His Holiness. For hitherto the apportioned breakfast and supper of His Holiness the Fruit [*Hazrat-i-Thamara*, one of the titles given to *Subh-i-Ezel* by his followers] had been from the house of Mírzá Huseyn 'Alí. When that poisoned dish was placed before His Holiness, Mírzá Huseyn 'Alí pressed him to partake of it. By a fortunate chance the smell of onions was perceptible in the food, and His Holiness, being averse to onions, refused to taste it. Mírzá Huseyn 'Alí continued to press him urgently to eat. He replied, 'Since it smells of onions, I will not eat it; if it is [so] good, eat it



yourself.' From this answer Mírzá Huseyn 'Alí supposed that His Holiness had divined his evil design, and, simply with the view of disguising [the truth] and putting a better appearance on the matter, ate a little from the other side¹ of the dish, in order that the suspicions of His Holiness might perhaps be dispelled and he might eat of the poisoned side. But His Holiness, because of the smell of onions, would not eat. Now, inasmuch as the poison had to some extent diffused itself to the other side,¹ it produced some slight effect on the aforesaid Mírzá [Huseyn 'Alí], causing in him sickness and vomiting. Then he summoned the physicians, gathered his own people round him, and privately informed them of his state, declaring that *Hazrat-i-Ezel* had poisoned him. Next day, when His Holiness the Fruit went to the bath, Muḥammad 'Alí the barber of Isfahán (whose ears had been cut off for theft and other crimes by the governor of Isfahán, and who, having fled thence to Baghdad, had become one of Mírzá Huseyn 'Alí's chosen associates, and the source of manifold evils and mischiefs) came forward in the bath [as though] to shave with his barber's razor the sides of the head and the lower part of the throat of His Holiness. His Holiness, however, divining with great acumen his evil design, refused to be shaved; and, as soon as he came out from the bath, chose another lodging in Adrianople, and withdrew himself from these persons." This narrative may be most instructively compared with Behá's version contained in the *Súra-i-Heykal* (*Coll. Sc. vi*, pp. 154-5; *T.N. ii*, pp. 368-9). I now proceed to give translations of a few more passages from the *Súra-i-Heykal*.

(P. 155, l. 20) "O Pen of Eternity! Grieve not at what hath befallen thee, for God will raise up a people who shall see with their eyes and shall remember

¹ *i.e.* the unpoisoned side.



what hath befallen thee. Withdraw the pen from the mention of these; then wield it in commemoration of the King of Pre-existence. Leave the things of the contingent world; then drink of the pure sealed wine of My celebration. Beware that thou busy not thyself with the mention of those from whom thou shalt obtain naught but the savours of hatred; those of whom love of supremacy hath so taken possession that they destroy their souls to increase their celebrity and to perpetuate their name. These hath God inscribed as the slaves of names in a Preserved Tablet

(P. 156, l. 3) "O Form [*Heykal*]! Stretch forth thy hand over all that is in the heavens and in the earth, and take the reins of command in the grasp of thy will: verily We have set on thy right hand the dominion of all things: do what thou wishest, and fear not those who know not"

(P. 158, l. 3) "Beware that ye shed not blood! Draw the sword of the tongue from the sheath of utterance, for therewith thou shalt subdue the cities of [men's] hearts. Verily, We have taken away the command to slay from your midst:¹ verily My mercy hath preceded all contingent beings, if ye would know it"

(P. 159, l. 12) "O Form of the [Divine] Command! If thou findest none advancing towards thy gifts, grieve not! Thou wert created for Myself: occupy thyself with celebrating me amongst my servants: this is what hath been apportioned to thee in a Preserved Tablet."

(P. 160, l. 15) "And amongst the infidels is he who disbelieved within his soul and arose in war, saying, 'These verses are spurious:' thus in bygone time said men who have passed away, and Lo! in hell-fire do they [now] cry for help."

¹ i.e. the *Jihad*, or religious warfare, is abolished in this dispensation.

In the last word of this sentence—*yastaghithún*, “they cry for help”—allusion is probably made to the *Mustagháth* (He from whom help is sought) of the *Beyán* (see *B. i*, p. 515). The sum of the letters composing this word is 2001 (م=40, س=60, ت=400, غ=1000, ا=1, ث=500), and it is implied in certain passages of the Persian *Beyán* that ‘He whom God shall manifest’ will or may delay his advent till this number of years have elapsed since the beginning of the Báb’s mission. To these texts the Ezelís specially appeal in justification of their rejection of Behá ’u’lláh’s claim to be the Promised Deliverer, while they are reproached by the Behá’ís for suffering themselves to be “veiled” by this word from the truth. Thus Na’ím of Ábádé says in one of his poems :

غیر بها نیست جهان را مغيث آنکه غياثت بهر مستغيث
گوی بآن محتاجبان خبيث از رُسن طير بقا اين حديث
استمع ای منتظر فی الغياث اته هذا رُسن المستغاث

“There is no other ‘Helper’ (*Mughith*) for the world than Behá,

He who is the ‘Help’ (*Ghiyáth*) for every seeker after help (*Mustaghith*).

Tell to those foul and benighted ones (*i.e.* the Ezelís)

This message from the strains of the birds of Eternity :

‘Hear, O thou who tarriest expectant of “Help” (*Ghiyáth*),
Verily this is the cry of Him whose help is sought (*al-Mustagháth*).’”

I will here quote two passages from the Persian *Beyán* which bear on this point. The first occurs in *Váhid* ii. ch. 17 :—

چه بسا ناری را که خدا نور میکند بمن یظهره الله و چه بسا نوری
را که نار میفرماید باو و اگر در عدد غياث ظاهر شود و کل داخل
شوند احدی داخل در نار نمی ماند و اگر الی مستغاث رسد و کل

داخل شوند احدی در نار نمیماند الا آنکه کلّ مبّدل بنور میگردند
و همین فضل را از من ینظره الله طلب نموده که این است فضل
اعظم و فوز اکبر که مثل اسم باقیه نمانده مثل حروف الحجیل که
دو کتاب دیگر نازل شود من عند الله و ایشان هنوز منتظر من یأتی
اسمه احمد باشند و اگر ظاهر نشود الی این دو اسم لا بدّ ظاهر خواهد
شد و مغزّی از برای او نیست

“Many a Fire shall God convert into a Light by Him whom God shall manifest, and many a Light shall he make a Fire! ¹ And if he appear in the number of *Ghiyáth* [=1511], ² and all shall enter in [to his faith], not one will remain in the Fire. And if he come ere *Mustagháth* [=2001], and all shall enter in, not one will remain in the Fire, but all will be converted into Light. Seek this favour from Him whom God shall manifest, for this is the Greatest Favour and the Most Great Salvation: that ye tarry not as other churches, even like the Letters of the Gospel, ³ who still await ‘him who shall come, by name *Aḥmad*,’ ⁴ while two other Books ⁵ are revealed. But if He come not ere [the lapse of a number of years equivalent to] these two Names, [still] He will certainly come, and there is no escape for Him [from this].”

The second passage occurs in *Vahid* iii. ch. 15:

و هم چنانچه اگر کلّ مؤمنین ببیان مؤمن شوند بمن ینظره الله
احدی در th نار نخواهد ماند و حکم دون ایمان بر احدی نخواهد
شد ولی ^{res} راقب ظهور بوده که قدر لمحّه فاصله نشود ما بین ظهور و
ایمان که ^{ho} من آمن بالبیان که بقدر طول الی المستغاث هم لایق

¹ Light (*núr*) and Fire (*ndr*) in the *Beyán* mean belief and unbelief, or believers and unbelievers.

² *i.e.* Within this number of years after the ‘Manifestation’ of the Báb.

³ *i.e.* the Christians.

⁴ The words wherewith Christ is alleged by the Muhammadans to have foretold the mission of Muhammad. See *T.N.* ii, p. 293, n. 16.

⁵ *i.e.* the *Qur’án* and the *Beyán*.

نیست که بمانند اگر احتیاط دامن گیر ایشان شود که آن احتیاط در نار بوده و هست اگرچه امید از فضل خداوند عطوف و رؤف اینست که در حین ظهور باو امر عالیۀ خود در الواح خود کَلّ عباد خود را از رقد بیدار نماید و نگذارد الی امر محکم بیان که تا غیاث یا مستغاث شده در نار بمانند چه کسی عالم بظهور نیست غیر الله هر وقت شود باید کَلّ تصدیق بنقطه حقیقت نمایند و شکر الهی بجا آورند اگرچه امید از فضل اوست که تا مستغاث نرسد و از قبل کلمه الله مرتفع گردد و انما الدلیل آیانه و الوجود علی نفسه نفسه ان الغیر یعرف به و هو لا یعرف بدونہ سبحان الله عما یصفون *

“ And so likewise if all the believers in the Beyán believe in Him whom God shall manifest, none will remain in the Fire, and none will be adjudged an unbeliever. But watch for the Manifestation, that there may not be an interval of so much as a moment between the Manifestation and the belief of all who believe in the Beyán. For even so long as until [the number of years represented by] *Mustagháth* it is not meet that they should remain [in expectation], if caution should lay hold of their skirts, for such caution hath been and is in Fire. But it is hoped of the Grace of God, the Pitiful and Compassionate, that at the time of the Manifestation. He will by His high commands [contained] in His Epistles awaken all His servants from sleep and will not⁴ suffer them to remain in the Fire⁵ until the period determined in the Beyán, which is till [the fulfilment of the number of] *Ghiyáth* or *Mustagháth*. For none hath

¹ One MS. here inserts *بدر* which, however, seems redundant.

² Two MSS. read *بگذارد*, which very materially alters the meaning of what follows. The reading here adopted, however, seems to me the best.

³ One MS. has *بید*.

⁴ Or, if we adopt the other reading, “ will suffer.”

⁵ Here the fire of expectation and unsatisfied longing seems to be meant.

knowledge of the [time of the] Manifestation save God : whenever it takes place all must believe in the Point of Truth and render thanks to God ; though it is hoped of His Grace that it will not reach to [the number of] *Mustagháth*, and that the word of God will be raised up ere this. And His verses only, and the very nature of His being in itself, are the proof [of His truth], since all else is known by Him, while He cannot be known by aught but Himself. Glorious is God beyond what they attribute [to Him] !”

I now continue my translation from the *Súra-i-Heykal* :

(P. 160, l. 17) “ Say, ‘ Woe unto you by reason of that which issueth from your mouths ! If the verses be spurious, then by what proof did ye [formerly] believe in God ? Produce it, if ye know. Whenever We have revealed unto them signal verses they have denied them, and when they saw that whereof all creation was unable to produce the like, they said ‘ This is sorcery. ’¹ What ails these people that they say that whereof they have no knowledge ? Thus spoke the church of the *Furkán*² when God brought His religion : are they not indeed an unbelieving people ? And they³ forbade men from presenting themselves before the Beauty of the Eternal⁴ or eating with his friends ; and some amongst them said, ‘ Approach not these ! Verily they bewitch men⁵ and lead them astray from the path of God, the Protecting, the Self-Subsistent. ’ By God the True One, verily he who is unable to

¹ Cf. Kur’án v. 110 ; vi. 7 ; xi. 10, etc.

² *i.e.* the Muḥammadans. Behá here accuses the Ezelis of being as obdurate in their rejection of himself as the Muḥammadans were in their rejection of the Báb.

³ *i.e.* the Muḥammadans.

⁴ *i.e.* from going to visit the Báb.

⁵ Cf. *T. N.* ii, p. xxxviii. This alludes to a vulgar belief prevalent amongst Persian Muḥammadans that the Bábís bewitch their guests by means of some enchanted substance mixed with their food or tea, so that whoever eats or drinks with them becomes a Bábí. This superstition is referred to in the *Tárikh-i-Jadíd*.

speak before us saith what none of those of yore said, and hath stooped to do what none of those who have disbelieved in [God] the Merciful have done throughout all the ages: to this their words and deeds bear witness, if ye will judge aright. Verily he who refers God's signs to sorcery hath not believed in any one of God's apostles: his efforts have gone astray in futile life, and he hath become of those who say what they know not. Say: 'O servant, fear God who created thee and fashioned thee, and seek not to emulate God: be just in thy soul, and be of those who act equitably.' Verily, such as are given knowledge from God, these will find in their [*i.e.* the Ezelís'] very objections strong arguments wherewith to confute them and to establish [the truth of] this Apparent Light. Say: 'Do ye say what the infidels said when there came unto them the Reminder¹ from their Lord?' Woe unto you, O concourse of fools! Evil is that which ye acquire!"

The whole of this most interesting passage is directed against Ezel and his followers, and it contains the gist of the Behá'í argument. The Báb laid down the doctrine that the production of 'verses' (*áyát*), or inspired words, was the one and only proof of a divine mission. To this proof alone did Muḥammad appeal: to this proof alone did the Báb appeal: and of 'Him whom God shall manifest' this proof alone was to be expected or required. On this ground the Behá'ís assert that no unprejudiced Bábí can remain (like the Ezelís do) in the old dispensation. They believed in the Báb because of his 'verses'; Behá has produced similar 'verses'; therefore they cannot fairly refuse

¹ By the 'Reminder of God' (ذکر الله) the Báb seems to be meant. This is clearer in another passage of the *Súra-i-Heykal* (p. 167, ll. 3-5), of which this is the translation:—"Do ye ask the Jews whether the Spirit [*i.e.* Christ] was of a truth from God? Or [do ye ask] idols whether Muḥammad was a prophet? Or [do ye ask] the church of the *Furḳán* [*i.e.* the Muḥammadans] concerning the Reminder of God (الله), the Mighty, the High?"

to believe in him. Hence the Behá'ís are of no people more impatient than of the Ezelís, who, accepting their premiss, that such 'verses' are the sign of a divine mission, deny their conclusion that Behá is divinely inspired. Two passages addressed to *Şubh-i-Ezel* in the *Kitáb-i-Aqdas* and the *Lawh-i-Naşir* serve admirably to illustrate and elucidate this portion of the *Súra-i-Heykal*. The text and translation of these I have given in the footnotes on pp. 93-4 and 96-7 of vol. ii of my *Traveller's Narrative*, and I will not therefore repeat them here.

Having now devoted nearly as much space as I can spare to the *Súra-i-Heykal*, I must content myself with noticing a few of the most important passages in what remains of the first part.

On p. 161, ll. 21-22, Behá says, speaking of his own 'Manifestation,' "When the Light of the horizons shone forth from the horizon of 'Irák." By 'Irák Behá in his writings always means Baghdad, so that we are led to infer from this passage that his 'Manifestation' took place there. In the *Traveller's Narrative* we are told that it *did* take place there (vol. ii, p. 63, vol. i, p. 80-81), and further (*loc. cit.* and vol. ii, p. 55) that it took place in the month of Muḥarram in the year A.H. 1269 (Oct. 15-Nov. 13, A.D. 1852), which statement appears impossible, inasmuch as Behá was arrested in August, 1852, and imprisoned for four months at Teherán ere he was suffered to depart to Baghdad. Nabil, on the contrary, in the chronological poem published in my second paper on the Bábís, in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1889 (pp. 983-990), says that Behá's manifestation took place at Adrianople when he was 50 years old. As Behá was born on the second of Muḥarram A.H. 1233 (Nov. 12th, A.D. 1817), he would attain his fiftieth year in Muḥarram A.H. 1283 (May-June A.D. 1866). Amongst the Behá'ís themselves, then, there is as much as fourteen years difference as to the date of so important an event as the 'Manifestation' or annunciation of the divine mission of Behá! How can we account for this discrepancy, and which date must we accept as the more probable?

The facts, so far as they are yet known, are these. The *Súratu'l-Mulúk*, the *Súra-i-Heykal*, the *Kitáb-i-Akdas*, and, in short, all the writings wherein Behá clearly advances a claim to supremacy, contain internal evidence to prove that they were not written before the Adrianople period. The *I'kán*, which is the only one of Behá's works certainly known to have been written at Baghdad, contains no declaration of such a claim. On the contrary, it is entirely filled with praises of the Báb, and arguments in favour of his religion; the Beyán is throughout spoken of as the last revelation; and there is no hint of any idea in Behá's mind of claiming the supremacy, save the expression of a hope that the "people of the Beyán" will not in their turn become as obdurate against new Truth as were the Muḥammadans. Immediately after the expression of this hope, Behá complains of the envy and aversion wherewith certain persons (presumably Bábís) regard him, which secret envy and aversion on the part of pretended friends are, he says, far harder to bear than the open persecution of declared enemies. He adds that *he never sought precedence over any one in any matter* (با احدی در امری افتخار ننمودم و بنفسی) (برتری نجستم); that soon after his arrival in Baghdad he voluntarily retired alone into the solitude of the deserts to avert discord and strife; that he remained in this seclusion for two years, and only abandoned it *at the command of his chief* [evidently *Subh-i-Ezel*]; and that since his return, which took place two years previously, he had experienced such unkind treatment that nothing would induce him to remain at Baghdad save the reflection that he too might be called upon to lay down his life for the Báb. Now, according to Nabil's poem (stanza 6), Behá returned to Baghdad from his two years' retirement at the age of forty, *i.e.* in A.H. 1272-3 (A.D. 1856), so that the *I'kán* must have been concluded (for the passages referred to above occur at the end of the book) in A.D. 1858. We have, therefore, the best of reasons for believing that, during the first half of the Baghdad period at any rate, Behá still fully acknowledged, in appearance at least, the supremacy of

Şubḥ-i-Ezel; and consequently we must regard the early date given for his 'Manifestation' in the *Traveller's Narrative* as fictitious. The evidence, in short, as far as it goes, entirely accords with the assertion of the Ezeli historian (in the *Hasht Bihisht*) that Behá's claim was first publicly advanced in Adrianople. Now the author of the *Traveller's Narrative*, who may very probably have been one of Behá's own sons, and who, at any rate, wrote under his immediate sanction, and had every means of ascertaining the facts, must have known this, and must therefore have deliberately and purposely antedated the 'Manifestation.' His reason for so doing is, I think, not far to seek. He desires to curtail as far as possible both the extent and the duration of Şubḥ-i-Ezel's authority, and to give colour to his assertion that Behá was from the first recognized by the Báb as that Greater Deliverer whose advent he announced. Having accounted for the (according to him) temporary and nominal supremacy of Şubḥ-i-Ezel by describing it (*T.N. ii*, pp. 62-3) as a precautional measure designed to divert attention and danger from Behá'u'lláh during his continuance in Persian territory, he is compelled, in order that his theory may appear consistent with facts, to represent this supremacy as ceasing on the arrival of Behá'u'lláh at Baghdad.

I have had occasion to refer several times to the little chronological poem of Nabil's, which I published with a translation in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1889 (pp. 983-990). Baron Rosen has found reason to doubt the accuracy of the date therein given for the arrival of the Bábí exiles at Adrianople. Commenting on a passage in Behá's Persian letter to the Sultán of Turkey (*Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 218), in which the sojourn of the Bábís at Adrianople is described as having lasted six years, he says: "Ce renseignement est important. *Behá* dit positivement que le séjour des secretaires à Andrinople a duré six années. Leur départ forcé de cette ville ayant eu lieu, d'après le poème chronologique publié par M. Browne, II. 984; cf. I. 525, en Août, 1868, ils ont dû être internés à Andrinople en 1862, et non en 1864, comme

le veut le poème cité. La date du départ est confirmée par une dépêche du gérant du consulat de Russie à Andrinople datée du 26 Août, 1868. Elle confirme en même temps la date de l'arrivée, car il y est dit que le gouvernement turc en 1862 fut contraint d'interner les émigrés bâbys, et qu'Andrinople fut choisi à cet effet. La différence n'est pas très-considérable, mais elle prouve que la chronologie du petit poème de *Nabíl* n'est pas rigoureuse."

Baron Rosen's discovery of this official document is an important one, and, as regards the date of departure, it is confirmed by the State papers of the Cyprus government (see *T.N. ii*, Note w, especially p. 378, n. 2). According to one of these, the *fermán* of banishment was dated July 26th, 1868; while in another, the date of Subh-i-Ezel's arrival in the Island is given as September 5th, 1868. According to Nabíl's poem, Behá reached Acre on August 31st of the same year, so that the approximate date of departure from Adrianople may be regarded as absolutely certain. The date of arrival at Adrianople is much more difficult to determine. It is true that, in the passage noted by Baron Rosen, Behá describes the period of his sojourn there as six years, but then in the chronological table, prepared for M. Toumansky, by the Bábís of 'Ishkábád (*Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 252), the duration of that period is stated as "about 5 years." Now the dates and figures given by Behá can only be regarded as approximate; thus, for instance, in the Epistle to the King of Persia (*Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 199, last line), he says that he remained twelve years at Baghdad, while in a passage in the *Súratu'l-Mulúk* (*Coll. Sc. i*, p. 202, l. 18) he says eleven years. Now, taking even the lower of these figures as correct, Behá cannot have reached Adrianople much before the date which Nabíl gives, since he only reached Baghdad some four months after the attempt on the Sháh's life, *i.e.* early in A.H. 1269 (beginning of A.D. 1853). If, therefore, the date of his arrival at Adrianople was (as stated in the Russian consular despatch) 1862, he cannot have been more than nine years at the most in Baghdad, seeing that the journey thence to Constantinople

took four months, and that he was detained four months more in Constantinople. Without having seen the text of the Russian consular despatch it is impossible to speak with confidence, but the easiest hypothesis seems to me to be that the Turkish government decided in 1862 to remove the Bábís from Baghdad to Adrianople, but that the actual transfer was not effected till Rajab A.H. 1280 (Dec. 1863). The data given by Nábíl will admit of this construction, since it is not stated that Behá had *attained* his forty-eighth year (which he did on Muharram 2nd, A.H. 1281), but that he was *in* his forty-eighth year. This seems to me, provisionally, the best solution of the difficulty, though, perhaps, I am partly influenced by a desire to vindicate Nábíl's accuracy.

Lack of space forbids me from noticing several other interesting passages and allusions in the first part of the *Súra-i-Heykal*, but, before passing on, I have a few words to say about the second part, consisting of the Epistles to the Pope, Napoleon III., the late Emperor of Russia, and the Queen of England. I have collated the text of these given by Baron Rosen (*Coll. Sc. vi*, pp. 172-192) with the text of my Kirmán MS. (containing the whole of the first two and part of the third Epistles) and with the separate transcript which I received from Shiráz of the Epistle to the Queen of England. Baron Rosen's text is, on the whole, much the best; though, apart from mere careless omissions and mistakes occurring in my MS., the agreement is very close, and the only variant afforded by my text which seems to me worth mentioning is *النصارى* for *النصارى* on p. 177 at the beginning of line 21. Baron Rosen has seen that his text requires emendation here, but conjectures *يا ملأ النصارى*.

Two more points remain to be discussed, and I pass on from the *Súra-i-Heykal*. They are these:—(1) Were the four Epistles which constitute the second part of it written at the same time as the first part, or are they to be regarded as a later appendage? (2) What chronological relation subsists between the *Súra-i-Heykal* and the three long

Epistles (to the Sháh of Persia, the late Sultan of Turkey, and the "Ra'ís," which follow it in the MS. described by Baron Rosen? These questions I propose to discuss together as briefly as possible.

We have seen (p. 282 *supra*) that the Epistle to the King of Persia purports to have been written *before* Behá left Adrianople, but *after* he knew that he was to be transferred to Acre. This fixes the date of its composition pretty closely, since on the one hand the *fermán* of banishment bore as its date July 26, 1868 (and Behá can hardly have been made acquainted with the intentions of the Turkish government before this), and on the other hand Behá was at Acre ere September of that year had yet begun. Though the Epistle may very likely have been finished at Acre, it must have been begun, therefore, in August, 1868.

Of the four Epistles comprised in the second portion of the *Súra-i-Heykal* it is only in the Letter to the Queen of England that I can find any internal evidence of the date of composition. This begins:—"O Queen in London! Hear the voice of thy Lord, the King of creation, from the Divine Lote-tree: 'There is no God but Me, the Mighty, the Wise.' Lay aside [all] that is on the earth, and adorn the head of dominion with the diadem of celebration of thy Glorious Lord: verily He hath entered into the world in His most great Glory, and what was recorded in the Gospel hath been fulfilled. *The land of Syria hath been honoured by the approach of its Lord, the King of men . . . etc.*" These concluding words seem too definite to allow us to suppose that they were written elsewhere than at Acre.

The Persian Epistle addressed apparently to Sultán 'Abdu'l-'Azíz must also have been written at Acre, inasmuch as it contains a detailed description of the arrival of the Bábís and their inhospitable reception at that place.

The *Laḥ-i-Ra'ís* contains certain expressions and allusions which seem to indicate that it too was written at Acre. These are as follows :

(P. 226, ll. 6–13). “O Dove! Hear the most glorious Voice [nidi’ a’l-abhá] in this night wherein the captains of war¹ assembled over us, and let us rejoice greatly. O would that our blood might be shed on the surface of the earth in God’s way, and that we might be cast upon the dust, for this is my desire and the desire of him who had me in view and who hath ascended into my most wondrous and marvellous kingdom.² Know that one morning we found the friends of God in the hands of the malignants: the troops had occupied all the gates, and forbade men from entering or going forth, and were of the oppressors. *And the friends of God and His family were left during the first night without food*: thus was it ordained unto those for whom was created the world and what is therein.”

The words italicized in the above passage appear to refer to the arrival of Behá and his followers at Acre, which is described in very similar words in the Persian Epistle to Sultán ‘Abdu’l-‘Aziz as follows:

(P. 218, ll. 13–18.) “And after [our] arrival [at Acre] the captains of war [or *saptiehs*, as above] encompassed all [the Bábís], men and women, small and great, and lodged all in the soldiers’ barracks. *On the first night they kept them all without food or drink*, for the *saptiehs* had occupied the gate of the barracks and prevented all from going out, while none bethought himself of these poor people, so that they even craved water and none responded. Some while has [now] passed, and all are [still] imprisoned in the barracks.”

Again in the *Lawh-i-Ra’is* we have the following passage, apparently referring to an incident of the voyage from Gallipoli to Acre:

¹ جنابا العسكرية. Perhaps we should rather translate “*saptiehs*” or “military police.”

² The Báb appears to be meant.



(P. 229, l. 7 *et seq.*) "Thank God for that He hath helped thee [to attain] to His knowledge, and caused thee to be beside Him on the day whereon the infidels encompassed the people of God and His saints and drove them forth from the[ir] houses with evident injustice, and desired to effect a separation between us on the shore of the sea . . ." Unless I am much mistaken the incident referred to is that described at *B. i*, p. 516 and *T.N. i*, pp. 126-7, and *ii*, pp. 100-101 and footnotes.

We may therefore fairly conclude that the *Lawḥ-i-Ra'is* also was written at Acre soon after Behá'u'lláh's arrival there. It contains several interesting allusions, some of which are at present not clear to me. One of these (p. 226, ll. 20-21), which I formerly (*B. i*, pp. 962-3 and n. 1 on the latter) regarded, without due reflection, as an allusion to the death of the 'Martyrs of Isfahán,' must refer to some other event, since this took place several years subsequently to the date to which the Epistle must be referred. The allusion (p. 226, l. 18) to "one of the friends who sacrificed himself to myself, and, for love of God, cut his throat with his own hand," seems to be to Hájí Muḥammad Ja'far of Tabríz (*T.N. ii*, pp. 100-101, and n. 1 on former, and *B. i*, p. 516); and it is probably the same person who is addressed (p. 227, l. 15) as *ان يا ذبيحى*. This conjecture (which I regard as almost a certainty) suggests another, which I offer as a mere hypothesis. The latter part of the *Lawḥ-i-Ra'is* (p. 226 *seq.*) is addressed, not to the infidel "Ra'is," but to some believer, concerning whom we gather (1) that he had come to visit Behá at Adrianople "on the day whereon the fire of injustice was kindled and the raven of separation croaked"¹ (p. 227, ll. 9-10) and had been with him as a "partner" in his "afflictions on the night wherein the hearts of the believers were troubled"; (2) that he had "entered in" [to Adrianople] "in love for" Behá, and

¹ *i.e.* as I suppose, when the final breach occurred between Behá and Ezel. (See pp. 296-7 *supra*).



had "gone out" at his "command" (p. 227, ll. 11-12); (3) that his heart was "melted with separation from God" (*sc.* Behá'u'lláh), in which, however, he is enjoined to be patient, for *he shall again stand in Behá's presence and converse with him* (p. 227, ll. 20-22); that he had borne grievous affliction for Behá's sake "the like of which few men have borne" (p. 228, l. 8); and that he had written to Behá a letter to which this is an answer (p. 228, ll. 18-19, and p. 229, l. 12). I think that no one who, bearing these points in mind, reads (at pp. 493-5 of *B. i.*) the account given to me by Hájí Mírzá Ḥ——, the Bábí missionary whom I met at Shíráz, of the circumstances which led to his banishment and that of his colleague Hájí Mírzá Ḥ—— 'Alí to Khartúm, will fail to see that these circumstances accord singularly well with the hypothesis that the latter part of this Epistle is addressed to one of these two missionaries. Thus (1) they went to Adrianople to visit Behá "about 1866 . . . before he was sent to Acre"; (2) on leaving "they were instructed (by Behá) to proceed to Cairo to . . . avert a threatened schism" (*i.e.* in all probability, to persuade the Bábís there to reject Şubḥ-i-Ezel and accept Behá). They travelled thither with Hájí Muḥamad Ja'far of Tabríz, who cut his throat "for love of God" (*cf.* *T. N. ii*, p. 100, n. 1).¹ On their arrival there, they were arrested and exiled to Khartúm, where for some time they could neither ascertain whither Behá had been removed from Adrianople, nor find means of communicating with him. At length, however, they succeeded in sending a letter to Behá, from whom after some time they received an answer "*telling them that they would shortly be released and rejoin him at Acre*" (*B. i*, p. 494), which actually occurred some time later.

Having thus examined such passages in the Epistles included in and connected with the *Súra-i-Heykal* as throw

¹ I mention this point because if, as I have conjectured above, Hájí Muḥammad Ja'far be addressed in the words *ان يا ذبيح*, it is natural enough that he should be associated in Behá's mind with the missionaries who were his fellow-travellers.

light on the date of their composition, I may, I think, conclude—

- (1) That the Epistle to the King of Persia was at any rate begun at Adrianople about August, 1868, when Behá first learned that the Turkish Government had decided to send him to Acre.
- (2) That the Persian Epistle to Sultan 'Abdu'l-Azíz and the *Lawh-i-Ra'is* were written at Acre.
- (3) That the Epistle to the Queen of England was also written at Acre.

If I am correct in these conclusions, either the different portions of the *Súra-i-Heykal*, in the more limited sense of the term were not written at the same time but were subsequently put together in this form,¹ or the whole *Súra-i-Heykal* was composed at a later date than the Epistle to the King of Persia, and this would therefore properly stand first in order, as it does in my Kirmán MS. It seems to me not unlikely that the Epistles to the Pope, the Emperor of the French, and the Czar of Russia were written at Acre about the same time as the Epistle to the Queen of England; and that the first half of the *Súra-i-Heykal*, addressed to the Bábí church, was composed at Adrianople soon after the schism took place. Behá, after formally advancing his claim and rejecting Subh-i-Ezel's supremacy, almost must have addressed to the Bábís in Persia and elsewhere whom he desired to win over to his cause a circular letter of some sort. What more likely from its general drift and nature than that the first half of the *Súra-i-Heykal* should be this circular letter?

Having already devoted so much space to the *Súra-i-Heykal*, I must necessarily forego, for the present, the pleasure of giving as full an account of the remaining

¹ The possibility of such recension or re-arrangement must always be borne in mind. That the sanctity of the sacred texts is now considered to be violated by the publication of a "revised version" is clearly shewn by the very considerable alterations and suppressions made in the text of the *Epistle to the King of Persia* by the author of the *Traveller's Narrative*.



letters included in the MS. described by Baron Rosen as their great interest merits. A brief notice of each must suffice for the present.

IV. THE PERSIAN EPISTLE TO THE SULTAN OF TURKEY.

(*Coll. Sc. vi*, pp. 217-224).

Of all the documents published by Baron Rosen this is, perhaps, the most interesting, since it contains a pretty circumstantial account of several incidents connected with the transference of Behá and his followers from Adrianople to Acre, and the treatment they underwent during the early days of their sojourn at the latter place. Many of the details which Behá here gives are fully confirmed by the information which I was able to obtain in Cyprus from official documents and other sources. Thus Behá says (*Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 219, ll. 1-2), that he and his followers thrice changed ship between Gallipoli and Acre, and Şubḥ-i-Ezel informed me that he and the other Bábís were brought from Adrianople to Gallipoli, put on board ships, conveyed to Alexandria, and there transhipped into vessels bound for their respective places of exile (see *T.N. i*, p. 101, n. 1). Behá also mentions that four of his followers were separated from him and taken elsewhere, and that one of them, named 'Abdu'l-Ghaffár, threw himself into the sea. Confirmation of this statement is afforded by the Cyprus official records, which show that four of Behá's followers, to wit, the above-mentioned 'Abdu'l-Ghaffár, together with Mushkín Kalam, Sheykh 'Alí Sayyáh, and Muḥammad Bákir, were sent to Famagusta with Şubḥ-i-Ezel (cf. *B. i*, p. 516, and *T.N. ii*, pp. 376-389). The independent corroboration of Behá's statements thus afforded gives us confidence in the other details which he mentions—the imprisonment of himself and his followers in the barracks at Acre, the hardships to which they were subjected, the badness of the bread supplied to them, the message to the Sultan given by Behá at Gallipoli to the Turkish colonel 'Omar, to whose custody

he was entrusted, etc. Behá mentions, amongst other things, that most of his followers were ill from the confinement to which they were subjected; that two had died soon after their arrival; and that the Turks would not suffer their bodies to be buried until a certain sum of money was paid. Is it not possible that the deaths here alluded to are those of the *Khayyát-báshí* and Háji Ibráhím, who, as the Ezelís declare (*T.N. ii*, p. 362), were assassinated by the Behá'ís in the caravansary of the corn-sellers and buried in quicklime under the platform? If so, we may hope that the version contained in this Epistle is the true one, and that the suspicions of the Ezelís are unfounded.

The Epistle also contains (pp. 220–221) a rather fine description of a puppet-show which Behá saw as a child in Teherán. In simple and graphic language he describes the sense of wonder and admiration produced in his young mind by the mimic pageant. Then he continues (p. 221, ll. 4–10): “The audience [of the mimic Sultan] came to an end, and they drew the curtain of the tent. Twenty minutes later a man emerged from the tent carrying a box under his arm. I asked him what the box contained, and what the pageant was. He told me that all these things, exhibited together with their accessories, which I had seen, and the nobles, the ministers, the splendour, the pomp, power, and majesty which I had beheld were now in the box. *And by my Lord who created all things by a word on His part*, from that day forth all the things of the world have appeared and do appear in my eyes even as that [mimic] pageant, neither have they had, nor will they have, so much consideration as a grain of mustard-seed.” Allusion is made to a “great fire, which burnt most of the city” [probably Constantinople], and a fierce plague which broke out—these events being regarded by Behá as Divine chastisements for the Sultan's unbelief and hard-heartedness. We, for our part, may regard them as points which may help to determine more closely the date when the Epistle was written.

V. THE EPISTLE OF FÚ'AD PÁSHÁ.

(Coll. Sc. vi, pp. 231-3.)

I have already (p. *supra*) given my reasons for believing that the person whose death Behá exultingly celebrates in this document was Fú'ád Páshá. An additional reason for this belief I find in the following passage (p. 232, ll. 16-20), which, as it seems to me, contains a punning allusion to the Páshá's name:—

كذلك اخذناه بقهر من لدنا ان ربك شديد العقاب ناديه ملك
عن يمين العرش هذه ملائكة شداد هل لك من مفر قيل الّا جهنّم
التي منها يغلى الفؤاد واستقبل روحه ملائكة العذاب قيل ادخل
هذه هاوية التي وعدتها بها فى الكتاب وكنت تنكرها فى الليالى
والاّيام *

“Thus did we overtake him with vengeance on Our part: verily thy Lord is stern in chastisement. An angel called to him from the right hand of the Throne: ‘These are ruthless angels: hast thou whither thou may’st flee?’ It was answered: ‘[No,] save Hell, wherewith the heart [*Fú’ád*] boils.’ To meet his soul came forth the tormenting angels. It was said: ‘This is Hell, wherewith thou wert threatened in the Book, and which thou wert wont to deny in the nights and in the days.’”

The whole Epistle affords a fine specimen of Behá's comminatory style, but this one extract must for the present suffice.

Of the two other Epistles contained in this precious MS. the *first* (Coll. Sc. vi, pp. 233-5) is in Persian, and presents no remarkable features of interest. The *second* (pp. 235-243) is of great interest, but also, as Baron Rosen points out, of singular obscurity and difficulty. It contains Behá's answer to one of the Báb's original apostles, or “Letters of the Living,” who had asked certain questions touching

the nature of the "First Point" (i.e. the Báb). I cannot better describe the letter than by quoting Baron Rosen's own words:—"Cette pièce est la dernière du recueil et donne des explications qui seraient très satisfaisantes si elles étaient plus claires. Telles qu'elles sont données par Béhâ, elles ont grandement besoin d'un commentaire. Ce qu'on voit bien, c'est que Béhâ répond à la question un peu malgré lui. Mais il ne pouvait l'éviter, car le curieux, cette fois, était un membre de 'la première Unité,' une des 'Lettres du Vivant': 'Si tu n'étais pas de la première Unité,' lisons-nous, 'je te punirais, car tu as posé une question concernant Dieu, qui t'a créé, qui t'a nourri, qui t'a tué et qui t'a ressuscité dans ton corps ici présent par le Point de l'Exposition pendant cette manifestation unique dans son essence.' Béhâ, il faut bien le dire, s'est tiré d'affaire avec une adresse admirable. La réponse est un véritable chef-d'œuvre de phrases bien sonnantes, très édifiantes, très respectueuses envers le Báb, mais en même temps très peu précises."

I have only one remark to make on this piece, or rather on a note appended to it by Baron Rosen. He says (p. 242, n. 1), alluding to a passage in the text:—"Cette date est singulière. L'an 1270 correspond à 1853/4. Le texte paraît faire allusion à la manifestation du Báb, mais la date s'y oppose." The solution of the difficulty is that the Báb, as I pointed out in *B. i.*, p. 507, generally dates the commencement of his mission, *not from the flight of the Prophet (hijra), but from the time when he was first commissioned to preach the doctrine of Islâm*, which time he places ten years earlier. Many passages in proof of this might be adduced from the Persian Beyán, but one (the same which I previously quoted) will suffice. It occurs in the seventh chapter of *Vâhid* ii. and runs as follows:

واذ حين ظهور شجرةء بيان الى ما يغرب قيامت رسول الله هست
 كه در قران خداوند وعده فرموده كه اول آن بعد از دو ساعت يازده
 دقيقه از شب پنجم جمادى الاول سنه ١٢٦٠ كه سنه ١٢٧٠ بعثت ميشود

اَوَّلَ يَوْمِ قِيَامَتِ قُرْآنِ بُوْدَه وَّ اِلَى غُرُوبِ شَجَرَهٗ حَقِيقَتِ قِيَامَتِ
قُرْآنِسْت

“And from the moment of the ‘Manifestation’ of the Tree of the Beyán until its disappearance is the Resurrection of the Prophet of God, which God hath promised in the *Kur’án*; whereof the beginning was after two hours and eleven minutes had passed of the night of the fifth of *Jemádi-ul-Awwal*, A.H. 1260, which was the year 1270 of the Mission [of *Muḥammad*]. [This was] the first day of the Resurrection of the *Kur’án*, and till the disappearance of the Tree of Truth [*i.e.* the *Báb*] the Resurrection of the *Kur’án* continueth.”

LIEUTENANT TOUMANSKY’S RESEARCHES AND ACQUISITIONS.

The sixth volume of the *Collections Scientifiques* concludes with a brief, but most interesting, postscript, dated October 15th, 1890, wherein Baron Rosen gives a short account of the discoveries made and the new MSS. acquired by M. Toumansky, a young artillery officer, who had spent some months at ‘Ishkábád during the summer of 1890, with the intention of entering into relations with the Bábí community there (which, as it appears, is pretty numerous), and learning more of the history, condition, doctrines, and literature of the sect. His plans were crowned with the fullest measure of success; he was welcomed effusively by the Bábís of ‘Ishkábád, and received from them a rich store of information, books, and photographs. The MSS. which he obtained were as follows:

(1) The *Tárikh-i-Jadíd*, described by me in *B. i*, p. 496, *B. ii*, pp. 1002–3, and, more fully, at pp. 192–7 of vol. ii. of the *Traveller’s Narrative*. Baron Rosen remarks (*Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 244) that according to the Bábís of ‘Ishkábád this work was composed by Mánakjí, who, till lately, acted as representative of the Zoroastrians of Bombay at Teherán, and watched over the interests of their down-trodden brethren of Persia. As he died about a year ago, I may now say,

without indiscretion, that I too heard from many Bábís that he was the author of the work in question, though by some it was asserted that his *mírzá*, or secretary, had a considerable share in its production. I have lately had occasion to go through the whole work again (having already transcribed and collated it throughout) and to make a translation of it, which I hope soon to publish, and my estimate of its value is increased, inasmuch as many of the events which it chronicles appear either to have been copied from a work composed by Háji Mírzá Jání of Káshán (who suffered martyrdom at Teherán in A.D. 1852), or to have been supplied by eye-witnesses.

(2) An Epistle called *لوح مقصود*, with commentary, dealing mainly with ethical questions.

(3) Two most interesting Epistles from Behá'u'lláh, the first addressed to the Bábís of 'Ishkábád in particular, the second to the Bábí church generally. Both of these Epistles (of which the text is given in full by Baron Rosen) refer to and were called forth by the following strange episode, which, as Baron Rosen affirms, created a certain sensation even at St. Petersburg.

"On September 8th, 1889, at 7 a.m., two Persians, Mash-hadí 'Alí Akbar and Mash-hadí Huseyn, both fanatical Shi'ites, hurled themselves, dagger in hand, on a certain Háji Muḥammad Rizá, of Isfahán, who was peaceably traversing one of the most frequented streets of 'Ishkábád, and inflicted on him 72 wounds, to which he succumbed. Háji Muḥammad Rizá was one of the most respected of the Bábís of 'Ishkábád. The crime was perpetrated with such audacity, that neither the numerous witnesses of the tragedy, nor the constable who was present, were able to save the victim of this abominable attack. They yielded themselves up to the police without offering any resistance. They were placed in a cab for conveyance to the prison; during the journey they fell to licking up the blood which dripped from their daggers. The trial, conducted with much energy by the military tribunal, gave as its result that Muḥammad Rizá had fallen a victim to the religious

fanaticism of the Shi'ites, who feared his influence; those of 'Ishkábád, acting on the orders of Mullás who had come for this purpose from Khurásán, resolved to put a stop to the Bábí propaganda by killing Hájí Muḥammad Rizá. But, knowing very well that the crime would not remain unpunished, they drew lots to determine who should sacrifice themselves for the Shi'ite cause. Thus it was that the persons above mentioned became the assassins of Muḥammad Rizá, who had done them no harm. The sentence of the tribunal was severe—'Alí Akbar and Huseyn, together with two of their accomplices, were condemned to be hanged, but the death-penalty was commuted, by His Imperial Majesty, to hard labour for life.

"This sentence was hailed by the Bábís with an enthusiasm easy to understand. It was the first time since the existence of the sect, *i.e.* for nearly fifty years, that a crime committed on the person of an adherent of the new religion had been punished with the utmost rigour of the law. The impression produced on the chief of the sect, Behá, appears to have been equally profound. The two "revelations" which we shall submit to the reader sufficiently prove this. They are also interesting from another point of view: they are almost the only Bábí documents of which we can understand all the meanings, all the allusions."

The documents in question are indeed full of interest, but I must necessarily limit myself to translating one extract from the first of them, which is addressed to the Bábís of Ishkábád in general, and to one of them named 'Abdu'l-Karím of Ardabíl in particular.

(P. 249, l. 2). . . "Your deeds have rejoiced me, and your patience in affliction. Ye were slain and did not slay. . . Ye have done that whereby the breaths of patient suffering are diffused through creation. In truth the Glorious State [of Russia] (may God strengthen it!) hath displayed justice, and justice is the cause of the supremacy, majesty, and power of Kings. Well is it with him who is

adorned therewith, and hath drunk of its cup, and hath been illuminated with its effulgences! This society [*i.e.* the Bábís] must unceasingly regard this condition. God (glorious is His Glory!) hath ever loved and doth love constancy, and in diverse epistles hath enjoined it on all. This succour on the part of the Glorious State [of Russia] and this manifestation of justice and equity will, please God, obliterate the injustice and violence of the world. We enjoin it on this society not to forget this [act of] justice, and to pray God from the bottom of their hearts to perpetuate and render permanent the works of him who holds the standard of justice by the maintenance of [his] dominion and power. . .”

(4) Five loose leaves, containing:—(a) A poem of 72 verses, praising the Emperor of Russia for his justice in punishing the assassins of Muḥammad Rizá; (b) Two religious poems by a Bábí poet named Rúhání, whom M. Toumansky thinks may be identical with the poet روحا mentioned by me in *B. ii*, p. 1008. (c) Another religious poem beginning:—*طلعات قدس بشارتی که جمال حق شده*. This poem is included in a small MS. of Bábí miscellanies copied for me at Kirmán, and since Baron Rosen only gives the first *beyt*, and even this offers no less than three variants from my text, I shall publish the whole in the Appendix to this article. If I remember aright I was told that *Nabíl* was the author of it, but it is evidently modelled on the two poems, written in the same rhyme and metre (*Kámil-i-muthamman-i-sálim*), which tradition ordinarily ascribes to *Kurratu'l-'Ayn*. Of these two poems I have published the text and translation (the first in *B. ii*, pp. 936–7 and 991; the second in vol. ii. of the *Traveller's Narrative*, pp. 314–6), and I cannot deny myself the pleasure of adding to them this further specimen of the Bábí poetic genius. (d) An account of the Bábí law of heritage, the division of the year, and the names of the months, drawn up for M. Toumansky by the Bábís of

'Ishkábád. (e) A short chronological notice of the principal events in the lives of the Báb and Behá, also prepared for M. Toumansky. To this I have already had occasion to allude (p. *supra*).

(5) A copy of the Bombay lithographed edition of the Bábí work mentioned by me in *B. ii*, p. 944, as *Muduniyyat* ("Civilization"). Its full title is given by Baron Rosen as اسرار الغيبة لسباب المدنية. At the end of this is given the text of an Epistle in pure Persian, free from all admixture of Arabic, written by Behá'u'lláh to a follower of the Zoroastrian faith. Of this epistle, and of another similar one, I obtained copies at Acre which are now amongst my MSS. One of them, if not both, was addressed, as I was informed, to the late Mánakjí (already mentioned as the author of the *Tárikh-i-Jadíd*), whose full name appears to have been Mánakjí Limjí Hadarja, and who came from India to Persia in the summer of 1854.¹

I have now completed my notice of Baron Rosen's most valuable contribution to our knowledge of Bábíism. Lengthy as this notice is, I have had to omit much of which I should like to have spoken; yet, I trust, I have sufficiently made clear the extreme value of the materials which he has made accessible to scholars, and the exceptional claim which he has on the gratitude of all Orientalists.

¹ See *Z.D.M.G.* for 1881, vol. xxxiv, p. 328.

APPENDIX.

I. A POEM ATTRIBUTED TO NABÍL.

[Metre—*Kāmil-i-muthamman-i-sálim*: *Mutafá'ilun* (— — — —)
8 times.]

هو الحقّ

طلعاتِ قدسِ بشارتی که جمالِ حقّ شده بر ملا
 بزنی ای صبا تو بمحضرش بگروه زنده دلان صلا
 هله ای طوائفِ منتظر ز عنایتِ شو مقتدر
 مؤمنانِ خرد شده مشتهر متبجّیاً ما جملاً
 شده طلعتِ صمدی عیان که بپا کند علمِ بیان
 زگمان وهمِ جهانیان جبروتِ اقدس اعتلا
 بسریر شوکت و عزّ و شان به نشست آن شو بی نشان
 بزنی این صلا ببلاکشان که گروه مدعی ولا
 چه کسی طریقی مرا رود کنمش ندا که خبر شود
 که هر آنکه عاشقِ من شود نرهد ز محنت و ابتلا
 کسی ار نکرد اطاعتم نگرفت حبلِ ولایتم
 کنمش بعید ز ساحتم دهمش ز قهر بجان لا
 صدمم ز عالم سرمدم احدمم ز کشور لا حدم
 بی اهلِ افئده آمدمم و هموا الی لمقبلا

¹ When *جر* is short in scansion, or is commonly written *چه* by modern Persians.

قُبَسَاتِ نَارٍ مَشِيَّتِي اَنَا ذَا السَّتِ بَرِّكُمْ
 بگذر بساحتِ قدسیان بشنو صغیر بلا بلا^۱
 منم آن ظهورِ مهیمنِ منم آن سفینهٔ ایمنی
 منم آن منیبتِ بی منی ولقد ظهرت مجلجلا
 شجرِ مرفیعِ جانِ منم ثمرِ نهانِ وعیانِ منم
 ملک الملوکِ بیانِ منم و بی البیانِ فقدِ علا
 شهادی طلعتِ نارِ من بدوید سوی دیارِ من
 سرو جان کنید نثارِ من که منم شهنشؤ کر بلا

TRANSLATION.

"Good news, O apparitions of holiness, for the Beauty of
 God is divulged !
 O Zephyr! convey to the quickened of heart a summons
 to his presence !
 Ho! ye peoples who expectantly await the Grace of the
 Mighty King,
 The glorious moon is publicly apparent, resplendent and
 beautiful.
 The Apparition of the Eternal hath appeared to set up the
 standard of the Beyán ;
 Exalted beyond the conception of worldlings' fancy is the
 Most Holy Realm of Power !
 That Signless King hath sat on the throne of majesty,
 might, and state ;
 He hath thus greeted the sufferers of affliction :—' O band
 who pretend to [my] love !
 When anyone treads my path I will cry to him, that he
 may know,

¹ It would appear that this should be بلل بلل .

That whosoever becomes enamoured of me shall not escape suffering and sorrow.¹

Should anyone not obey me, not take hold of the rope of my protection,

I will drive him far from my presence, I will give him in my wrath to the wind of Not [-being].

I am Eternal: I am from the World of the Everlasting: I am One: I am from the Land of the Unlimited:

I am come after the children of the Spirit, and unto me do they advance.

Kindlings of the Fire of my Will! Lo, am I not your Lord?

Pass to the place of the holy ones; hear the shrill cry of "Yea! Yea!"²

I am that Manifestation of the All-Protecting! I am that Ark of Safety!

I am that Impersonal Personality, and I have appeared in my Glory!

I am the uplifted Tree of Life! I am the Hidden and Apparent Fruit!

I am the King of the Kings of the Beyán, and by me is the Beyán exalted!³

O witnesses of my fiery Apparition! Hasten towards my country!

Make your heads and lives my sacrifice; for I am the Monarch of Kerbelá!' "⁴

¹ Cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 315, n. 2.

² Cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 315, n. 1, and *B. ii*, pp. 917-918.

³ Cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 357, n. 5.

⁴ *i.e.* I am the Imám Huseyn returned again. Cf. *B. ii*, p. 932, and footnote 1.

II. A TARKÍB-BAND IN PRAISE OF BEHÁ.

(Authorship Uncertain.)

[Metre: — *Khafif-i-makbûn* : *Fá'ilátun, mafá'ilun, fa'lun*

(— — —, — — —, — — —), twice.]

من خدا جویم و خدایم کو	نقد جان بر کف و بهایم کو
جز توام از دو کون بیگانه	بخدا حز تو آشنایم کو
سرآن دارم ای صنم کآیم	سوی کوی تو لیک پایم کو
تا زدم در طریق عشق قدم	جوی اندیشه از فنایم کو
گر شوم در رهش شهید چه باک	غیر دلدار خون بهایم کو
تا گدای در تو گردیدم	بشهنشاهی اعتنایم کو
خانه دل ز غیر کردم پاک	غیر دلدار در سرایم کو
من نگویم سخن و گر گویم	غیر این نکته مدعایم کو

جز بها نیست جلوه گاه خدا

گر تو جوئی خدا بجوز بها

باز تابید جلوه دلدار	از در و بام یا اولو الابصار
ماه رویش طلوع کرد وز شرم	پرده افگند مهر بر رخسار
از لب روح پرورش زنده است	صد چو عیسی بهر کران و کنار
آرنی گو بطور دیدارش	همچو موسی نشسته اند هزار
ای تو مسجود انبیای عظام	وی تو معبود اولیای کبار
قدمی نه برون که در قدمت	ما سوا نقد جان کنند نثار
مدعی کو که تا ز من شنود	آنچه منصور گفت بر سردار
کوش دل باز کن که تا شنوی	تو ز ذرات جمله این گفتار

جز بها نیست جلوه گاه خدا

گر تو جوئی خدا بجوز بها

مظهر ذاتِ ذُو الجلالِ توئی	شاهِ اقلیمِ لا یزالِ توئی
نقدِ گنجینهٔ جلالِ توئی	گوهرِ مخزنِ جمالِ توئی
جلوهٔ گاهِ نبی و آلِ توئی	خلوتِ قربِ را تو خلوتی ¹
بلکه هجرانِ وهمِ وصالِ توئی	حُسنِ و عشقی و عاشقِ و معشوق
ابد الدهرِ بینزالِ توئی	نیست غیر از (تو) ² هستی دیگر
بیشک از قدرتِ و نوالِ توئی	خالقیِ خلقِ و قاسمِ ارزاق
چون خداوندِ بی مثالِ توئی	نبود مر ترا شریکِ و نظیر
که سزاوارِ اینِ خصالِ توئی	خلقِ را با تو همسریِ غلطست
جز بها نیست جلوهٔ گاهِ خدا	
گر تو جوئی خدا بجوز بها	

جلوهٔ گاهِ جمالِ ربّانی	ای تو مرآتِ حسنِ یزدانی
ختمِ پیغمبرانِ بهممانی	ای تو آوردهٔ در شبِ معراج
فخرِ جمیریلِ را بدربانی	ای بدرگاهِ عرشِ مرتبهٔ ات
ظاهر از تو صفاتِ رحمانی	مُضَمَّر اندر تو وصفِ قهاری
بندگنِ همچو ماهِ کنعانی	ای فزون از ستارهٔ در خیلِ
چون ذبیحِ از برایِ قربانی	بر سرِ کویتِ ایستادهٔ هزار
تا بیارم ترا باآسانی	جان طلب کن بها بیکِ نگهی
بلبلِ روحمِ اینِ خوشِ الحانی	بهوایِ رخستِ دگر دارد
جز بها نیست جلوهٔ گاهِ خدا	
گر تو جوئی خدا بجوز بها	

جز تو منظورِ کو دگر مارا	نیست غیر از تو در نظرِ مارا
نیست پروایِ پا و سرِ مارا	برهت تا ز سرِ نمودم پای

¹ MS. خلوتی.

² MS. om. تو.

چند گردانند ای صنم تا چند
 هر دم آید ز تیرِ مژگانست
 لبِ شیرینِ کشود و ابرو کرد
 هر شب از فرقتِ مهت ریزد
 بر هر آنچه افکنم نظر گردد
 دمبدم این ندا^۱ بگوش آید

جز بها نیست جلوه گاهِ خدا

گر تو جوئی خدا بجوز بها

تافت شمسِ حقیقت از توفاش
 ای بدنمایِ دونِ گِرو مانده
 دین بدست آرو بگذر از دنیا
 تاکی از جهل و غفلت^۲ بستر
 رو بدرگاهِ عرشِ مرتبه
 چهره اش را نگر ز غایتِ لطف
 گر ترا^۳ لطف ایزدی باید
 ساکنان حریمِ لاهوتی

لیک کورست دیده خفاش
 تا بگی بهر رزق جهد و تلاش
 علم دین پیشه کن نه عقلِ معاش
 یا ز تقلیدِ پیرویت فراش
 که بود روح قدسیش فرّاش
 قلم ایزدی شده نقّاش
 سینۀ بندگان او منخراش
 هستشان زین تکلم استیناش

جز بها نیست جلوه گاهِ خدا

گر تو جوئی خدا بجوز بها

خلوت لا مکان مکان بهاست
 نار نیران و شربت زقوم
 کوثر (و) سلسبیل و هم تسنیم
 عدل و دادی که مصطفی فرمود
 آیه انما بشان بهاست
 طعمۀ جان دشمنان بهاست
 بهره و بخش دوستان بهاست
 وعدۀ دوستان زمان بهاست

^۱ MS. مرا, but I think this emendation is needed.

^۳ MS. اگر لقب, *contra metrum*.

^۲ MS. غفلت.

^۴ MS. omits.

آن نشانها که در خبر آمد راستی جملگی نشان بهاست
 کتب انبیا و معجزشان رو بین جمله تو از آن¹ بهاست
 موسی و عیسی و حواریین بحقیقت ز پیروان² بهاست
 از سر صدق دائم الاوقات این سخن ورد بندگان بهاست³

جز بها نیست جلوه گاو خدا

گر تو جوئی خدا بجوز بها

بکشاب لب که پسته بندد لب بنما رخ که روز گردد شب
 ای دو صد یوسف فتاده اسیر زار و درمانده در چو غنغب
 دانی ای شه که بر من از اعدا می رود در غمت چه رنج و تعب
 میسند اینکه از تطاول دهر مؤ من منخسف شود مذهب⁴
 همتی کن که تا برون آیم از چو طبع چون مؤ مخشب
 تن و جان من ار بپوته دهر بگدازنده آنچه ناکه ذهب
 نیستم غیر لعل تو مشرب نیستم غیر وصل تو مذهب
 بهر تمجید ذات اقدس تو هر دم این نکته آدم بطرب

جز بها نیست جلوه گاو خدا

گر تو جوئی خدا بجوز بها

ای تو منظور خلقت آدم وی تو مقصود بعثت خاتم
 ای در آنجا که محترق گردد جان جبریل جسم تو محرم

¹ MS. امان, but, unless we can take this in the sense of امانت (a trust) some emendation seems missing.

² MS. پیران, contrary alike to sense and metre.

³ MS. عداست, by an obvious slip.

⁴ MS. بذهب. An emendation is clearly needed, but I am by no means certain that I have hit on the right one.

⁵ This word is very carelessly written, and might be read بگذارند.

فی غلط جسم و جان نه بر تو رواست که توئی فارغ از حدوث (و) قدم
 ای نزاده چه تو فصیح و ملیح مام دوران نه در عرب نه عجم
 ای کف تو محلل الاشکال وی لب تو موضح المبهم
 تا شدم بنده تو باز اغیار که من ایدر بوم بغم همدم
 چشم تا بر رخ تو کردم باز بیخود از لب دمد مرا این دم
 جز بها نیست جلوه گاه خدا
 گر تو جوئی خدا بجوز بها

TRANSLATION.

“I seek God, and where is my God? [I hold] the coin of
 life in my hand, but where is my price [or Behá]?⁵
 Save for Thee I am a stranger to both worlds; by God!
 save Thee where have I a friend?
 O Idol! Fain would I approach thy street, but where is
 strength⁶ for me [to do so]?
 Since I set my footsteps in the Path of Love, where [does
 there exist] a single grain of anxiety as to my
 annihilation?
 What matter if I die a martyr in His cause? Where will
 be my blood-wit save [with] the Beloved?⁷
 Since I became a beggar at Thy door, what do I care for
 sovereignty?
 I have purified the house of the heart from all else [but
 Thee]: where is there in my mansion anyone but the
 Beloved?

¹ MS. مگر, which seems to me to give no good sense.

² MS. om. و.

³ For چه see first footnote on preceding poem.

⁴ This line seems to me corrupt, but I cannot suggest an emendation.

⁵ The words “Behdyam kú?” have a double signification: either “where is my price?” in the sense of “where is my equivalent for this coin of life?”—“Where is an object on which I may worthily expend it?”—or, “where is my Behá?”

⁶ Páyam kú? Strength, endurance (تاب و پایداری) is a recognised and not uncommon meaning of pd.

⁷ i.e. my blood-wit or compensation will be nothing less than the Beloved.

I speak not, and, should I utter speech, what should I assert
save this maxim?—

*'The temple of God's Glory is none other than Behá :
If thou seekest God, seek Him from Behá.'*

"Again hath the splendour of the Beloved shone from door
and roof, O men of vision !

The Moon of his Countenance hath arisen, and in shame the
sun hath cast a veil on its cheek.

By His life-fostering lip live a hundred such as Jesus in
every nook and corner.

Crying 'Show me'¹ by the Sinai of His aspect sit a thousand
such as Moses.

O Thou, the Adored of the mighty prophets! O Thou, the
Object of worship of the greatest saints!

Come forth but one step, that at thy feet all beside Thee
may cast down the coin of life!

Where is an adversary, that he may hear from me that
which Manşúr² cried on the cross?

Open the ear of the heart, that thou mayest hear this cry
from all atoms—

*'The temple of God's Glory is none other than Behá :
If thou seekest God, seek Him from Behá.'*

"Thou art the King of the realm of the Everlasting! Thou
art the Manifestation of the Essence of the Lord of
Glory!

Thou art the Pearl of the store-house of Beauty! Thou
art the Coin of the treasury of Glory!

Thou art a Void for the Divine communing!³ Thou art the
temple of Glory of the Prophet and the [Prophetic]
Family!

Thou art Beauty and Love, Lover and Beloved; nay, Thou
art alike Separation and Union!

¹ Kur'án, vii, 139.

² Huseyn Manşúr the wool-carder (*haldí*), the celebrated Súfí who was
hanged or crucified for crying out in one of his mystical raptures *Ana 'l-Hakk*
("I am the Truth," i.e. "God.")

³ I am uncertain alike as to the correctness of the reading and the true sense
of this line.

Save Thee there is naught else which truly exists: Thou art
for ever changeless.

The Creator of creation and the Distributor of provision in
power and bounty without doubt art Thou!

Thou hast no peer or partner, since Thou art the Lord
without compare!

For creatures to assume equality with Thee is an error, for
Thou [alone] meritest this description—

*'The temple of God's Glory is none other than Behá :
If thou seekest God, seek Him from Behá.'*

"O Thou, the Mirror of Divine Beauty! The Temple of
Glory of the Beauty of the Lord!

O Thou, who, on the Night of Ascent, did'st entertain the
Seal of the Prophets as Thy guest!¹

O Thou at the approach to the throne of whose rank
Gabriel² prides himself on holding the office of gate-
keeper!

Latent in Thee [is] the quality of compelling might; ap-
parent from Thee [are] the attributes of Merciful-
ness!

O Thou in whose retinue, surpassing the stars in number,
are servants like the Moon of Canaan!³

At the end of Thy street stand a thousand like Ishmael⁴
[ready] for sacrifice:

Demand [my] life, O Behá, only with a glance, that I may
readily lay it before Thee!

In love for Thy Countenance again hath the nightingale of
my soul this melody—

*'The temple of God's Glory is none other than Behá :
If thou seekest God, seek Him from Behá.'*

¹ This alone is tantamount to a declaration of Behá's Divine Nature, since, according to Shi'ite belief, Muhammad was God's guest on the night of his ascent to Heaven.

² Cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 362, l. 5.

³ i.e. Joseph.

⁴ According to Muhammadan belief it was Ishmael (*Isma'íl*), not Isaac, who was destined by Abraham for sacrifice, wherefore he is entitled *قاسم*, "the sacrificial victim."

"In our sight there is none but Thee: save Thee to whom should we look?

Since I made my head a foot in Thy Path I reckon no longer of foot or head.

How long, O Idol, how long shall yearning for Thy Face drive us from door to door?

Each moment from the shafts of thine eyelashes doth the arrow of injustice smite our hearts.

He opened His sweet lips and [raised] his eyebrows, making bitter [by contrast] sugar-cane in our mouth.

Every night, through separation from Thy moon [-face] stars¹ rain from our eyes till morning.

On whatsoever I cast my glance the Beauty of Thy Face shines forth on me.²

Each moment this cry comes to my ear, as to [that of] Moses, from every tree—

'The temple of God's Glory is none other than Behá: If thou seekest God, seek Him from Behá.'

"The Sun of Truth has shone forth unveiled from Thee, but the eye of the bat is blind.

O thou who liest in pledge to this low world, how long wilt thou strive and seek [but] for [worldly] provision?

Take religion in thine hand, and forsake the world: make the study of religion thine employment, not the understanding of a trade.

How long shall thy pillow be of folly and heedlessness; or thy couch of the conformity of blind imitation?

Go to the court of a throne whereof the rank is such that a Holy Spirit is its carpet-spreader.

Look! Of the countenance, so gracious is it, the Divine Pencil must have been the limner!

If thou desirest the Grace of God, wound not the breasts of his servants!

¹ i.e. tears.

² Kur'an, ii, 109.—"فأينما تولوا فثم وجه الله"—"And whithersoever ye turn there is the Face of God."

The dwellers in the sanctuary of Divinity are familiarized with this utterance—

*'The temple of God's Glory is none other than Behá :
If thou seekest God, seek him from Behá.'*

"The Seclusion of the Placeless is the place of Behá ; the verse 'only'¹ is in reference to Behá ;

The flame of the fires and the draught of *Zakẖûm*² are food for the souls of the foes Behá.

Kawthar, and Salsabíl, and Tasním³ too are the portion and share of the friends of Behá.

The justice and fairness of which Muṣṭafá⁴ made promise to friends is [fulfilled in] the time of Behá.

Those signs which have come down in tradition are all, in truth, the signs of Behá.

The books of the prophets and their miracles, go, see ! all are Behá's !

Moses, and Jesus, and the apostles are, in truth, amongst the followers of Behá.

This saying, uttered with all sincerity, is ever the portion of the tongues of Behá's servants—

*'The temple of God's Glory is none other than Behá :
If thou seekest God, seek Him from Behá.'*

"Open Thy lip, that the pistachio-nut⁵ may close its lips :
shew Thy cheek, that the day may become night.

O Thou, in the dimple of whose chin two hundred helpless and hapless Josephs are fallen captive !

¹ The word *أنا* (*only*) occurs in so many passages of the *Kur'an* that it is difficult to conjecture which is here intended. I think, however, that *Kur'an* vi, 109, may be meant—*قل إنما الآيات عند الله*—"Say, 'signs [*áyat*] are in God's hands alone.'"

² The name of a foul and bitter tree which grows in hell. See *Kur'an*, xxxvii, 60 ; xliiv, 43 ; lvi, 52.

³ The names of three celestial rivers.

⁴ *i.e.* Muhammad, called *al-Muṣṭafá* "the Elect."

⁵ The gaping of the shell of the pistachio-nut is continually taken by Persian poets as the emblem of a smiling mouth. Hence the meaning "Relax Thy mouth in a smile that all other smiles may seem in no account."

Thou knowest, O King, what suffering and hardship befal
me at the hands of mine enemies for [my] love of
Thee ;

Suffer not that, though the tyranny of fate, my moon should
be eclipsed, [or] put away.

Exert Thine influence, that I may come forth from the pit of
nature, like the moon of Nakhshab.

Though they should melt my soul and body in the crucible
of time like gold,

My source [of inspiration] shall be naught but Thy ruby
[lip], my religion shall be naught but union with
Thee.

For the glorification of Thy Most Holy Essence every
moment this word raises me to ecstasy—

*'The temple of God's Glory is none other than Behá :
If thou seekest God, seek him from Behá.'*

"O Thou, who wert the object of man's creation ! O Thou,
who wert the purpose of the Prophet's mission !

O Thou, whose body is admitted where the soul of Gabriel
would be consumed !

No, [I spoke] at random : it is not right [to talk of] body
and soul in connection with Thee, for Thou art free
from Time and Eternity !

O Thou, like unto whom in eloquence and grace Mother
Time hath brought forth none in Arabia or Persia !

O Thou, whose hand is the solver of difficulties ! O Thou,
whose lip makes plain whatever is doubtful !

Since I became Thy servant [apart] from all others, so that
I might be here the companion of grief,

[And] since I opened mine eyes on Thy face, involuntarily
this utterance breathes forth each moment from my
lips—

*'The temple of God's Glory is none other than Behá :
If thou seekest God, seek him from Behá.'*"



ART. VIII.—*Four Cuneiform Texts.* By S. ARTHUR STRONG, M.A.

I.

(a.)

OF Aššurbêlkala, son and successor of the first Tiglath-pileser, we know little. The so-called synchronous history devotes a few lines to his reign, from which, however, we learn nothing more than that in his time the peoples of Assyria and Babylon were united in the bonds of friendship and alliance, and that he took to wife a Babylonian lady, daughter of the upstart Rammânapluidinna, King of Babylon (W. A. I., ii. 65, 25). Two only of Aššurbêlkala's inscriptions seem to have come down to us. Of these the more important runs in seven partly defaced lines across the back of a nude female torso carved in stone a little under life-size. This monument—of the highest interest from an archæological point of view—was found at Kouyunjik, and is now preserved (No. 849) in the British Museum.

The first three lines of the inscription present the remains of the genealogy of the king. Then follow two mutilated and extremely obscure lines, and the closing words invoke the vengeance of the gods of Martu upon whosoever shall alter the name and writing.

That an Assyrian king should thus make a public appeal to the gods of the Amorites¹ is in itself remarkable; but it is not more so than the style of the figure considered as a work of art. The type, it is true, will not appear very select to those accustomed to Greek models; but the forms of the female nude have evidently been carefully studied,

¹ See below.

and are reproduced with an emphasis which in parts approaches exaggeration.

Now it is in the representation of the draped human form that the Assyrian artists may be said to have excelled. Their freedom of treatment, however, was confined within the limits of a convention that had become fixed at a comparatively early date, and was followed for centuries without material modification. For instance, the bas-reliefs of Aššurbanipal present, roughly speaking, the same characteristics as those of Aššurnaširpal. In both we admire the picturesque composition of a variety of incidents, and the vigour and naturalness of the representation of motion; but the later artists have not advanced far beyond their predecessors in the direction of freedom and realism; there is nothing to suggest that an interval of two centuries lies between them. Moreover, the nude never appears prominently in Assyrian sculpture. Occasionally, as on the bronze gates of Balawat, we see a row of impaled captives garnishing the wall of a conquered town; but the fancy of a naked goddess occurred but rarely to the formal Assyrians. In fact, the attenuated and closely-draped Ištar, who appears on cylinder-seals and, more rarely, on bas-reliefs, would hardly be recognized as a goddess at all, if it were not for her accompanying symbols.¹

These considerations suggest—though they do not involve—the conclusion that we have here to deal with the product of an art foreign in sentiment and method to that of Assyria. The fact that the name of the god whose vengeance is invoked has been obliterated must make it for ever impossible to determine with certainty the meaning and purpose of the statue; but we know that Assyrian kings—Sargon, for example, and Tiglathpileser III.—followed Syrian fashions

¹ Messrs. Perrot and Chipiez (*Histoire de l'Art*, ii. 505) reproduce two cylinder-seals, on which Ištar is seen standing naked and emaciated in the presence of worshippers; but, in the first place, such a device is very unusual, and, in the second, the figure of the goddess bears no resemblance whatever to the statue under discussion. However, there are two little undraped figures from Nimrud (reproduced on pp. 507 and 508 of the same work), which are more in the style of the statue; but it is by no means certain either to what period they belong, or what they represent. Perrot and Chipiez take them and the statue as well for figures of Ištar.

in architecture, and it may be that influences—religious as well as artistic—from the same quarter have been at work here. In that case the statue may either have been made for Aššurbêlkala on some occasion or for some purpose unknown to us, or it may have been carried away with the booty of some victorious expedition to the West to find a new shrine and new votaries in Assyria.

The inscription has been published—but from a very imperfect and incorrect copy—in the first volume of *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, plate 6, No. vi. I have given an amended edition based upon an independent study of the stone.

Translations have been attempted both by Oppert (*Expédition*, i. 288), and by Menant (*Annales*, 54); but their renderings, made from the hopelessly corrupt text of W. A. I., contain little that is certain except the king's name.

Text.

1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 
6. 
7. 

Transliteration.

1. ê-kal Aššur-bêl-ka-[la] šar kiš-[ša-ti]
2.
dan-[nu] [šarru?]

3. apil A-šur-riš-i-ši šar kiš-[ša-ti šar Aš]-šur-ma
4. a-lam ga-a-tê an-na-tê ki [nari ?] âlâni
5. u ar-ru-tê ina muḫ-ḫi-ši a-ḫi-ê
6. mu-ni-kir šit-ri-ia u šumi-ia Za ilâni
7. Mar-tu mi-ḫi-iš šî-ri i-ma-ḫa-šu-uš.

Translation.

1. The palace of Aššurbêlkala king
of the whole (world), [King of Assyria],
2. son of Tiglathpileser the strong [king]
3. son of Aššur-riš-iši, king of the whole (world), king
of the same Assyria:—
4. an image these hands the inscriptions (?)
of the cities
5. and cursings with the crushing of the side
6. Whosoever alters my writing and my name the god
Za [and] the gods of
7. Martu with the crushing of the back shall crush him.

NOTES.

4. *alam gâtê*. I propose this reading with great hesitation ; but for *alam* with the meaning 'image' see W.A.I. iii. 70, 52, where 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶 is rendered by 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶 *ša-al-mu*, and cf. Arab. علم. With regard to *gâtê* for *katê*, the substitution of *g* for *k* (a common feature of Babylonian phonetics) is not unknown in Assyrian texts even of the first period. For example, in the great inscription of Tiglathpileser I. the forms *gurunatê*, *gurunê* (from the root 𐎶𐎶) occur in three places, viz. II. 21, III. 58 and IV. 19.

Mr. Pinches suggests the restoration of 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶 before 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶.















TORSO WITH INSCRIPTION OF ASSURBELKALA



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


















5. *arrutê* I take to be the plural of *arru(m)* in the sense of 'curse' or 'cursing.' Cf. W.A.I. ii. 27, 39,    with W.A.I. v. 30, 65    |  

muḥḥiṣi appears to be a noun of the type  from the root *maḥṣu*. Both *muḥḥuṣu* and *muḥḥuṣṣu* are quoted by Strassmaier (A.V. p. 674); but in the former case he seems to have mistaken what is evidently the 3, pl. permansive ii. 1, (*ina lib-bi-šu-nu mu-uḥ-ḥu-ṣu-u*, 'in their midst they are smitten,' K. 680, 10) for a verbal noun of the type .

With *muḥḥiṣi aḥi* 'the crushing of the side (of the body)' cf. *muṣṣu aḥi* 'the disease of the side,' with which among other plagues Iṣtar is smitten in Hades, W.A.I. iv. 31, *obv.* l. 71.

It is possible that the partially defaced character after  should be read .

6. The name of the god *Za*, if we suppose it to have been that of an Assyrian deity, might perhaps be restored as     ZA-GA-GA, which we find explained by    NIN-IB, W.A.I. ii. 57, 53 and 70; but, on the whole, it seems more probable that some god of the Phœnicians (or Amorites) was referred to.
7.    is equivalent to the characters      which have usually been read *A-har-ri-i*, and explained to mean the 'West-country,' that is Phœnicia. Both the reading and the explanation appear to be founded upon a statement made by Norris, which, however, as it stands, is far from being conclusive, viz. "I have also a note that   is 'west,' but I have mislaid the reference" (*Dict.* I. 28). On the other hand, the occurrence on one of the tablets from El Amarna of the

unequivocal form $\text{𒍪 𒌶 𒍪 𒍪} A\text{-mu-ur-ra}$ side by side with $\text{𒌶 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪} -\text{𒍪}𒌶$ seems to show that at least in this case 𒍪 𒍪 must be read *mur* (Sayce, *Records of the Past*, v. p. 98). And if this be so, suggests the further possibility that the $\text{𒌶 𒍪 𒍪} -\text{𒍪}𒌶$ (= $\text{𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪} -\text{𒍪}𒌶$) of our own text should be read not *A-ḥar-ri*, 'the land of the West,' but *A-mur-ri*, 'the land of the Amorites.'

With *mihîṣ ṣtri* 'the crushing of the back (?)' cf. the phrase *maḥiṣ muḥḥi Zi*, which occurs in a mutilated passage of a hymn to Marduk (K. 8717 *obv.* l. 15), and which Brünnow renders doubtfully by 'crushing the head of the Storm-god' (*Zeitschr.* 1890, p. 61).

(b.)

The other inscription is only a fragment, and therefore, though it contains Aššurbêlkala's name, cannot with full certainty be ascribed to him. It seems to be an address or dedication to Rammân, and closely resembles in point of style the opening address to Ninib of the great inscription of Aššurnāṣirpal. It is published by Layard on page 73 of his volume of *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character* (where it is described as coming from Kalah Sherghat); but not a few of the signs have evidently been misunderstood, and, in consequence, erroneously transcribed. I have endeavoured to correct and—here and there—to restore the text, as follows:

Text.

1. $\text{𒍪 𒌶 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪}$
2. $\text{𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪}$
3. $\text{𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪}$

4. 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺
𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺
5. 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺
𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺
6. 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺
𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺
7. 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺
𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺
8. 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺
𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺

Transliteration.

1. a-na Rammâni ašarid šam-ê irši-ti
2. ûmê ez-zu-tê ša a-na ri-gim
3. i-ru-bu ra-aš pu-ul-ḫi šad-lu
4. nam-ri-ri ilu ša ina ba-li-šu purussî šam-ê irši-tim
5. ul iš-ša-ka-nu nû-ri la na-mar gab-bu
6. tê-ni-šê-tê a-na mu-rim mar-ka-as šam-ê irši-tim
7. bêli-šu Aššur-bêl-ka-la ša ilu ina puḫur Aššur za-kar
šumi-šu
8. iz-kur maš-šu-u šakkanak ilâni

Translation.

1. To Rammân, prince of heaven [and] earth
2. glorious days, who for the fame
3. entered, who inspires fear, broad
4. brightness, the god without whom the decisions of heaven
[and] earth
5. come not to pass, the lights shine not, all [of them] (?)
6. mankind, to make fast the boundary of heaven and earth
.
7. his lord, Aššurbêlkala, for whom god throughout the
whole of Assyria the renown of his name
8. has noised abroad, the hero, governor of the gods

NOTES.

4. Cf. the annals of Aššurnaširpal, W.A.I. i. 17, 3, *ilu ša ina balušu purussî šamié iršitim la ipparsu.*
5. *nuri la namar.* This amendment I propose with great hesitation. The form of the phrase *nuri la namar* 'the lights (are) without shining,' that is 'shine not' would be parallel to that of such familiar expressions as *rubû la šanan* 'a prince without an equal,' *ašar la amaru* 'a place that is not seen.'
6. *ana murim, etc.* This phrase also occurs in the annals of Aššurnaširpal, *l.c.* 2. My rendering is conjectural; but that the root idea of *murim* is that of 'shutting' or 'making fast' is evident from the following glosses: W.A.I. ii. 23, 19, $\text{𐎶 𐎠 𐎶 𐎵 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶}$ | 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *mu-rim ba-a-bi=da-al-tum* (a door), *l.c.* 33, 𐎶 𐎠 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 | 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *mu-rim dalti=nu-ku-šu-u* (the hinge?). Cf. Arab. رأى 'to twist a rope tight, mend.'
7. With *ina puḥur Aššur*, cf. W.A.I. i. 14, 102, *ina napḥar mat Ašur gabbi.*
8. *maššû.* It is difficult to determine whether the *ductus literarum* points to 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *massû* or to 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *māššû* as the true reading. The difference, however, appears to be only one of form. For the meaning cf. W.A.I. iv. 27, 63a, *bêlum napīšti māti massû šamié u iršitim*, 'O Lord, the life of the land, the hero of heaven and earth' (Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 498), and W.A.I. ii. 47, 15a, where 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 | 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 is explained by 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 | 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *maššû ašaridu.*

II.


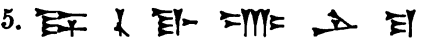
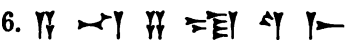









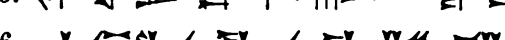
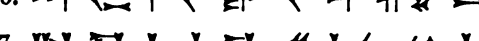



AT the end of the monolith-inscription of Šamsi-Rammân III., King of Assyria, there is mention made of a Marduk-balatsu-ikbi, upon whom the king, in the course of his campaign in Chaldæa and Babylonia, inflicted a signal defeat. This Marduk-balatsu-ikbi, who may be inferred—though he is not expressly stated—to have been King of Babylon, has been generally identified with the king of the same name mentioned in the inscription before us, and—in the absence of any more precise indications from other quarters—we have thus a fixed point from which to determine its date more or less closely, for it was in the year 812 B.C. that Šamsi-Rammân made the expedition against Babylon, which ended, as it seems, with the overthrow of Marduk-balatsu-ikbi.

The inscription covers the face of a small oval black stone, evidently a land-mark. At the top are three divine emblems of the kind usually found on these monuments, while the middle of the face is adorned with a rudely executed bas-relief representing the “dagger-bearer” and—presumably—his royal patron. The lines are separated by division-marks, and the characters, with few exceptions, are as clumsily formed and executed as the figures. The text, though it runs in the conventional style, is difficult, owing to the occurrence here and there of unusual terms and expressions.

The stone was found by Mr. Rassam at Abu Habba, and is now preserved in the British Museum.

Text.

1. 
2. 
3. 

4.  5.  6.  7.  8.  9.  10.  11.  12.  13.  14.  15.  16.  17.  18.  19.  20. 

Transliteration.

1. šal-mu Rammânu-êtir naš paṭri Marduk
2. um-mat Sin Šamši u Nergal
3. pa-liḥ Nabû u Marduk ka-rib
4. šarri bêli-šu Marduk-balaṭ-su-iḫ-bi
5. apil-šu rabu-u êpuš-ma
6. a-na ṣa-at û-mê
7. a-na zir-šu u pir'i-šu
8. u-kîn
9. man-nu arku-u
10. ša šal-mu

11. u narû
12. an-na-a
13. ub-ba-tu
14. lu-u ina
15. ši-pir ni-kil-tu u-ḫal-la-ḫu
16. Marduk bêlu rabu-u iz-zi-iš
17. lik-kil-mê-šu-ma šumi-šu u zir-šu
18. lu-ḫal-liḫ Nabû dup-šar gim-ri
19. mênûti ûmê-šu arkûti kabrûti
20. na-šir-šu la-li-ê balâti luš-bi

Translation.

1. The image of Rammânu-êtir, priest of Marduk,
2. worshipper of Sin, Šamaš and Nergal,
3. who fears Nabû and Marduk (the god) who blesses the sacrifice of
4. the king, his lord, Marduk-balašsu-iḫbi,
5. his eldest son made, and
6. for the eternity of days,
7. for his seed and his offspring,
8. set up.
9. Whoever hereafter
10. the image
11. and inscription,
12. this one,
13. overthrows,
14. or with
15. work of cunning destroys,
16. may Marduk, the great lord, in anger
17. look upon him, and his name and his seed
18. destroy! Nabû, the scribe of the universe,
19. (through) numbers of his days long (and) large
20. protecting him, with the fulness of life may he be filled!

NOTES.

1. *naš patri*, literally 'dagger-bearer,' was the priest whose duty it was to cut out those portions of the victim which belonged to the gods, and to offer them up in their presence. Besides the ecclesiastical there was also a military order of *naš paṣrūtu*. See Jeremias in Delitzsch's *Beiträge*, I. p. 289, and Tallqvist, *Babylonische Schenkungsbriefe*, p. 23.
2. *ummat*. The reading here is not certain, for the character which I have taken for *um* is somewhat defaced. Moreover there seems to be no other instance in Babylonian or Assyrian of *ummat*, *ummatu* with the meaning which from its position in the sentence it ought to have here, viz. that of 'priest' or 'worshipper.' Nevertheless, if the reading be correct, I venture to regard it as the Babylonian equivalent of the Arabic عالم , which, among other meanings, is said to have that of *sectator* and *summus sacerdos*.
3. *karib* I take to be an epithet of Marduk 'the god of sacrifice,' or 'the god who blesses the sacrifice.' The word occurs several times as a divine name or epithet in the Babylonian contracts published by Peiser, and always in connection with Marduk or his temple: e.g. *inḫu (ilu) karib bābi papaḫu Marduk* (*Babylonische Verträge*, xxviii. 5), *pān (ilu) karibi ina Esaggil bit Marduk* (*ib.* lxiii. 2). In all such cases Peiser renders it by 'Opfergott.'
19. My rendering of this difficult line is only conjectural. The character which has the form of *mé* on the stone seems in reality to be the plural-sign. The reading of the character printed as 𒍪 is not quite certain, for just above it—and underneath the *šar* of the preceding line—there is a seemingly superfluous wedge, which, although other characters have taken unusual forms on this monument, makes it a matter of some difficulty

to understand the intention of the scribe. However, if KIL-MEŠ be the true reading, it looks as if it should form a parallel to the BU-MEŠ which immediately precedes, and, as a matter of fact, KIL itself is quoted with the meaning of *arāku* (W.A.I. iii. 61, 2, 30). For KIL as representing *kabāru*, *kabru*, see Brünnow, *List*, p. 413.

[The above two articles were sent in in December, 1891, but their publication was unavoidably delayed.—R.H. D.]



III.

THE following inscription is on a fragment of a cylinder of clay, brought by Mr. Rassam from Babylon, and now (Rm. III. 105) in the British Museum.

It is unfortunately too mutilated to enable us to gain more than a general idea of its meaning, and the style, even of the parts which remain, is often obscure and difficult. It was written by or for a certain Nabû-šumu-imbi, who, in addition to various ecclesiastical titles, calls himself *šaķu*, or governor of Borsippa.

The first column opens with an invocation, in which, in the present state of the text, it is difficult to find and follow the main thread, or to distinguish the gods directly addressed from those incidentally mentioned. We then learn that an important work (probably a dam or embankment), which the negligence of certain officers had allowed to fall into decay, was taken in hand and restored by Nabû-šumu-imbi.

The narrative now passes abruptly to the main incident. In the reign of Nabû-šumu-iškun, the king, son of Dakuri, the men of Babylon, in alliance, as it seems, with Chaldæans, Aramæans, and the men of Dilbat, attacked the men of Borsippa, and a riot ensued, the disturbance lasting for many days. Borsippa was captured, and the house of Nabû-šumu-imbi surrounded by the hostile party. Prominent in the ranks of the insurgents was the *šatam* or judge of Êzida, Nabû-šumu-iddina. In fact, it seems certain from what remains of the end of Col. I. that he must have taken advantage of the state of confusion to seize the governorship of Borsippa. Though there is not enough of the record to enable us to tell precisely how the matter ended, still the accent of gratitude and confidence that marks the final address to the gods leaves no doubt that the situation was eventually solved to the satisfaction of Nabû-šumu-imbi.¹


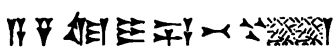
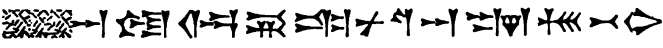
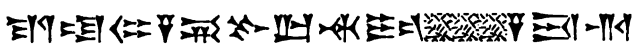
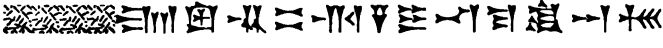



¹ The end, like the beginning, of the inscription is sadly mutilated, so much so that it is sometimes difficult to tell whether the subject is a male or a female divinity.


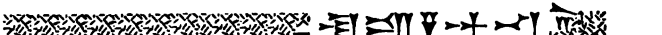
In order to fix the date of these interesting events, there is one point of fact from which we can start, and that is the mention of the *king* Nabû-šumu-iškun. Now the only king of Babylon of that name otherwise known to us was a contemporary of Rammân-nirâri II., king of Assyria, that is, he must have lived about 890 B.C., and there is nothing either in the style or in the matter of the document before us to disturb the conclusion that this is the king referred to. The fact that he is called *apil Dakuri* probably means simply that he came from Bit Dakuri, or the northern part of Chaldæa.


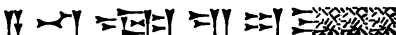











In the same way the phrase *apil Aššur* seems to suggest that, in spite of the genuinely Babylonian ring of his name, Nabû-šumu-imbi was of Assyrian extraction. For we know that the overthrow of Nabû-šumu-iškun by Rammân-nirâri was followed by a period of close intimacy and alliance between the peoples of Babylon and Assyria; and it may be that Nabû-šumu-imbi had profited by his Assyrian extraction or his Assyrian leanings, and that some such cause as this provoked the outbreak of the men of Babylon.

The inscription is now published for the first time.

Text.

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4. 


- 17. 
- 18. 
- 19. 
- 20. 

- 1. 
- 2. 
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- 10. 
- 11. 
- 12. 
- 13. 

14. 下 之 中 三 令 非 豸 上 三 州 合 豸 豸 人 豸 豸 以
豸 豸 豸 豸 人 豸 豸 合

15. 豸 豸 豸 豸 豸 豸 豸 豸 豸 豸 豸 豸 豸 豸 豸 豸 豸 豸
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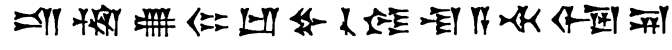

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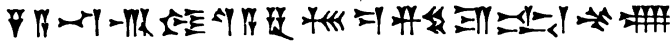

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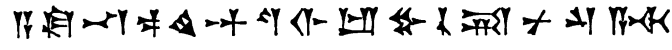

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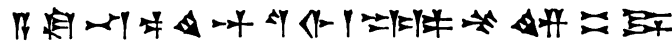

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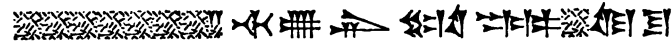
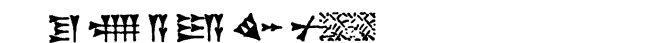
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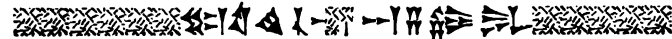
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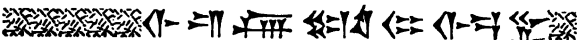



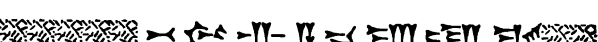



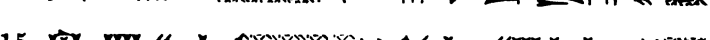

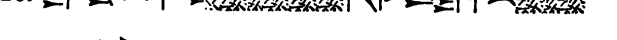

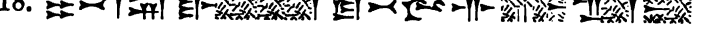

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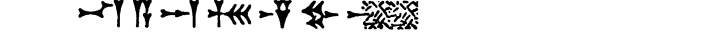
3. 


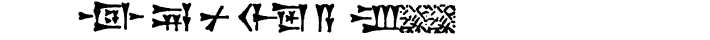
4. 


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- 21. 


- 22. 


- 23. 



- 24.
- 25.
- 26.
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- 30.
- 31.

Transliteration.

COL. I.

1. ni šu-bat šar-ḫi Nabû ša ki-i ê-ti-
-li (P)
2. bêltu dam-ga ka-nu-tu Ištarâti bê-lit da-ad-mi
ša-ga-pu-ur-ti i ša gim-ri
3. [NIN]-IB bêl bi-ri ša i-na ma-ḫar ilâni kali-
šu-nu il-la-ka ḫar-ra-ni
4. ilâni git-ma-li šu-pu-u na-ram Êa
5. ni-mê-ki u ši-tul-ti muš-ta-bi-li tê-ri-ê-ti
6. šarru-u-ti mu-ma-'-ir gim-ri na-din ḫattu
kessu u pali-ê a-gi-ê šarru-u-ti
7. NIN-IB git-ma-li aplu kun-nu u i-lit-ti
ru-bat ilâni Ê-ru-'-u-a

8. Ê-sag-ila bêl gim-ri šit-lu-ṭu na-ram Marduk
 9. Aša-ri aplu riš-tu-u a-ša-rid a-lik maḥ-ri ša it-ti a-bi
 a-li-di ša-ti
 10. [dân] ilâni šar ilâni rabûti ša i-na ši-taš
 u šil-la-an-šu
 11. ma-lik ram-ni-šu li-ḫu-u un-ni-
 ni šê-mu-u taš-li-ti rap-šu uz-[ni]
 12. ti-šu ka-bit-ti Igigi ap-pi i-lab-bi-nu-šu
 A-nun-na-ki
 13. mê-lam êllûti ḥa-lib na-mur-ra-ti ša pul-ḥa-
 a-ti ma-lu
 14. šu i-šak-ka-nu šib-ṭu u Lubaru (?)
 la i-šak
 15. u-a la-li ina ḥar-ba-a-ti mu-al-lid
 16. ti ša-ki-nu zâzu duḥ-da u meš-ri-ê a
 17. ilâni rabûti
 18. u-šam-mi-ḥi
 19. la iš-ša-an-na-ni
 20. ti ma

CONTINUATION OF COL. I.

1. šu-tê-šur ni-[ši]
 2. a-na Bar-sip
 3. i-šad-di-ḥi u-ru-ḥi
 4. aš-ruk-ka-ti šu-a-ti
 5.¹ u-raš ta-na-da-ti si-ma
 6. ša aš-ruk-ka-ti šu-a-ti i-na
 7. i-ḫu-pu-u-mi i-ni-šu il ên
 8. ša ul-tu û-mi pa-ni ul-tu ul-la-nu-u-a ša-ḫu ḫi-pi
 9. la i-pu-šu šip-ri šu-a-ti ia-a-ši Nabû-šumu-im-bi apil
 Aš
 10. ni-sak-ki tu-bît Nabû ša-ḫu Bar-sip du-uš-mu-u pa-liḫ
 ilu-u-ti-šu
 11. ra-bi-ti na-an-za-az maḥ-ri-šu ri-du-u mut-nin-nu-u
 12. ša a-na pa-ra-aš Nabû bêl mâtâti bêli i-ši-bu tuḫ-ḫu
 sa-an-tak

¹ In lines 5 and 6 the characters *si-ma* and *i-na* are no longer to be found upon the cylinder in its present state. I have restored them from a copy of the first column of this text made some years ago by Mr. Pinches.

13. šip-ri ša-a-ši u-ka-a-a-an-ni-mi u-šad-gil pa-ni-ia
 14. šip-ri ša-a-ši u-šar-ri-i-mi ê-pi-šu aḫ-bi iš-ša-ak-na-a-mi
 15. i-na Barsip maḥaz kit-ti u mi-ša-ri-ê ša-a-ti ri-ḥa-a-ti
 si-ḫi
 16. u mal-ma (P) ša-a-ti i-na pali-ê Nabû-šumu-iš-kun šarri
 apil Da-ku-ri
 17. amêlûti Bâbili amêlûti Bar-sip maḥaz gup-tê-ê-ti kišad
 Purātu
 18. gab-bi Kal-di A-ra-mi Dil-bat ûmê ma-'du-u-ti
 19. a-na lib-bi a-ḥa-meš kakki-šu-nu i-šê-êl-li a-ḥa-meš
 u-ra-sa-a-pu
 20. u it-ti amêlûti Bar-sip i-na êli ikli-šu-nu ip-pu-šu ṣu-la-
 a-ti
 21. Nabû-šumu-iddi-na apil Dan-Nabû tu-bît
 Nabû ša-tam Ê-zi-da
 22. na ram-ni-šu i-na êli Nabû-šumu-im-bi
 apil Aššur ša-ḫu Bar-sip iš-kun

COL. II.

1. i-na ša mu-ši ki-ma šar-ra-ki-iš nak-ri a-ḥa Ḥa
 2. za-ma-nu-u lim-nu-u-ti su-ku-ku-u-ti la šê-mi-ia
 si-ik
 3. a-na Ê-zi-da u-tir-mi Ê-zi-da u Bar-sip
 4. iṣ-ba-tu-mi êli âlu u ê-kur ri-ig-mi u ši
 5. iš-kun-u-mi ip-pu-šu ṣu-la-a-ti u bît Nabû-šumu
 6. ša-ḫu Bar-sip i-na mu-ši šu-mi amêlûti Bar-sip u
 7. ša a-na ri-ṣu-ut a-ḥa-meš iz-zi-zu il-mu-u-mi ina
 mid-pa-na
 8. a-di na-pa-ḫi Šam-ši ip-pu-šu ta-nu-ka-a-ti ul-tu li
 9. a-di na-pa-ḫi Šam-ši Nabû-šumu-im-bi apil Aššur-ša-
 ḫu Bar [-sip]
 10. ti u-ṣal-li Nabû ki-šu-šu-u-a (?) ia-'nu
 11.

CONTINUATION OF COL. II.

1. ru-bu
 2. si nu-uḫ-ši
 3. šu-u ti-ra-a-nu aš-ruk

4. Nabû-šumu-im-bi apil Aššur ša-ku [Barsip
.
5. li-ḫi-šu [na]-an-za-az maḥ
6. ti-šu ra-bi-ti liḫ-bu
7. lim-gur sa-li-mi dumku
8. ruk-šu u a-na kiš-ti
9. (meš) bê-lit Ištârâti
10. il-ti rim-ni-ti ba-na
11. mit-gu-rat a-ḫur-rit ši-it
12. la in-nin-nu-u ki [-bit-su?]
13. i-na ma-ḫar pa-ri-is purûsu šam-ê u
14. apil Bêli û-mi-šam lit-taš-ḫar a-bu
15. lu-u uš-šip (meš) arḫûti šanâti
16. ba-laṭ na [-piš?] na ši-rik-ti
17. pir'u lu-u
18. i-na ê-kal ku mit-gu-rat
19. it-ti ê Bar-sip li-ku-un ri [-u-tu?]
20. li-ṭi-ib šu êli šar ilâni bêl bêli ri-šit
21. u Bar-sip na ma-ḫar Nabû u Na-na-a
ilâni šur-bu [-ti]
22. liš-ba-a lit i-na ša-aš-mi ḫab-li taḫazi dan-nu
u a-lak
23. ša-a-ši pir'u šu-a-šu ri-šu-us-si a-la-ki
šum--ḫut nak-(?)
24. zâzu ma ḫégallu ma-'-da li-ma-al-la-a ḫâtâ-šu
i-na
25. u i-na Lubâru šal-ba-bi apil Bêl ra-a-mi ga
26. paṭ-ri [el-] la-tê-šu ša-lim-ti lu-ša-ak-na-si â-bi-šu
lim-nu-u-[ti]
27. pul ki-ma la-'-mi ilu-u-ti-ku-nu u lib-bi [-ku-
nu?]
28. a-na nišê (?) dar-ka-a-ti at-ta mi-ên lu tuk-la-šu
29. i-bi šu-uš-šu a-na û-mi da-ru-u-ti ta-nit-ti
30. iḫ-ri-bi-šu ḡu-li-ê ša Nabû-šumu-im-bi ša-ku Bar-sip
31. mu-šar ša aš-ruk-ka-ti ša du-ru Ê-zi-da

Translation.

COL. I.

1. the dwelling of the powerful one, Nabû,
who like the lord
2. the gracious lady, who establishes the Istars,
queen of mansions, the mighty one
of the whole,
3. NIN-IB, lord of vision, who in the presence
of the gods all of them has gone (his) way,
4. the powerful gods, the exalted one,
beloved of Êa,
5. (lord of) wisdom and decrees, who proclaims commands,
6. kingship, ruler of the whole, who gives
the sceptre, the throne and the reign, the crown of
kingship,
7. NIN-IB, the powerful, the rightful son,
offspring of the princess of the gods Zarpanit,
8. Êsagila, lord of the whole, victorious,
beloved of Marduk,
9. Asari, the chief son, the leader going before, who with
(his) father, (his) begetter
10. judge of the gods, king of the great gods,
who in his rising and going down
11. counsellor of himself (?), receiver of
sighs, hearer of prayers, broad of ear
12. soul, the Igigi bowed down
their faces before him, the Anunnaki
13. the lustre of the shining ones, covered
with brightness, who is full of terror
14. established the sceptre
15. enjoyment (?) in the midst (?) begetting
.
16. making overflow, abundance and righteousness
.
17. the great gods



18. made to flourish
 19. is not to be contended with

CONTINUATION OF COL. I.

1. ruling the people
2. to Borsippa
3. enters the way
4. this dam (?)
5. the crown of glory, the insignia
6. of this dam
7. decayed, grew weak
8. which from former days, from beyond me, the governor,
 the overseer
9. did not do:—this work I Nabû-šumu-imbi son of Aššur,
 governor of Borsippa,
10. the prince, *tu-bit* of Nabû, lord of Borsippa, the
 opulent one, who fears his great godhead,
11. who stands before him, the ruler, the prayerful,
12. who according to the command of Nabû, lord of the
 lands, the lord, the prince, (is) regular in devotion (?)
13. this work I established, I entrusted to myself,
14. this work I laid the foundation of, I made, I spake,
 (and) it came to pass.
15. In Borsippa, this city of justice and righteousness,
 (there were) destruction (and) rebellion,
16. and this siege (?)—In the reign of Nabû-šumu-iškun
 the king, the son of Dakuri,
17. the men of Babylon, the men of Borsippa, the city of
 the joining together of the banks of the Euphrates:
18. the whole of the Chaldæans, the Aramæans, the men
 of Dilbat, for many days
19. at one another their weapons they discharged, one
 another they wounded,
20. and with the men of Borsippa upon their fields they
 made war.

21. Nabû-šumu-iddina, son of Dan-nabû, *tubtu* of Nabû, judge of Êzida,
 22. himself over against Nabû-šumu-imbi son of Aššur governor of Borsippa made

COL. II.

1. In the midst of the night like (?) foes

2. the adversary, the evil ones (?) those who were not obedient to me
3. to Êzida I brought back, Êzida and Borsippa
4. they took: over the city and the temple a din and
5. they made, they made war, and the house of Nabû-šumu- [imbi?]
6. lord of Borsippa, in the night those men of Borsippa and
7. who to help one another stood, they besieged, with the bow and
8. until the rising of the sun they made war, from (the evening?)
9. until the rising of the sun Nabû-šumu-imbi son of Aššur, governor of Borsippa
10. entreated Nabû (?)

CONTINUATION OF COL. II.

1.
2. blessing
3. graciousness
4. Nabû-šumu-imbi, son of Aššur, governor of Borsippa
5. in front of him (?), who stands in his presence

6. his great godhead, may he speak
7. may he be gracious, favour, mercy
8. [may he bestow] upon him, and for a guerdon



9. lady of the Ištar
10. the gracious goddess, who creates
11. the propitious, the noble lady of the rising
[of the sun]
12. whose command is not to be resisted
13. in the presence of who makes the decrees
of heaven [and earth]
14. son of Bel daily may he speak on behalf
of
15. may he increase two-fold long
years
16. preservation of life as a gift
.
17. offspring
18. in the palace propitious
19. with Borsippa may he establish
[lordship]
20. may it be good towards the king
of the gods, the lord of lords, the chief of
21. and Borsippa in the presence
of Nabû and Nanâ the great gods
22. may he be satisfied with offspring in ruin,
fight, battle strong and
23. [may] she [upon] this [her] descendant her help
[bestow ?] when he goes to destroy [his enemies ?]
.
24. with fulness and abundance amply may she fill his
hands
25. and with Lubâru (?) the son
of Bel, who loves
26. [with] the sword of his might in safety may he subdue
his evil foes
27. fear (?) like (?) your godhead and your
heart
28. for future people mayest thou whoever thou art his
strength
29. proclaim his name during everlasting days, (his)
majesty

30. his prayers, the petitions of Nabû-šumu-imbi, governor of Borsippa.
31. The inscription of the dam of the wall of Êzida.












NOTES.

COL. I.

1. For this form of Nabû see, e.g. W.A.I. iv. 20, 3, 7.
2. *šagapurti*. Cf. W.A.I. ii. 31, 62, *é-til-lum* | *ša-ga-pi-ru*.
3. $\rightarrow\text{Y} \text{C} \text{Y} \text{=}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y} \text{Y}$ is the god of the South or midday sun, according to W.A.I. ii. 57, 51c, a form of NIN-IB.
7. The group $\rightarrow\text{Y} \text{Z} \rightarrow\text{Y} \text{C} \text{Y} \text{=}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y} \text{Y}$ I take to be equivalent to $\rightarrow\text{Y} \text{Z} \text{=}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Y} \text{Y}$, which (W.A.I. iii. 67, 66c) is explained by NIN-IB *ša mé-ib-ri*. For Zarpanit as equivalent to Erûa (or Erû'a) see, e.g. W.A.I. ii. 54, 59e.
9. With the phrase *Asari aplu rištû*, W.A.I. ii. 55, 68c, where *Asari* is explained by $\rightarrow\text{Y} \text{C} \text{Y} \text{=}\text{Y} \text{=}\text{Y} \text{=}\text{Y} \text{=}\text{Y}$ $\rightarrow\text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{=}\text{Y}\text{Y} \text{C} \text{=}\text{Y}\text{Y}$.
14. $\rightarrow\text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y}$. See Delitzsch, *Waterbuch*, p. 191.

CONTINUATION OF COL. I.

4. *ašrukkati* I have translated doubtfully by *dam*. The text is unfortunately in too mutilated a condition to enable us to determine inferentially the nature of the work referred to. In point of form *ašrukkati* looks like a feminine plural of *ašrukku*, of which, however, I am acquainted with no other instance. In W.A.I. ii. 29, 69 the similar form *ašurrakku* appears as the explanation of $\text{Y} \text{Z} \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{=}\text{Y} \text{Y}$ and in connection with the words *mulû* 'mound,' *mušpalu* 'depression,' and *šuplu* 'hole.'
5. That *uraš* means some kind of garment, perhaps a head-dress or crown, is clear from the following glosses:—

W.A.I. v. 28, 60  *mud-ru-u* | *u-ra-šu* compared with W.A.I. ii. 7, 42e   (      ) *šu-bat a-riš-ti*; and W.A.I. v. 28, 59  *mud-ru-u* | *kar-ru* compared with l.c. 10 *kar-ru* | *šu-bat a-dir-tu*.

7. *ikupūmi*. The verbal forms in *mi* are a peculiar feature of this text. The suffix *mi* seems to correspond to the *ni* which, as a sort of modal sign, is not uncommon in verbal forms, especially in the language of the letters; but the exact meaning of which is difficult to determine or to express. Cf. e.g. K 613 rev. 23-28 (W.A.I. v. 54, 2), *a-bu-tu ša u-du-u-ni* | *a-na šarri bēli-ia* | *as-sa-pa-ra* | *šarru bēli* | *ki-i ša i-la-u-ni* | *li-pu-uš*, 'the intelligence which I know to the king my lord I send, may the king my lord according as he wills do.' On the other hand in *uḫānnimi* (line 13) we seem to have a combination of the elements *ni* and *mi*.
10. The *tu-bitu* was some kind of temple official. Of the character of his functions nothing is known, though it is clear from contracts that have come down to us that certain dues were claimed by the *tu-bitu* as by the *naš-patri*. See e.g. Peiser, *Babylonische Verträge*, xci. I suggest that the characters should be read *erib bitu* as the title of the priest who in the discharge of his functions *introit ad altare dei*. Cf. Strassmaier, A.V. 1114, where (s.v. *tumalutu*) mention is quoted of (*amēlu*) *erib bitutu pān Bēli*, etc. *dūšmū*, if that be the true reading, I propose to connect with Arab. *دسم* 'fat.' Cf. Heb. *דשן* as in *דשן הארץ* 'the opulent of the earth.'
12. *tukku* might be explained formally as the permansive II. 1 from a root *tikū*, whence we have the verbal noun seen in the phrases *tik riḫsi* (Tiglathpileser I., Col. I., 42), *tik šamiē* (Sargon, *Nimrūd*, 15). In each of these places, however, *tik* must mean

something like 'stroke, impetus,' which does not throw much light on the present passage. In point of meaning the conditions of the problem would be satisfied, if we could assume a connection with the Arab. تَقَى 'fear of god,' تَقَى 'pious.' For *santak* in the sense of 'regular, regularly,' see J.R.A.S. (July, 1891).

14. *ušarrîmi*, perhaps for *ušar'i* 'I laid the foundation of,' as in the phrase *išisu apšá ušar'imma*, Nebuchadnezzar, Col. II. 23 (Abel and Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte*). Cf. also Aššurnasirpal, II. 87, *ékal ina Tilûli ušarri*, which Peiser (*Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, I. p. 86) translates by 'in den Palast in Tilûli zog ich ein.'
- 15 and 16. These lines are extremely difficult owing, in the first place, to the redundancy of *šâti*, and, in the second, to the obscurity of the words *rihâti* and $\text{𒌦} \text{𒌦}$ *rihâti*. I connect with the rt. *rihû* 'to destroy.' See Zimmern, *Busspsalmen*, pp. 83, 93. Perhaps it should be taken closely with *sihi* so that the phrase would mean 'the destruction (or suppression) of the revolt.' Of $\text{𒌦} \text{𒌦}$ the reading is quite uncertain. I can only suggest that in view of Col. II. l. 7 it may be connected with *lamû* according to the type 𒌦 .
17. *maḥaz guptêti*. The following gloss (W.A.I. ii. 39, 49 and 50) may throw some light on this difficult passage: 𒌦 | *gup-pu-tu* (l. 50) compared with l. 49, *pu-uḥ-ri* 𒌦 | *pu-uḥ-ḥu-rum*. If these comparisons are valid, *guptêti* would seem to be a feminine abstract with the meaning of *puḥru* i.e. 'bringing together, uniting.'
20. *ṣulâti*, from a root 𒌦 (?), whence come *ṣaltu*, *ṣêlûtu* *ṣiltu*, to which last our form is perhaps related as *ṣubâtu* to *ṣibtu*.

COL. II.

6. *šumi* seems to stand for *šunu*. See note on Col. I. (cont.), l. 7.
8. *tanukāti*. Perhaps connected with *tukumtu*, pl. *tukmâtê*.
10. The characters which I have read doubtfully as *kišušûa* are almost obliterated. Mr. Pinches thinks that the true reading is *ħašušûa*. In either case I am unable to suggest a satisfactory explanation.

CONTINUATION OF COL. II.

5. *liḫišu*. If this be the true reading, cf. the root 𒀭𒀭 seen in the phrase *ina laḫ énišu*, W.A.I. v. 9, 107.
11. 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 I have read doubtfully as *aḫurrit*, regarding it as the construct of the fem. of *aḫru*, which we find explained by *itlu* (W.A.I. II. 1, 172-3) and *ašaridu* (W.A.I. iv. 70, 17).
14. I restore *littaškar abûtu* as a phrase equivalent in meaning to the more usual *liḫbat abûtu*.
15. 𒀭𒀭𒀭 is plainly to be restored after 𒀭𒀭.
26. *lušaknasi* for *lušaknaši*.
28. Cf. W.A.I. II. 35, 11, *dar-ka-tum | aḫ-ra-a-tu. mien* perhaps for *min* as seen in *mimma (min-ma)*.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The following five interesting letters (Nos. 1-5) have appeared in the *Academy*:—

1. THE NEW BILINGUAL HITTITE INSCRIPTION.

Dahabiyeh *Istar*, Cairo,
Dec. 28, 1891.

The Hittite cylinder, of which the Ashmolean Museum has become the fortunate possessor, is, next to the lost boss of Tarkondêmos, the most important monument of the kind yet discovered. It was found in Kilikia, and is of hæmatite. The figures and characters upon it are exquisitely engraved; indeed, from a merely artistic point of view, it is one of the finest cylinders with which I am acquainted. For me, however, the interest of the cylinder chiefly lies in the fact that the four Hittite hieroglyphs inscribed upon it are accompanied by three lines of cuneiform, and that this new "bilingual" confirms in a very gratifying way my system of Hittite decipherment.

The cuneiform characters, which resemble those found on certain of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, read "Indisilim the son of Serdamu, the worshipper of the goddess Iskhara." After the cuneiform inscription come the figures of the owner of the cylinder and of a deity. The owner stands with an offering in his hand; behind the deity, who is also standing with outstretched arms, are the four Hittite hieroglyphs of which I have spoken.

The last two of them occur on another hæmatite seal found in Kilikia, and now in the Ashmolean Museum, upon

which a paper of mine was published two years ago. I there showed that, if my system of Hittite decipherment is correct, they must represent the name of a goddess whose figure appears upon the seal. The cylinder of Indisilim proves that the name is that which was pronounced Iskhara in Assyrian.

Before the name of the goddess come two hieroglyphs, the second of which I cannot identify in spite of repeated examinations. It may be intended for the arm with a dagger in the hand, in which case it would signify "great." But it has more resemblance to the character which in Old Egyptian represented a "district." The first hieroglyph is the goat's head (*tarku*), which I have shown elsewhere must mean "prince," as it interchanges with the ideograph of "king." Now, in the *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* (xiii. 3, 4, p. 160), M. Bouriant has published a corrected copy of the treaty between Ramses II. and the Hittites, which was engraved on the walls of Karnak. We learn from this that the Hittite goddess, invoked by the side of the god Suteteh, was "Shashkhir, the regent of the mountains." A very slight change in the form of the first character of the name would give us *Âshkhir* instead of *Shashkhir*; and it must, therefore, remain doubtful whether the name of the Hittite deity was actually *Iskhara*, which is given in the cuneiform tablets as the equivalent of the Babylonian *Istar*, or whether *Iskhara* is a Babylonian name, which has been assimilated to the Hittite *Shashkhir* on account of the likeness of sound. In any case, in the goddess of the Kilikian seal we must see the Hittite goddess of the treaty; and since she is there called "the regent of the mountains," we may conjecture that the unidentified second hieroglyph on the cylinder denotes a "mountain," the whole inscription reading "the regent of the mountain-land, *Iskhara*."

From the *Academy*,
Jan. 9, 1892.

A. H. SAYCE.

2. A BURMESE ANECDOTE.

Ealing, Feb. 5, 1892.

SIR,—Herewith an anecdote from Burmese literature. I have an idea that the same kind of story has been told of some one else, but cannot recollect where. Perhaps some of your readers may know.

“When Pingala (afterwards Devadatta) reigned in Bārānasi, the most excellent lord (Gotama Buddha) was his son. As Rājā Pingala was very gruff in his mode of addressing people, his subjects did not love him, and prayed for his speedy removal.

“When Pingala died, and the future Buddha had ascended the throne, he observed one of the doorkeepers weeping. On asking why he wept, the man replied: ‘Dear son, I do not weep because I loved your late father; but he used such bad language in this life, that I feel sure that if he does the same in hell King Yama will not be able to keep him, but let him go, and he will come back to this world. That is why I weep.’” (*From the “Maniratanapbn.”*)

R. F. ST. ANDREW ST. JOHN.

3. A BURMESE ANECDOTE.

*Dedham School, Essex,
Feb. 16, 1892.*

SIR,—“A Burmese Anecdote” quoted by Mr. R. F. St. A. St. John in the *Academy* of February 13, forms part of the Mahāpingala-jātaka (Fausböll i, vol. ii. pp. 240-242), and was translated into English in the *Folk Lore Journal* by the writer of this note.

It was not Pingala’s rough language, but his cruel deeds, that made his subjects rejoice at the accession of a new king. The porter, whose head had now some rest from his late master’s blacksmith-like fist, wept, because he feared that Hell’s warders and even Yama himself would get a taste of the departed king’s mighty blows upon their pates, and unable to endure them, would release him, and bring him

back to this life. Buddha comforts the porter by telling him that those who had gone to another world will not return in "the body" to this world.

R. MORRIS.

4. THE BEGINNINGS OF PERSIAN HISTORY.

*Athenæum Club, S. W.,
Feb. 15, 1892.*

SIR,—The publication of another volume of the "Records of the Past" is a welcome incident for those students who like to unravel the intricacies of early history, and have not the advantage of being able to read the Egyptian and Assyrian records in the original. Perhaps you will allow me to comment on some problems which have suggested themselves in reading the inscriptions referring to Cyrus published in Prof. Sayce's new volume.

Cyrus calls himself in his own inscriptions King of Ansan or Anzan, and the same title is given to him in the inscription of Nabonidus from Sippara. The name Ansan has given rise to a sharp polemic—Oppert, Winckler, and Nöldeke denying, and Rawlinson, Sayce, Halévy, and others affirming, that it means simply Elam, which itself means The Highlands. It seems to me that the latter view is established beyond all doubt, and Prof. Sayce's arguments are conclusive. Among them is a quotation from a lexical tablet, published in the second volume of *The Inscriptions of Western Asia* (xlvii. 18), in which Ansan is distinctly given as the equivalent of Elam.

That Cyrus should style himself King of Elam was a startling revelation to some people, and yet it was not so strange after all. The Elamites¹ or "mountaineers" styled themselves, as we learn from the second column in the Achaemenian inscriptions, Hapirdi. This was converted by the Greeks into *Ἀμάρδοι* or *Μάρδοι*, just as they converted the Persian Bardhiya and the Babylonian Burziya into

¹ The Semites so called them, whence their Greek name of Elymeans.

Σμέρδης or *Μέρδης*, both names meaning simply the Mard or Bard. The native name of the Elamites, therefore, was the Bards or Mards (see Halévy, *Babylonian Record*, iv. 76).

Now, Ctesias, among his many blundering statements, distinctly calls Cyrus the son of a Mardian robber; and Herodotus and others had already told us that he called his eldest son *Μέρδης* or the Mard, while he repeatedly tells us that Susa was the capital of the Achaemenian kings. There were ample reasons, therefore, for suspecting a close connexion between Cyrus and Elam.

The fact that he should call himself King of Ansan was, nevertheless, remarkable. That he and his people were Persians there can be no doubt whatever; and Darius, who claims to descend from the same stock, styles himself distinctly an Aryan and a Persian. On the other hand, the Elamites or Mards were neither Persians nor Aryans. Their language and their race were not even Indo-European. It follows that Elam must at some date have been conquered by the Persians, whose king then took the name of King of Ansan or Elam. This seems clear. When, then, did this conquest take place? Cyrus in his cylinder inscription calls himself the son of Cambyses the great king, the king of the city of Ansan; the grandson of Cyrus the great king, king of the city of Ansan; and grandson of Tsaispis the great king, king of the city of Ansan (see his Cylinder Inscriptions, l. 21).

This inscription seems to establish two facts: first, the trustworthiness of the descent of Cyrus and Darius as given by Herodotus, with which it completely agrees; and the worthlessness of the statements of Ctesias on the same subject, when he calls Cyrus the son of Athadates, a Mardian brigand, and Argosti, a goat-herd. In the second place, it points to the fact that the Persian conquest of Ansan or Elam took place at least as early as the time of Tsaispis, or Teispes, as Herodotus calls him; and it seems very probable that Tsaispis was the first Persian leader who occupied it. This was suggested by E. Meyer in his *Geschichte des Alterthums*, and supported by an ingenious argument which does not

seem to have been noticed by English writers, although it throws an interesting light on the prophecies of Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

Jeremiah, prophesying at the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakin, *i.e.* about 604 B.C., still recognizes kings of Elam (c. xxv., v. 25). Prophesying again, at the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah, *i.e.* about 596, he writes :

“The word of the Lord that came to Jeremiah the prophet concerning Elam in the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah, king of Judah, saying, Thus saith the Lord of hosts: Behold, I will break the bow of Elam, the chief of their might. And upon Elam will I bring the four winds from the four quarters of heaven, and will scatter them toward all those winds; and there shall be no nation whither the outcasts of Elam shall not come; and I will cause Elam to be dismayed before their enemies, and before them that seek their life; and I will bring evil upon them, even my fierce anger, saith the Lord; and I will send the sword after them, till I have consumed them; and I will set my throne in Elam, and will destroy from thence king and princes, saith the Lord. But it shall come to pass in the latter days, that I will bring again the captivity of Elam, saith the Lord” (Jeremiah xlix. 34-39).

A few years later, namely, in the twelfth year after Jehoiakin had been carried away, *i.e.* in 586 B.C., we find Ezekiel writing:

“The strong among the mighty shall speak to him out of the midst of hell with them that help him, they are gone down, they lie uncircumcised, slain by the sword. Asshur is there. . . There is Elam and all her multitude round about her grave, all of them slain, fallen by the sword, which are gone down uncircumcised into the nether parts of the earth, which caused their terror in the land of the living; yet they have borne their shame with them that go down to the pit. They have set her a bed in the midst of the slain with all her multitude; her graves are round about him, all of them uncircumcised, slain by the sword; though their terror was caused in the land of the living, yet have they borne their

shame with them that go down to the pit ; he is put in the midst of them that be slain " (Jeremiah xxxii. 24, 25).

These passages have been understood to refer to the campaigns of Assurbanipal against Elam ; but this is impossible. Assurbanipal had then been dead some time. His reign extended from 668 to 626 ; nor did he destroy the kingdom as is implied in the prophecies. They evidently, as Meyer urges, contemplated the annihilation of the nation, which only followed on its conquest by the Persians ; and this probably took place about 596 B.C.

Having approximately fixed the date of the conquest of Elam, the next point that suggests itself for inquiry is, whence did the invading Persians come ? This question involves difficulties, and is perhaps fruitful of some suggestions which I will reserve for another letter.

H. H. HOWORTH.

5. THE HUNDRED AND TENTH PSALM.

*Oriental MSS. Department, British Museum,
Feb. 14, 1892.*

SIR,—While reflecting on the date of Psalm cx. with the Hebrew text before me, it struck me that the psalm contains an acrostic, and that the name embodied in it is no other than that of Simon, Hebrew שִׁמְעוֹן. The שׁ is the first letter in the word שֶׁבַע, which begins the oracle in v. 1 ; and the headings of the next three verses—viz. מִשֶּׁה, עֹמֵר, נִשְׁבַּע—complete the name שִׁמְעוֹן.

If this be so, the theory (lately advocated with so much force by Prof. Cheyne in his Bampton Lectures) that Simon the Maccabee was the person originally addressed in Psalm cx. would appear to receive a striking confirmation from an entirely unexpected quarter. After the introductory phrase, "The oracle of Yahweh to my lord," the psalmist, bearing the name of his lord vividly in mind, proceeds to weave that name, by means of an acrostic, into the divine oracle itself ; and one almost

hears the psalmist say, "The oracle of Yahweh to my lord, even to Simon: Sit thou on my right hand."

It would not be very difficult to make more or less plausible guesses as to the acrostic nature of the first letters of the remaining three verses, viz. the letters **Ḍ'N**: but, considering that competent critics look upon this part of the psalm as manifestly incomplete, the difficulty of finding a perfectly satisfactory solution for the **Ḍ'N** is at once explained. In fact, the break in the acrostic appears to confirm the theory that the latter half of the psalm is incomplete, and the theory of incompleteness may in its turn be held to confirm the acrostic theory. For, if the second part of the psalm wants a verse or two (more likely one than two), the acrostic must be imperfect also; and, as the theory of incompleteness and the acrostic theory have been proposed in perfect independence of one another, the fact of their mutual confirmation should appear to be of considerable importance.

With regard to the theological question involved in this subject, it is perhaps best to quote the well-weighed words of Prof. Driver in his "Introduction" to the Literature of the Old Testament, in a note on p. 363, where he says that the cogency of our Lord's well-known argument based on this psalm "is unimpaired, so long as it is recognized that the psalm is a Messianic one, and that the august language used in it of the Messiah is not compatible with the position of one who was a mere human son of David."

A very eminent Biblical critic, to whom I made a private communication on the acrostic, before making it public, has drawn my attention to the fact that the idea of acrostic psalms in general had occurred to Bickell (see his *Conspectus rei Syrorum Literariae*, p. 20), and also to the late, much lamented Lagarde (see *Academy*, January 1, 1872). It will probably be worth while, on a future occasion, to review the observations made by these great scholars, and to make further investigations into the subject.


G. MARGOLIOUTH.

6—YÜAN CHWANG OR HIOUEN THSANG ?

The name of the celebrated Chinese pilgrim and translator is spelt in English in the following ways (among others):—

1. M. Stanislas Julien. Hiouen Thsang.
2. Mr. Mayers.¹ Huan Chwang.
3. Mr. Wylie. Yuén Chwàng.
4. Mr. Beal. Hiuen Tsiang.
5. Prof. Legge.² Hsüan Chwang.
6. Prof. Bunyiu Nanjio.³ Hhüen Kwàn.

Sir Thomas Wade has been kind enough to explain this diversity in the following note:—

“The pilgrim’s family name was 陳, now pronounced *ch’én*, but more anciently *ch’in*. His ‘style’ (official or honorary title) appears to have been both written 玄¹ and 元². In


modern Pekinese these would read in my transliteration (which is that here adopted by Dr. Legge)—

- 1 *hsüan chuang*.
- 2 *yüan chuang*.

The French still write for these two characters—

- 1 *hiouen thsang*,
- 2 *youan thsang*,

following the orthography of the Romish Missionaries, Premare and others, which was the one adapted to English usage by Dr. Morrison. I doubt, *pace* Dr. Edkins, that we are quite sure of the contemporary pronunciation, and should prefer, therefore, myself, to adhere to the French Hiouen, seeing that this has received the sanctification of Julien’s well-known translation of the pilgrim’s travels.”

¹ Reader’s Manual, p. 290.

² Fa Hien, p. 83, etc.

³ Catalogue, p. 435.



It is quite clear from the above that in the Chinese pronunciation of the first part of the name there is now nothing approaching to an English H. And of course Julien never intended to represent that sound by his transliteration. Initial H being practically silent in French, his Hiouen is really equal to Iouen, that is, to what *would be expressed by Yuan* in the scientific system of transliteration now being adopted for all Oriental languages. But the vowel following the initial letter is like the German ü, or the French u, so that *Yuan* would, for Indianists, express the right pronunciation of this form of the word. It is particularly encouraging to the important cause of a generally intelligible system of transliteration to find that this is precisely the spelling adopted by Sir Thomas Wade.

This is, however, only one of two apparently equally correct Chinese forms of writing the first half of the name. The initial sound in the other form of the word is unknown in India and England. Sir Thomas Wade was kind enough to pronounce it for me; and it seems to be nearly the German ch (the palatal, not the guttural,—as in Mädchen) or the Spanish x, only more sibilant. It is really first cousin to the Y sound of the other form, being pronounced by a very similar position of the mouth and tongue. If it were represented by the symbol HS (though there is neither a simple h sound nor a simple s sound in it), then a lazy, careless, easy-going HS would tend to fade away into a Y.

The latter half of the name is quite simple for Indianists. Using e for our English ch and ŋ for our English ng (ñ or m or ṃ), it would be simply cwāṅ.

Part of the confusion has arisen from the fact that some authors have taken one, and some the other, of the two Chinese forms of the name. The first four of the transliterations given above are based on Sir Thomas Wade's No. 2, the other two on his No. 1. All, except only that of Mr. Beal, appear to be in harmony with different complete systems of representing Chinese characters in English letters, each of which is capable of defence. The French, not having the sound of our English CH, for instance, have endeavoured

to reproduce it by TS. This may no longer be used even by French scholars; but in Julien's time reasons could be adduced in support of it.

It appears, therefore, that the apparently quite contradictory, and in some part unpronounceable, transliterations of this name, so interesting to students of Indian history, are capable of a complete and satisfactory explanation, and that the name, or rather title, is now in Pekinese—whatever it may have been elsewhere and in the pilgrim's time—YÜAN CHWĀNG.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

7. THE PUMMELO.

37, Harrington Road, South Kensington,
March 22, 1892.

DEAR SIR,—Can any member of your Society throw any light on the origin of the word 'Pummelo'? Its immediate parent is 'Pompelmoes,' by corruption into *Pummelnoes* or *nose!* and then making it singular—*pummelo*. But what of Pompelmoes? It is some Malay or Dutch name given to the large variety of 'Citrus decumana.' I understand that in the Mauritius, or some adjacent island, there is a cape called 'Pompelmoes' point—where the Pumelo is largely grown; but whether the fruit received its name from the cape, or the cape from this kind of fruit grown there, is not clear.

Then there are the Indian 'Sungtārā' and Kāmālā oranges. Rumphius, 200 years ago, said there were oranges in China called *Sēng Kam* and *Bit Kam*. These words appear to have something to do with Sung and Kam of the former. Perhaps some member of your Society may be able to throw some light on these points.—Yours faithfully,

G. BONAVIA.

8. THE KAMMAVĀCĀS.

Hampstead, March 21, 1892.

DEAR PROFESSOR,—In the last number of the "Journal" I had occasion to notice the fact of the sudden introduction of Burmese into the Pāli text of the Kammavācās. Since writing that article I have had the opportunity of studying a MS. in which whole sentences in Burmese follow the Pāli (not, of course, in the way of Nissaya, that is common enough).

Being on paper made from the bark of the mulberry and opening both ways, this MS. has, at first sight, all the appearance of an ordinary Shan book, but in reality it consists of a Collection of Kammavācās in Pāli and of Instructions to the Shin (Sāmaṇera) and Pyin Shin (Upasampanno) in Burmese, together with a few final directions in Shan.

The order of the Kammavācās differing from that of the other MSS., it may be well to mention it:—

1. Upasampadā.
2. Saṅghādisesā (Suddhantaparivāsa, chāratta, abbhāna) beginning:
Ahaṃ puttarakkhito bhikkhu . . .
4. Kaṭṭhinadussam.
4. Ticivarena avippavāsa.
5. Uposatha.

Mr. St. John has kindly pointed out to me that, the Burmese which I transliterated sunkrimvrat (p. 73) is *thōn gyane yūt*, i e. tikkhattum vattabbo.—Yours truly,

HERBERT BAYNES.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(January, February, March, 1892.)

I. GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

15th March, 1892.—Sir FREDERICK GOLDSMID, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The election since the last general meeting of the following gentlemen as members of the Society was announced:—

Members elected since May, 1891.

- 1 Mr. W. H. D. Rouse.
- 2 Mr. Hira Lal.
- 3 Mr. Edward T. Sturdy.
- 4 The Hon. P. Râma Nâthan.
- 5 Dr. Hirschfeld.
- 6 Mr. Hugh Nevill.
- 7 Dr. Grigsby.
- 8 Dr. Mann.
- 9 Mr. Frederick Jameson.
- 10 Mr. C. E. Biddulph.
- 11 Mr. B. A. Evetts.
- 12 Rev. J. N. Cushing.
- 13 Mr. A. Constable.
- 14 Mr. F. Sessions.
- 15 Mr. Nûrallah Shâh.
- 16 Mr. A. A. Bevan.
- 17 Mr. Consul Devey.
- 18 Mr. Ralph Slazenger.
- 19 Rev. B. Mitford Morton.
- 20 Mr. St. Andrew St. John.
- 21 Dr. J. Diaz de Leon.

The gift to the Society of a set of Oriental carpets for the three rooms of its Library from the Mahārāja of Bhaunagar was announced by the Secretary. He pointed out how thoroughly in accord with the best traditions of the Indian courts was such a gift from an enlightened prince to a Society of scholars, and how interesting a proof it was of the fact that the educated natives of India were beginning to realize the value to themselves and to their country of the work done by European scholars to interpret the East to the West, and more especially to make the English people acquainted with the great merits and real importance of Indian literature and thought. The Society passed a unanimous vote of thanks for this generous and beautiful gift, and elected the Mahārāja a life non-resident member of the Society.

Surgeon-General H. W. BELLEW read a paper 'On the Survival of Greek Words in Pukhto or the Language of the Afghans.' The lecturer, referring to his 'Inquiry into the Ethnography of Afghanistan,' published last year, and to the identification of certain Afghan tribes therein described as being of Greek descent, proceeded to illustrate the presence of Greek words in the Pukhto language by a number of examples in which the Pukhto word varied but very slightly from its Greek original. These examples were followed by others in which the departure of the Pukhto word from the original Greek form was more or less considerable, but still not so great as to prevent easy recognition. Besides the Greek words in Pukhto several instances were mentioned in illustration of grammatical forms peculiar to Pukhto, and referable only to the Greek as the source of their origin. The lecturer, after describing the way in which he came to discover these Greek elements in Pukhto, expressed his opinion that a more thorough investigation of the subject would prove conclusively that the language spoken by the Pukhtūn, Pathān, or Afghān people—and more especially in the country of the Suleiman range, which, as Arrian asserts, was settled by Alexander the Great with people

of his own in place of the Indians he had conquered in it—was no other than a degraded dialect of the Greek formerly spoken during several centuries as the colloquial tongue of that region by the Greek conquerors and their successors, who colonized and hellenized the country by a wholesale transplantation of tribes—such as the Syrian, Lydian, Kilikian, Bithynian, Mysian, Pamphilian, Ionian, and others—from Asia Minor to this eastern frontier of the Greek Empire in Asia founded by Alexander the Great. This view is supported by the fact that the descendants or posterity of these several tribes are now found in Afghanistan by the identical names of Sūri, Lūdi, Ghilji or Khilichi, Batani, Mūsāzi, Farmulī or Parmulī, Yūnus, Yāni, or Yā respectively, and others from the same western region. Taking this view of the Pukhto language, the lecturer said that it threw a new light upon the past history of this part of Asia, and cleared up many obscure points relating to the rise and progress of the Parthian sovereignty, and to the history of the long succession of dynasties that had flourished in this part of Asia subsequent to the commencement of the Mohammedan era.

A discussion followed, in which Dr. Thornton, General Maclagan, Prof. Bendall, and Mr. Lyon took part.

II. CONTENTS OF FOREIGN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

1. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE.

Vol. xviii. No. 3. Nov. Dec. 1891 (received Feb. 1892).

Rubens Duval. *Histoire politique, religieuse et littéraire d'Édesse jusqu'à la première croisade (Suite).*

C. de Harlez. *Vajracchedikā (Prajñāpāramitā). Traduite du texte sanscrit avec comparaison des versions chinoise et mandchoue.*

J. Halévy. *La correspondance d'Aménophis III. et d'Aménophis IV. (Suite).*

Vol. xix. No. 1. Jan. Feb. 1892 (received March, 1892).

Rubens Duval. Histoire politique, religieuse et littéraire d'Édesse jusqu'à la première croisade (Fin).

Clermont-Ganneau. L'épigraphie et les antiquités semi-tiques en 1891.

2. WIENER ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR DIE KUNDE DES MORGENLANDES.

Band v. Heft 4, 1891 (received Jan. 1892).

G. Bickell. Kritische Bearbeitung der Proverbien (Schluss).

H. H. Dhruva. Notes on two Chaulukya Copper Plates in the Baroda Collections.

G. Bühler. A further Note on the Mingai or Bower MS.

J. Karabacek. Julius Euting's Sinaïtische Inschriften.

Franz Kuhnert. Die Partikel 是 *ši* in Lao-tsi's Tao-tek-king.

Band vi. Heft 1, 1892 (received Feb. 1892).

Ernst Leumann. Die Legende von Citta und Sambhūta (Fortsetzung).

P. Jensen. Elamitische Eigennamen.

F. Müller. Die Pahlawi-Inschriften von Hadziabad.

F. Müller. Bemerkungen zum *Pahlavi-Pasand* Glossary v. Hoshangji-Haug.

G. Bickell. Die Strophik des Ecclesiasticus.

J. Goldziher. Der Chaṭīb bis den alten Arabern.

III. OBITUARY NOTICES.

M. P. A. De Lagarde.—The sudden death of this eminent scholar, which the *Athenæum* announced on Jan. 2, makes a great gap in many branches of learning. Lagarde, like Ewald, his predecessor in the Semitic Chair at Göttingen, was a most active worker in a variety of subjects and languages. He studied theology, Oriental languages, and philosophy at the universities of Berlin and Halle; became *privatim docens* in the latter university in 1851, and later

professor in various gymnasiums, until he succeeded Ewald in 1869. He edited in 1854 the Syriac "Didascalia Apostolorum," and followed this up with other Syriac texts collected in the British Museum and at Paris. In 1877 he engaged in Armenian investigations; in 1883 he took in hand Persian studies, in which year he also published "Aegyptiaca," relating to Coptic studies. Most of his publications are connected with the Bible, such as the edition of the Aramaic translation (the so-called Targum) of the Prophets according to Codex Reuchlinus, preserved in the library of Carlsruhe; the Hagiographa Chaldaica; the Arabic translation of the Gospels; the Syriac translation of the Apocrypha of the Old Testament; the Coptic translation of the Pentateuch; and a part of the Lucian text of the Septuagint, which he was fortunate enough to reconstruct from MSS. for nearly half of the Old Testament.

Minor articles, mostly on Semitic philology, are to be found in his books entitled "Symmicta" and "Mittheilungen," as well as in contributions to the volumes issued by the University of Göttingen. How far the Lucian text is ready we shall soon know; thanks to his minute method of working there can be no doubt that some one will be able to carry his notes through the press. One of the deceased's last works was the collation of the "Evangelium Hierosolimitanum," edited by Count Miniscalchi Erizzo from the unique Vatican MS., but not to the satisfaction of the deceased. Lagarde, like Ewald, meddled with politics, which he expressed in his "Deutsche Schriften" and other monographs. He belonged to the Prussian Conservative party. In anti-Semitic prejudice Lagarde far exceeded Ewald; and he unfortunately displayed a lack of generosity towards fellow workers who had the misfortune to be of another opinion than himself. Indeed, he did not recognize any one as his equal, far less as his superior. He attacked even those who had been long dead—for instance, the late Dr. Zunz, who was certainly a superior Rabbinical scholar to Lagarde; strangely enough, he laughs at him for having in a translation of one of Judah Halevi's liturgies the

following sentence, "The plowers plowed upon my back," not observing, although a professor of Hebrew, that Judah Halevi was using the words of Psalm cxxix. 3. He was agreeable and jovial in society, but he showed himself bitter and irritable towards most of his fellow workers.

From the *Athenæum*,
Jan. 9, 1892.

A. NEUBAUER.

Sir George Campbell, K.C.S.I., D.C.L.—This is the last duty I could have wished to discharge, viz. to record the death of my dear life-long friend, Sir George Campbell, M.P. for Kircaldy Burghs, N.B. He was a member of this Society since 1875, but never took an active part in its meetings, though on many subjects connected with Asia generally, and with India specially, he was a competent authority. Born a Scotchman in 1824, he received his early education at St. Andrews and in Edinburgh. On receiving a nomination to the Bengal Presidency of the Indian Civil Service he passed two years at Haileybury College, where he was distinguished for his mathematical and legal attainments rather than for Oriental scholarship. In fact he never claimed to be a scholar in the broad sense of that word, but he was an able administrator of Asiatic Provinces, and a close observer of Asiatic habits and customs. He filled successively the posts of Judicial Commissioner of the Province of Oudh, Member of the High Court of Judicature of Calcutta, and Lieut.-Governor of the Province of Bengal. Throughout his whole career he evidenced talents of the highest order, and an unrivalled grasp of difficult administrative problems. As far back as 1852 he published his two volumes "Modern India," and "India as it should be," which left their mark on the administration of the next twenty years.

On his return to England in 1875 he received the honour of Knight Commander of the Star of India, and of D.C.L. from the University of Oxford. He was returned in the same year to Parliament as member for the Kircaldy Burghs, and occupied that seat to the day of his death with every

prospect of re-election, and he was indefatigable in the discharge of his duties in the House of Commons.

He visited the United States, and published a volume "White and Black in the U.S." He visited the Danubian Provinces and published a volume "Handy Book of the Eastern Question." He visited Egypt repeatedly, and he also published a book, the "British Empire," with special reference to India and the Colonies. All his writings evidence careful inquiry and a far-seeing intelligence.

He was a Liberal in politics, and followed Mr. Gladstone, but his views with regard to Ireland were formed from a careful local investigation on the spot, and were placed before the public in his volume on "Ireland" several years before Mr. Gladstone developed any portion of his Irish Policy.

In India as in Ireland he was a champion of the interests of the hereditary occupying tenant of the soil as against the alien absentee landlord.

A student of anthropology he made one lasting contribution to the science. In considering the ethnical relations of the Non-Aryan race of Southern India, he came to the conviction, no doubt indicated previously by earlier authors, that in the Vindya range there existed certain races, who were neither Aryan nor Dravidian: he struck out the name of "Kolarian" in 1866, and that term is now accepted.

He was esteemed and loved by all who knew him. A friendship of fifty years enables the writer of this notice to testify to this fact. If he attained every post and honour which were attainable, it is because he was most worthy of them; and the opinion is deliberately expressed that of all the members of the Indian Civil Service since 1840 up to the date of the change of system in 1856 he and Sir Richard Temple, Bart., occupy the highest rank for administrative ability and knowledge of India.

Feb. 24, 1892.

R. N. C.

IV. NOTES AND NEWS.

Harsha Carita.—Mr. Thomas, of Trinity College, Cambridge, is preparing, in collaboration with Prof. Cowell, a translation of this work, which will be published, when completed, by the Royal Asiatic Society's Oriental Translation Fund.

Mr. W. W. Rockhill, one of the results of whose last journey to Tibet was the excellent series of articles in our "Journal" of last year, has again started on a tour of exploration in that country, beginning with the Kokonor district.

Chinese Caricatures.—Dr. Griffith John's researches into the causes at the bottom of the recent anti-Foreign riots in the valley of the Yangtze have resulted, writes the *Mercury*, in the publication of one of the most remarkable books ever printed in China. We refer to the volume just issued at Hankow, entitled "The cause of the Riots in the Yangtze Valley: a complete Picture Gallery," which has been sent to us for review. The book is printed upon Chinese paper and bound in native style; it consists of thirty-two coloured facsimiles of the most revolting pictorial products of the anti-Foreign party in Hunan. No attempt is made by the printers to gloss over the shocking grossness of these abominable cartoons, either in the illustrations themselves or in the letterpress which explains the Chinese text around the border of each. A more abominable collection it has never been the lot of any printer to publish; but, undoubtedly, Dr. John and his colleagues have done well to bring before the foreign world a knowledge, such as these pictures inculcate, of the foul weapons which the reactionary party in China, headed by the gentry and literati of Hunan, use to stir up the evil passions of the ignorant masses to stem back the tide from the West which threatens to sweep them away. This class of literature, as Dr. John has already demonstrated, is chiefly produced in Hunan, and nowhere in such variety or quantity as Changsha, the capital of the province.

The New Asoka Inscription.—Mr. Lewis Rice, M.R.A.S., Director of Archaeology in Mysore, who recently undertook a survey of the Chitaldroog District, reports a most important discovery of edicts of Asoka inscribed on immense boulders in the same ancient characters, and the same Pali language, as have been already met with in the case of similar records discovered in Northern India. None of these edicts have hitherto been found south of Guzerat and Ganjam, and hence the importance of the present discovery. It is known that after the third Buddhist Council held in the eighteenth year of Asoka's reign, missionaries were sent to Banavasi and Mahisa-maṇḍala, which latter, from its connexion and name, may be identified with Mysore. The principal inscription now found consists of thirteen lines, covering a space of $15\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $11\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The words *devānam* and *piye* can be read at the end of the first and eighth lines, and *Jambu-dīpa* towards the end of the third line. No further particulars have yet been received.

Java.—The Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences has brought out an elaborate work on the antiquities of Java by Mr. Yzerman, chief engineer, with an atlas of plates. The Society has done good work in the past in preserving these antiquities from European business enterprise and from native love of destruction.

The Straits Settlements.—General Sir Charles Warren, K.C.B., has been elected president of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The Van District.—About eighteen months ago two French gentlemen, Messrs. G. Pisson and A. Develay, made a journey "en Asie Antérieure" on behalf of the Ministries of Education, Commerce, and Agriculture of the Republican Government. An account of this journey has recently appeared in French, of which the following is a short abstract.

From the Black Sea coast they followed the usual high road between Trebizond and Erzeroum, along which passes so much merchandize, camel-borne, for Tabreez and Teheran, and even farther East; a detailed description of this stage

may be found in Mrs. Bishop's most recent book of travel. At Erzeroum they branched southwards, and, after crossing the steep and lofty Palandoken mountain, passed into the regions inhabited by Armenians and Kurds; the former are mostly agricultural, and live in the open plain, whilst the villages of their neighbours generally skirt the surrounding mountains, which afford rich pasturage for their numerous flocks and herds. After calling in at Khanous, a little Mussulman town picturesquely situated in the bosom of a deep sheer basalt cutting, the bed of a mountain brook, they visited the world-old Armenian Monastery, Sourp Garabed (St. John's), or Changeli-Kiliseh (Church of Chimes), built in the days of St. Gregory the Illuminator. M. Pisson, having sustained an injury on the road near here, had to remain several weeks in the Monastery, whilst his friend, anxious to make the best use of his time, rounded the north coast of Lake Van, and, having visited the chief place of the district, crossed into Persia to Tabreez, passing the border in two places in mid-winter by little-known mountain bridle-paths. Having rejoined his companion at Bitlis, they then proceeded by the track presenting fewest obstacles among the mountain valleys, viz. through Sert and Jezireh to Mosul. During a few days' sojourn in what was probably once an environ of Nineveh, they viewed the Koyunjik mound and the remains of Assyria's capital; their road now led through Arbela, scene of Alexander's victory over Darius; here all the villages are built on artificial mounds, testifying to the ancient populousness of the country, and two broad rivers have to be crossed by the kellek, or inflated sheepskin raft. The Lesser Zab was also crossed a little later at Altun Keupri (Golden-Bridge), a small borough on an islet of conglomerate in mid-river; and next the not inconsiderable town of Kerkuk pleased our travellers by its bright and well-to-do aspect and wide gardens of tropical produce.

Here the road forward was certainly considered unsafe, as an escort of thirty gendarmes was furnished for safe conduct to Suleïmanieh; and fanaticism is the order of the

day in this region. A sheikh of the Hamavend Arab tribe, however, gave the protection of his company for a space, and Suleïmanieh, the last considerable town in Turkey, was duly reached ; it contains 5000 houses, all of one storey only, and there are but twenty families of Christians.

Just before the Persian frontier, the French party passed the village Tavileh, and hereafter serious difficulties of more kinds than one had to be overcome ; a horse perished, the tracks were very bad and difficult to follow, and the Kurds proved overreaching and untrustworthy.

The Avroman Mountain here is of quite a different character from the mountains of Armenia, where large plateaux occur frequently. The hills are much rockier and wilder, and an ascent of 4500 feet has to be made in one place. Thus, with much scrambling up and down, Hajish, a village shut in by peaked mountains and huge masses of grey rock, was reached. And after ascending the valley of the Gaveh-Rud some way, and passing the villages Ruar and Tefen, and having had to put up with short rations, Sihna, or Senneh, a Kurdish town of 35,000 inhabitants, afforded a short rest to the exhausted Frenchmen.

There is little to chronicle respecting Sihna, except that it has grown from the condition of a big village to its present dimensions within the last fifteen years. The horses are reckoned fine animals, and the best quality of Kurdish rugs are woven here. There are also two mosques which contain "chambers of refuge" for criminals flying from justice.

Upon leaving Sihna, a visit was made to the districts of Guerrous and Karaghan, following or touching the bed of some tributaries of the Rivers Kizil-Uzun (lower the Sefid Rud) and Abhar-Chi, which empties into the salt marsh to the south of Teheran. M. Develay also "rode Chapparr" from Sihna to Teheran in seven days by the highway through Hamadan.

After some months in the Persian metropolis, the homeward route of the "Mission Scientifique" lay through Resht and Baku and across the Caucasus.

Religions in India.—The various religions of the population of India have been returned in the last census as follows (so far as ascertainable):—

Hindoos, Brahmos, etc.	207,654,437
Mussulmans	57,365,214
Christians	2,284,191
Jains	1,416,109
Sikhs	1,907,836
Buddhists	7,131,057
Jews	17,180
Parsees	89,887
Forest tribes	9,302,083
Minor forms of Belief — Theists, Agnostics, Atheists, etc.	289
Not returned	38,763
	<hr/>
Total.	287,207,046

Brahmos 3401, of whom 3338 are in Bengal, Aryas (*sic*) 39,948, chiefly in N.W.P. and Punjab.

An Indian Fakir's Horrible Performances.—An account of the performances of the Indian fakir Soliman ben Aissa is given by the Vienna correspondent of the *Lancet*. The exhibition has very properly been forbidden in public places in Vienna, but a series of private entertainments has been arranged. An aristocratic audience was present at the first of these. The Fakir commenced his performances by inhaling the fumes of burnt powder prepared from extracts of snake and scorpion poisons, and by certain quick movements of the head he produced a foaming at the mouth. After these preliminaries needles and other sharp instruments were thrust through various parts of his body, including a stiletto a foot long and half an inch broad, which was thrust through his tongue. Another feat which is said to have caused great sensation consisted in pulling forward the eyeball and presenting it outside the orbit to the view of the audience between two fingers. He was "invulnerable" also to the heat produced by a

flaming torch held for a minute and a half against the under surface of his forearm. Chewing glass and playing with poisonous snakes were among his other tricks. The *Lancet* recalls the experiments of the celebrated "Fire King," who many years ago created a sensation in London by advertising his power to drink prussic acid without injury to himself. The history of his exposure, sudden downfall, and subsequent malignant challenge to Mr. Wakley to fight a duel, form one of the most interesting and humorous chapters in the older volumes of the *Lancet*. The *Lancet* deprecates medical men lending their countenance in any degree to such dismal spectacles. Medical science has nobler purposes to fulfil and higher motives to guide it than the gratification, under the seeming sanction of science, of the morbid curiosity of certain classes.

Rulers of India.—We would venture to call the special attention of our Indian readers to the very excellent series of manuals on the great rulers of India, both native and English, now being brought out at Oxford under the editorship of Sir W. W. Hunter. Written in a very interesting manner, and having the charm of the personal interest attaching to the treatment of history from the 'great man' point of view, they throw many sidelights on the history of the development of institutions and of thought in that great continent, and they cannot fail to promote that mutual knowledge on which a genuine sympathy between residents of all classes in India must depend, and which all true scholarship does so much to promote.

Buddhist Paintings.—A most interesting collection of Chinese pictures has been given by M. Rubens Duval to the Museum of Religions at Paris, better known as the Musée Guimet, from the name of its founder, who has now given it to the French nation. This collection was made by the great traveller Klaproth, who has written short explanatory notices on the subject of each piece. It includes a set of miniatures, produced by the hands of the last century, painted with exquisite delicacy on the leaves of the sacred fig-tree, in

the shadow of which the Buddha is related to have passed the great mental struggle which ended in his Buddhahood. They represent the twenty lo-hans, that is, Arhats, or masters of the true doctrine: such miniatures, painted on leaves of the Bo-tree, are not infrequent in China, but good specimens are rare in Europe, and there are none in our Library.

Karakorum Inscription.—Dr. George Huth, *privat-docent* at the Berlin University, has published a short monograph on this interesting inscription. He proves quite clearly that it must be the record of a language that contained suffixes, prefixes, and changes in the middle of roots. He draws the conclusion that the language cannot be Uraltaic, and is most probably the ancestor of the various Yenissei languages treated of by Klaproth and Castrén. As, however, the Chinese inscription on the same stone dates from about 732 A.D., and we have no specimens of these languages till many centuries after that time, this is only a first step towards decipherment, and the author does not in fact propose as yet a translation of any word, or an identification of any letter.

Epigraphia Indica.—We have just received, in February, 1892, the new part of this valuable serial. It has printed on the title page "Issued October, 1891," so the mode of transmission must be singularly slow. It contains some short Jain inscriptions by Prof. Bühler, two short papers by Dr. Hultsch, and an elaborate and important article by Professor Jacobi on the computation of dates in Hindu inscriptions, with supplementary astronomical tables.

Etruscan.—With reference to the announcement in our last number, p. 167, we have now to add that Prof. Krall has now communicated to the Academy of Vienna the results of his examination of the inscribed band on the mummy of a woman in the museum of Agram, which was brought from Egypt by Ismael Baric in 1849. H. Brugsch in the winter of 1849 had already found on the mummy the end of a band which afterwards proved to be 14 metres long) almost entirely covered with characters

to him completely unintelligible. The director of the museum having apprised Prof. Krall of the event, the band was brought to Vienna, and at length, after eleven months study, discovered by him to be the longest Etruscan inscription known to us, the longest hitherto known to exist being the Perugian cippus containing 125 words. The Etruscan mummy band contains 1200 words divided into some 200 lines, distributed in at least 12 columns after the fashion of writing on papyri. The material is undoubtedly of ancient Egyptian manufacture, and the ink shows the same colour as that of the ordinary writing on mummies. According to the Etruscan scholars Bücheler, Deecke, and Pauli, there can be no doubt whatever about the authenticity of the text, so if this real relic of antiquity comes to be read, our knowledge of Etruscan will be assured. So far, Prof. Krall has presented to the academy an unpublished tentative reading, restoring the text and adding a list of all the words occurring in it with additions and explanations by W. Deecke. Messrs. Edler have succeeded with great difficulty in making photographs of the text.

The Present State of the Nestorian Tablet at Sigan.—This tablet, as is well known, stands outside the west gate of Si-gan, Shen-si, and enunciates the leading doctrines of Christianity. It was erected A. D. 780–781, and is the only relic hitherto discovered in China of the Nestorian Christian Church. The stone is white, is of an ordinary grey colour and sonorous, responding with a bell-like sound on being struck sharply. It is supported on the back of a half-buried tortoise. The dimensions are: total height, 103 in.; breadth, 37 in.; thickness, $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. It stands facing an old, half-ruined Buddhist temple on the south of the road, a mile and a half from the west gate, and half a mile from the suburb. Its surroundings are not interesting; the country is flat, well cultivated, and very fertile. The remains of a mud wall enclose it and hide it from the road, though, even were it visible, there is nothing by which a passer-by could distinguish it from the hundreds of other stones that are to be found in this district.

Buddhist Folk Lore.—Professor Fausböll (Hon. Member R.A.S.) has completed the fifth volume of his great *editio princeps* of the Jātakas, bringing it down to No. 537 (out of the total of 550). The volume is dedicated to Professor Rhys Davids and Dr. Morris. The remaining 13 stories, the longest in the collection, will probably occupy three more volumes. One of them is the Bhūridatta, translated in our last issue by Mr. St. John.

New Oriental Department, British Museum.—On the retirement, in January last, of Dr. Rieu, the well-known Persian scholar, from the Keepership of Oriental MSS. at the British Museum, it was decided by the Trustees to create a new Oriental Department to consist of Oriental printed books and MSS., in both of which collections the Museum is very rich. This has now been done, and Professor Douglas (one of the members of our Council) has been appointed Keeper of the new department.

Sanskrit name for Australia.—Mr. E. Delmar Morgan, M.R.A.S., has published in brochure form a very interesting paper he read at the Geographical Congress of Berne on the 'Early Discovery of Australia.' He there proves that the coast line of Australia appears with full details on several early maps, much older than any literary record of the actual discovery having taken place. The first authenticated voyage to Australia is that of the yacht *Duyfshen* or *Dove* in 1606. But already in a map of the year 1521 (by La Salle) the 'Terra Australis' is given under the curious name of *Patalie regio*, derived, according to the Vicomte de Santareus, from the Sanskrit (or Pāli) Pātāla, meaning 'the nether regions.' This is the oldest and least perfect of these early maps of Australia, several of which Mr. Morgan gives in facsimile. Perhaps the name has some connection with *Pātali-putta*, the old name for Ceylon. Where did these old map-makers get their information from?

V. NOTICES OF BOOKS.

A MEMOIR ON THE COEFFICIENTS OF NUMBERS. BEING
A CHAPTER IN THE THEORY OF NUMBERS. By
BRAJENDRANATH SEAL, M.A., Principal Berhampore
College, Bengal. (Calcutta, Hare Press, 1891.)

It is said that the German mathematician Kronecker, at a scientific gathering in Berlin, proposed the health of *The Theory of Numbers*, the only branch of mathematics, perhaps of human learning, as yet unsullied by a practical application. And from this point of view we may congratulate Mr. Brajendranath Seal, whose memoir deals with speculations remote indeed from every-day life. A perfect number is one which is equal to the sum of its division (*e.g.* $6=3+2+1$). The coefficient of a number is defined to be the ratio which any number bears to the sum of its division. Perfect numbers have been studied by Euclid, by Bachet, Fermat, and Euler. The mention of these names shows that the class of problems with which Mr. Brajendranath Seal deals has attracted the acutest of mathematical speculators. Mr. Seal's memoir is concerned with the properties of these perfect numbers and attempts to find all numbers for which the coefficient (as above defined) is given. Many interesting theorems are proved by the way; for example, that no perfect number is divisible by only four prime numbers, and the paper abounds with examples worked out in detail.

In the history of science it has always been the strong fastnesses, from which we are afterwards to survey the country, that have offered the stoutest resistance, until the walls which have defied force vanish before the wand of the magician. We cannot doubt that the spirit of Mr. Seal's work is that by which we shall at last be able to understand the secrets of *number* pure and simple—secrets guessed at by the great Masters, such as Euclid, Fermat, and Gauss, but, save for such guesses, almost entirely unknown to us now.

EUGÈNE BURNOUF—*Ses travaux et sa correspondance*. Par J. BARTHELEMY ST. HILAIRE (Paris, 1891, *privately printed*).

No more suitable author of an 'appreciation' of the great scholar Eugène Burnouf could be found than the veteran *savant* so long his personal friend, and a co-worker with him on several fields, M. Barthelemy St. Hilaire. It is pleasant to find that M. St. Hilaire, who first made the acquaintance of Burnouf on leaving the Lycée Louis-le-Grand seventy years ago, should still have health and energy to publish these graceful and touching memorials. Not that they are new. They are a reprint from articles in the *Journal des Savants* published from time to time between 1852 (when Burnouf died) down to 1891, and have not been altered to fit the altered circumstances of the times. There being also neither index nor table of contents, the usefulness of the book as a work of reference is seriously hampered. But they are very interesting and inspiring reading, and give a very clear and pleasant picture of the devoted labours of the genial scholar in whose honour they have been composed; and they contain those personal facts of his history which must form the basis of a critical judgment of the great Burnouf.

As to his greatness there can never be any question, but when M. St. Hilaire puts in the fore front of his panegyric an eulogium of the method that he followed, we feel compelled to distinguish. The result of his twenty years labours for instance in Buddhism lies before us in the two magnificent volumes, the 'Introduction' and the 'Lotus.' It is agreed on all hands that these works introduced Buddhism to the West and remained for a quarter of a century the authorities on the whole subject. It is agreed on all hands that they give proofs not only of the rarest industry, but of the ripest and most balanced judgment, and also of a faculty that cannot be described as less than genius in feeling the way to a right conclusion out of insufficient and often contradictory data. But a

further question remains. There can be no doubt that had Burnouf devoted those years to editing and translating the Dīgha and Majjhima Nikāyas he would have accomplished the task, and accomplished it in a masterly way, within the time. Would not that method, rather than the one which he followed, have led sooner and more surely to the desired goal? Is it well to waste such priceless tools as the enthusiastic industry and critical insight of a Burnouf on weighing one against the other the statements of writers who lived many centuries after the events of which they speak, when materials contemporaneous or nearly so are, all the while, at hand? Is it the better method to read works in MS. and publish the results of such reading to the world (which has not the authority before it), or to publish the works themselves first, and then draw the conclusions which every scholar can test for himself? These are the kind of questions which would have to be settled in discussing the question of the best method to be followed by a pioneer in opening a new field of historical inquiry, of the best way (in the interests of science) in which a great scholar can use the abilities and the time at his command.

It only remains to add that in a list of the unpublished works there is much that would seem, from our author's description, to be still of the greatest value. Cannot especially the 'Examen de la langue du Lotus' and the 'Comparaison des textes Palis et Sanskrits,' and the translation of the Khudda-sikkhā Dipanī be published at once either in the 'Journal Asiatique' or elsewhere? It is perfectly true that it is a kind of sacrilege to publish matter which a great author has deliberately put aside as not to be published. But there is no evidence whatever that these finished studies were withheld by their author for any other reason than want of opportunity or want of space. Those on the spot can judge. To those at a distance it seems cruel to keep concealed what is of value now, but will certainly in another generation have lost its worth.

A CATALOGUE OF SANSKRIT AND OTHER WORKS IN THE
ORIENTAL SECTION OF THE ADYAR LIBRARY, compiled
to December, 1891. (Adyar, Madras, 1891.)

This catalogue of the collection at Adyar begun in 1886, and yearly increasing in value, has been put together under the supervision of H. S. Olcott, the President of the Theosophical Society. It shows seventy-eight printed works (some of several volumes) and sixty-two MSS. of Vedic literature. Among the latter may be especially mentioned a palm leaf MS. of Mādhava's commentary on the Yajur Veda (described 'as a very old MS., about 400 years old')—a collection also on palm leaf and in the Telugu character, of fifteen treatises on phonetics many of which are unknown in Europe—a palm leaf MS. containing five works by the father of Rāmānuja—and the Vaidika Jyotisha of Lagadha. The Itihāsa and Purāṇa books are twenty-three printed ones and sixty-eight MSS., among which we may notice an old copy on palm leaf in Telugu characters of the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the Padma Purāṇa—a palm leaf MS. in Devanāgarī characters of the Bhārgava Purāṇa, treating of the lives of Vaiṣṇava leaders among others of Rāmānuja—and a similar MS. of the Badari Mahātmya. The law books are eighty-two printed and fifty-two MSS., the philosophical books 135 printed and 131 MSS., of which the Nyāyatātparyapariśuddhi of Udayana and the Nyāya Kaustubha of Mahādeva are described as rare works. Some thirty works on medicine, the like number on astronomy or astrology, and a few on music, precious stones, etc., complete this part of the catalogue. There then follow lists of 229 Buddhist, Jain, and Vaiṣṇavite books (of which about forty are Grantha or Telugu MSS.), of twenty Tantra MSS., and of 220 miscellaneous works (stories, poems, dramas, etc.), of which about thirty are in MS., and 121 Sanskrit grammars or lexicons, of which about seventy-five are manuscripts.

The printing is not good, and the transliteration of Indian words is very inaccurate, and the column headed remarks

gives some curious details. 'The original Kathasarit Sagara (*sic*) was a poetical compilation by Soma Deva, and published in Holland.' And it is disappointing to find that of Buddhist works, in which the library was supposed to be rich, there are so few, among which are only two MSS. described respectively as 'A Buddhist work' (p. 139) and 'A Buddhist religious book, name unknown' (p. 163). The Pali books seem to be kept in Ceylon, and the Chinese and Japanese, some 500 in number, are not yet catalogued. But we should not look a gift horse in the mouth, and will only express our hope that the library may rapidly increase and flourish.

AN ENGLISH-SINHALESE DICTIONARY, by CHARLES CARTER.
(Colombo, Skeen.)

This dictionary is a very great advance on previous works of the kind, from the well-known dictionary of Clough published sixty-eight years ago to the little pocket dictionary issued by the Wesleyan missionaries. It is in six parts, making a total of nearly 1100 octavo pages, and is very well and clearly printed—the English words in Clarendon, and the Sinhalese words in a bold and readable type. It is printed at the Government Press and at Government expense. We congratulate the ruling powers of the island on so enlightened a use of the public funds, and the veteran missionary on the successful accomplishment of his tedious but most useful labours. What still remains an urgent want is a good Sinhalese-English Dictionary, that of Clough being altogether out of date. Such a work giving full quotations and references, and the history and derivation of each word,—precisely because it would be beyond the power of any single man to produce,—would be a noble gift from the English rulers of Ceylon to the loyal and intelligent people of that ancient home of learning and culture.



DIE GOTTESDIENSTLICHEN VORTRÄGE DER JUDEN HISTORISCH ENTWICKELT. Second edition, under the auspices of the "Zunz Stiftung," by Dr. N. BRÜLL. pp. 516. (T. Kauffmann, Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1892.)

It is exactly sixty years since the first edition of the above-mentioned work appeared and marked the creation of a study out of elements till then generally considered as unworthy of serious attention. How much the book has been appreciated by all interested in these researches is best inferred by the circumstance that it has been out of print for many years and only obtainable at a high price.

The single branches of Rabbinical literature have, of course, been largely expanded by able students since Zunz's work was first published, and it would have been most deplorable if it had been otherwise. Yet this does not in the least diminish the value of the book, and the idea of a second edition is surely a most happy one, especially as this was done by so profound a scholar as Dr. N. Brüll of Frankfort-on-the-Main. It is lamentable that the second editor died before his task was finished, and thus the scientific world was deprived of the supplement which he had commenced, and which was to contain a critical selection of the literature concerning the subject and a bibliography of the writings reviewed. It is to be hoped that the publisher will succeed in finding another scholar who, equipped with the material left by the deceased, will prove able to complete the supplement.

It is also desirable that he should pay closer attention to the Jewish Arabic literature referring to the subject. The Jews in Arabian countries possessed not only Arabic translations of the Bible, but used this language also for liturgical readings. There exist Arabic versions of the Haggādāh for Passover, of the story of Matathias, which latter is to be found in most MSS. of the Yemen prayer book, several poetic versions of the story of Hamah and her sons, translations of the Aramaic Targums, the Canticles, and others of the smaller Hagiographa, adaptations of portions of the

Midrash and entire Midrashic treatises, as the Nür al Zulun, of which MSS. are in London, Oxford, and Berlin.

The finishing touch of the book was added after the death of Dr. Brüll by Steinschneider, who also wrote the preface. It is regrettable to hear from such a competent authority that the number of writers interested in the subject is rather on the decline than on the increase, and this was one of the reasons why the new edition was undertaken. Let us hope that it will help to revive the enthusiasm for this branch of enquiry.

As to the arrangement of the new edition, which considerably surpasses the first in size, it only contains alterations and corrections added by Zunz himself in his copy, and which are made recognizable both in text and footnotes by square brackets. Entirely new are the indices, which were worked out by a young scholar, Dr. A. Loewenthal, in Berlin, and a concordance of the pages of the two editions. The book is beautifully got up, and the price so low that every one interested in the subject can procure it for himself.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

THINGS JAPANESE by BASIL HALL CHAMBERLAIN. (Tokyo, the Hakabunsha.)

This second edition of a most useful work contains some twenty new articles, and is provided with an excellent map of the country. The book is rather intended for the use of the globe-trotter, and that valuable customer of the book-maker, the 'general reader,' than for the scholar, and calls for no extended criticism in the pages of this journal. That it is, in the main, the work of a scholar is, however, evident enough, but this fact rather irritates than satisfies the reader, who feels that the author, too often, deals out but a niggard share of the knowledge he possesses. Among the new articles much the most important is Messrs. Aston and Gowland's contribution on Archæology, while the most amusing one is that entitled "English as she is Japped." The articles on 'History

and Mythology,' 'The People,' 'Demonic Possession,' 'Tokyo,' 'Ten Ceremonies,' 'Lacquer,' 'Poetry,' and 'Printing' are interesting, and those dealing with the aspects of modern Japan are full of shrewd observations, while quite devoid of the somewhat silly gush which characterizes so much of the more recent literature dealing with Japanese subjects.

MANUAL OF THE SIYIN DIALECT SPOKEN IN THE NORTHERN CHIN HILLS by Captain F. M. RUNDALL, D.S.O., Gurkha Rifles. (Rangoon, Government Press, 1891.) Price, Two Rupees.

This is a most praiseworthy contribution to our knowledge is an entirely unknown region in the province of Burma, and the author deserves our hearty thanks. We are glad to find that a manual of the Baungshē *Dialect* spoken in the Southern Chin Hills has been published by Lieut. Macnabb (it is in fact a different *language*). It appears that the Siyin is one Dialect of a form of speech, which has no leading Dialect, but consists of several, of equal importance (1) Siyun, (2) Nwengal, and (3) Kanhaw. Two other forms of speech are mentioned, (1) Haka, and (2) Tashen, and are pronounced to differ so materially as to be quite different languages. Here then we have revealed to us a group of four languages previously totally unknown, but in which communication is held by British officers with subject races.

The geographical position of these tribes is as follows:

A line drawn from Mandalay to Chittagong passes almost through the Chin Hills. In the North they are bounded by the Manipūr Valley, on the East by the Kubo Kalē, Myillha, and Yan valleys, on the South by the Arakan Hill tracts, on the West by the Lushai Hills. The District occupied by the Siyin is roughly between N. Lat. 23°·10 and 23°·25, and E. Long. 93°·45 and 94°·5. The highest elevation is about 8800 feet above sea-level, but the average height of the range is about 5000 feet.

The language is monosyllabic. Genders are distinguished by the addition of the word "pa" and "nu" to indicate male and female, and one or two other suffixes in the case of animals. The plural is expressed by the suffix "te," but it is frequently omitted.

March 24, 1892.

R. N. C.

VI. ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY, JAN.-MARCH, 1892.

Presented by the India Office.

Madras. Report of the Administration of the Madras Presidency for 1890-91. Parts 1-4.

fol. *Madras*, 1891.

Giles (G. M). Report of the Investigation into the causes of the diseases known in Assam as Kulā-Azār and Beri-Beri. royal 8vo. *Shillong*, 1890.

Government of India. General Report on the Operations of Survey of India Department during 1889-90. fol. *Calcutta*, 1891.

Geological Survey of India. Vol. 24, part 4. 1891.

Indian Museum Notes. Vol. 11, No. 5. The Economic Value of Birds in India.

List of Heads of Administration in India and of the India Office in England. Jan. 1892. fol. pamph.

Catalogue of Books printed in the Madras Presidency during July, August, and September, 1891.

fol. pamphlet. 1892.

Central Provinces. Report of the Administration of, for 1890-91, by A. P. MacDonnell. fol. *Nagpur*, 1891.

Hyderabad Assigned Districts. Report of the Administration of, for 1890-91. fol. *Hyderabad*, 1891.

Madras, Government of. Results of Observations of the fixed Stars made with the Meridian circle at the Government Observatory, Madras, in 1871-73, under the direction of the late Norman Poyson, by C. Mitchie Smith. 4to. *Madras*, 1892.

Government of India. Selections from Records of Home Department No. 276, Serial No. 10. Report on Publications issued and registered in the Several Provinces of British India for 1890.

fol. *Calcutta*, 1891.

Bombay, Selections from Records of Government of. Papers relating to Revision Survey Settlements of 47 Government Villages of the Sānand Tāluka of the Ahmedabad Collectorate. fol. *Bombay*, 1891.

Catalogue of Books registered in the Punjāb for 3rd quarter of 1891. Two copies. fol. pamphlet.

Bengal Library. Catalogue of Books for 2nd quarter of 1891. Appendix to Calcutta Gazette. fol. pamphlet.

Archæological Survey of India. South Indian Tamil Inscriptions. Vol. II. part 1. 4to. 1892.

Bombay, Selections from Records of Government of, No. 250. Revision Survey Settlement of 171 Government Villages of Jāmner Tāluka of the Khandesh Collectorate. fol. *Bombay*, 1891.

Do. 251. R.S.S. of 31 Talukdari Villages and 8 villages of sons of Latifkhan and also of the Talukdari Wanto in three Government Villages of the Dholka Tāluka of the Ahmedabad Collectorate. fol. *Bombay*, 1891.

Presented by the Editor.

Oriental Translation Fund N.S. Part 1, Vol. II. Mirkhond. Rauzat-us-Safa. Translated by E. Rehatsek. Edited by F. F. Arbuthnot. royal 8vo. *Royal Asiatic Society, London*, 1892.

By the Author.

Casartelli (M. L. C.) Cyêna-Simurgh-Roc. Un Chapitre d'Evolution Mythologique et Philologique. royal 8vo. pamphlet. *Paris*, 1891.

By the Trustees of the British Museum.

Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum, Vol. II. *London*, 1891.

Lane-Poole (Stanley). Catalogue of Arabic Glass Weights in the British Museum. Edited by R. S. Poole. 8vo. *London and Paris*, 1891.

By Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids.

Catalogue of the Sanskrit and other Works in the Oriental Section of the Adyar Library. royal 8vo. *Adyar*, 1891.

By the Publishers.

Whitney (W. D.) Max Müller and the Science of Language. 8vo. *New York*, 1892.

Chamberlain (B. H.) Things Japanese. 8vo. *London and Tokyo*, 1890.

By the British Association.

Report of 61st Meeting for the Advancement of Science, held at Cardiff in 1891. 8vo. *London*, 1892.

By the Author.

St Hilaire (J. Bart.) Eugène Burnouf, ses Travaux et sa Correspondence. 8vo. *Paris*, 1891.

By the Author.

Bellew (Surgeon-Major H. W.) Ethnography of Afghanistan. royal 8vo. *Woking*, 1891.

By Peter Griffon, Esq.

Leon (Dr. J. Diaz de). El Cantor de los Cantores traducido del Hebreo. royal 8vo. *Aguascalientes*, 1891.

Matthes (Dr. B. F.) Het Boek der Psalmen in het Boeganeesch. royal 8vo. *Amsterdam*, 1891.
and Het Boek der Psalmen in het Makassaarch. royal 8vo. *Amsterdam*, 1891.

Telang (K. T.) Subandhu and Kumārila. 8vo. pamphlet. *Bombay*, 1891.

PALI TEXT SOCIETY.

COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT.

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Managing Chairman—T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, 3, Brick Court, Temple, E.C.
(With power to add workers to their number.)

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This Society has been started in order to render accessible to students the rich stores of the earliest Buddhist literature now lying unedited and practically unused in the various MSS. scattered throughout the University and other Public Libraries of Europe.

The historical importance of these Texts can scarcely be exaggerated, either in respect of their value for the history of folk-lore, or of religion, or of language. It is already certain that they were all put into their present form within a very limited period, probably extending to less than a century and a half (about B.C. 400-250). For that period they have preserved for us a record, quite uncontaminated by filtration through any European mind, of the every-day beliefs and customs of a people nearly related to ourselves, just as they were passing through the first stages of civilization. They are our best authorities for the early history of that interesting system of religion so nearly allied to some of the latest speculations among ourselves, and which has influenced so powerfully, and for so long a time, so great a portion of the human race—the system of religion which we now call Buddhism. The sacred books of the early Buddhists have preserved to us the sole record of the only religious



movement in the world's history which bears any close resemblance to early Christianity. In the history of speech they contain unimpeachable evidence of a stage in language midway between the Vedic Sanskrit and the various modern forms of speech in India. In the history of Indian literature there is nothing older than these works, excepting only the Vedic writings; and all the later classical Sanskrit literature has been profoundly influenced by the intellectual struggle of which they afford the only direct evidence. It is not, therefore, too much to say that the publication of this unique literature will be no less important for the study of history—whether anthropological, philological, literary, or religious—than the publication of the Vedas has already been.

The whole will occupy about nine or ten thousand pages 8vo. Of these 6000 pages have already appeared. The accession of about fifty new members would make it possible to issue 1000 pages every year.

The Subscription to the Society is only One Guinea a year, or Five Guineas for six years, payable in advance. Each subscriber receives, post free, the publications of the Society, which cost a good deal more than a guinea to produce.

It is hoped that persons who are desirous to aid the publication of these important historical texts, but who do not themselves read Pāli, will give Donations to be spread if necessary over a term of years. Nearly £400 has already been thus given to the Society by public-spirited friends of historical research.

**.* Subscriptions for 1891 are now due, and it is earnestly requested that subscribers will send in their payments without putting the Chairman to the expense and trouble of personally asking for them. All who can conveniently do so should send the Five Guineas for six years, to their own benefit and that of the Society also.*

The Society keeps no books, and its publications *cannot in any case* be sent to subscribers who have not already paid their subscriptions for the year.

Cheques and Post Office Orders should be made payable to the "Pāli Text Society." (Address: 22, Albemarle Street, London, W.)

JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(April, May, June, 1892.)

I. GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

12th April, 1892.—Mr. E. L. BRANDRETH, Honorary Treasurer, in the Chair.

The election of Mr. Rogers, formerly of the Bombay Civil Service, as a resident member of the Society was announced to the meeting.

Major Conder, R.E., LL.D., M.R.A.S., read a paper in which he proposed a decipherment and translation of the letter of King Dusratha discovered at Tel-el-Amarna in Egypt. The paper will be printed in full in the Society's Journal for the current year.

17th May, 1892, *Anniversary Meeting*.—The Earl of NORTHBROOK, President, in the Chair.

The election of the following new members was announced to the meeting :—

1. B. Houghton, Esq., B.C.S.
2. M^d S. Husain, Pension Department, Madras.

The Secretary read the

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1891.

The Council regrets to have to announce the loss, during the year, either from death or from retirement, of the following members. There have died :—

Mr. G. Bertin.
Commendatore Gorresio.



Nawab Ikbāl ud Daulah.
 Babu Rajendralala Mitra.
 Ahmed Véfek Pasha.
 The Rt. Rev. Bishop Caldwell.

There have retired :—

Mr. David.
 Prof. Halévy.
 M. Raoul de Lagrasserie.
 Mr. Justice Pinhey.
 M. Osmond de Beauvoir Priaulx.
 Mr. H. Priestley.
 M. Sauvaire.

On the other hand the following new members have,
 during the same period, been elected :—

Resident Members—

1. Rev. C. J. Ball.
2. Mr. R. Chalmers.
3. Mr. Sultan Hosain.
4. Mr. J. Kennedy.
5. Surgeon-Major Oldham.
6. Dr. Schrumpf.
7. Mr. E. Sturdy.
8. Mr. C. L. Tupper.

Non-Resident Members.

9. Mr. H. Baynes.
10. Mr. T. H. S. Biddulph.
11. Mr. E. H. Corbet.
12. M. Le Comte Goblet D'Alviella.
13. Dr. Hirschfeld.
14. Mr. Hira Lāl.
15. Hon. P. Rāma Nāthan.
16. Mr. Hugh Nevill.
17. Mr. Haridās Sāstri.

The comparative statement showing the membership of the Society for the last five years stands now, therefore, as follows :—

Date.	COMPOUNDERS.		SUBSCRIBERS.				Total.
	Res't.	Non-Res't.	Res't.	Non-Res't.	Libraries.	Hon. Members.	
1888 (July)	43	53	127	154	—	30	411
1889 (Oct.)	50	62	115	168	7	30	432
1890 (Oct.)	48	62	112	179	11	30	442
1891 (Jan.)	48	62	110	185	16	30	451
1892 (Jan.)	47	62	113	183	23	30	458

Since the appearance of the list in January last, the following changes have taken place.

Deaths and retirements	2	—	2	4	—	6	8
Elected . . .	45	62	111	179	23	24	23
	—	1	3	9	4	6	
Transfers . . .	45	63	114	188	27	30	467
	+3	—3	+3	—3			
	48	60	147	185	27	30	467

There is one feature of these figures which is particularly encouraging. While the Council in its last report had to state that the number of resident members had steadily declined, we have now to point out that the number has again gone up, so that the total of the resident members stands this year between the numbers of four and five years ago, while that of the non-resident members is at 186, the highest figure yet reached in the history of the Society; and that of the subscribing libraries is 27, also the highest figure yet reached.

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR 1891.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Balance at Bankers', January 1, 1891	312 10 0
do. Petty Cash	4 0 0
103 Resident Members at £3 3s.	9 10 0
67 Non-Resident Members at £1 10s.	16 8 4
75 " " " at £1 1s.	4 19 0
1 " " " (in advance)	4 11 0
Arrears	18 3 1
Compositions	250 0 0
Donation from the India Office	5 0 0
Do. from Gordon Clarke, Esq., M. P. A. S.	25 0 0
Dividend on Stock (N. S. W. £1002 13s. 10d. 4 per cent.)	236 10 6
Sale of Journal and Index	64 0 0
Library Subscriptions for Journal (24 at 50s.)	10 0 0
Fee for use of Library	20 13 7
Advertisements
Lecture—Sale of Tickets and Donations	20 18 11
Rents—
British Association	117 0 0
Hellenic Society (2 quarters)	15 0 0
Naturalists Society	20 0 0
Aristotelian Society	15 15 0
Folk Lore Society	14 14 0
			£1214 10 9½
House—Rent
Insurance
Water
Gas
Coals
Repairs
New Lease
Salaries—Secretary and Assistant
Income Tax
Bedford (pension)
Journal—Printing
Illustrations
Library—Preparing Catalogue, on account
Bookbinding
Lecture Expenses
Stationery and Miscellaneous Printing
Postage, Parcel, and Messengers, etc., etc.
Housekeeper, cleaning, attendance, etc.
Balance at Bank—Dec. 31, 1891
do. Petty Cash
			£1214 10 9½

Examined with the Vouchers and found correct. } H. C. KAY,
 May 12, 1892. } L. ASHBURNER.

One consequence of these figures is the increase of a little over one hundred pounds in the total receipts of the Society for the year 1891, as compared with the figures presented to you at our last meeting. The advertisements, which figure this year in our accounts for the first time, show a receipt of £18 5s. 8d., and the increase in the amount received for subscriptions from members is only a few shillings less than £70. One of the reasons for this improvement in our income is the increase in receipts from advertisements, and from the sale of the Journal. Now that the Society is its own publisher, the whole benefit of any such increase accrues to the Society without any abatement for discount or agency charges. Under both of these latter heads also, as in the number of members and of subscribing libraries, the Council expresses its full confidence that the Society may expect each year an increase, steady, if provokingly slow, in its receipts.

On the expenditure side there is an increase of £20 owing to the higher rent the Society has to pay under its new lease, an increase of £30 in the expenditure on the Society's Journal (most of this being in illustrations), and an increase of £30 under the head of lectures. The general result of the whole account is a balance, in spite of these increased expenditures, of rather more than £50 on the year's working.

As you are aware from the last report, the signs of revival in the Society, continued now through successive years, have encouraged the Council to undertake the publication of a printed catalogue of the Society's valuable library—a work which has, for more than a generation, been a crying want. The preparation of this catalogue, which has entailed considerable labour on all concerned, is now complete; more than 200 pages are actually struck off, several sheets more are in type, and the whole is expected to be published by the end of this year. It will be no less than a landmark in the history of the Society to have carried to a successful completion so long-delayed and so useful, even necessary, a work.

The Council has reason to congratulate the Society on the quality of the papers which are now being offered to them in increasing numbers. They have selected for publication Mr.

Rockhill's standard articles on the present geography and ethnography of Tibet, a detailed account drawn from the Chinese, giving entirely new information which may any day prove to have a political, in addition to its scientific, value. There have appeared also translations of four new Oriental texts (in two cases accompanied by the texts themselves), and the Society has returned to its old love, Assyriology, by publishing five cuneiform texts with translation and notes. The Council considers this side of Oriental enquiry of so much importance that it has decided to issue, as a separate book for students, a selection of reprints from the cuneiform articles to appear in this year's Journal. It is impossible to over-estimate the historical importance of these very early records of mankind, and the Council trusts that the course it has adopted will meet with your approval, more especially as such reprints are comparatively inexpensive.

During the year a systematic re-arrangement and re-numbering of the very valuable MSS. in the possession of the Society has been undertaken. It would be very desirable to have full catalogues of all these MSS. (such as the catalogue of the Hodgson Buddhist MSS. prepared by Professors Cowell and Eggeling) printed in the Society's Journal. It would, however, be too costly a proceeding, in the present state of the Society's finances, to have such catalogues prepared by competent scholars. To make these MSS., many of which have lain for years unused on the Society's shelves, better known to scholars, rough lists of the titles only have therefore been prepared, and these will appear from time to time in the Journal. The special thanks of the Society are due in this respect to its hon. librarian, Dr. Codrington, to Dr. Wenzel and to General Ardagh, who have prepared such lists of the Malay, Persian, Arabic, Tibetan, and Burmese MSS. A rough list of the Sanskrit MS. (not Buddhist) has already appeared, and lists of the Pali and Sinhalese MSS. have been also prepared during the year under review.

The year 1891 was further memorable by the fact that the Society's lease expired in that year. The Council spent

a great deal of time and anxious thought in the endeavour to make the best decision in the Society's interest on this important and difficult question of what course to adopt. Other premises were viewed, and other offers considered, but it was finally decided best on the whole to retain our present premises, though that could only be done at the cost of an increased yearly rental. By the terms of the old lease the Council was compelled to spend a sum of over £200 on the repair of the roof, and on the internal decoration of its rooms. The Society may regret that so large a sum, which it would have preferred to spend on the purchase of books, or in the publication of translations of Oriental texts, has been absorbed by this claim upon it. But the expenditure was absolutely necessary, and indeed legally incumbent on the Society; and it will not recur for many years to come.

The Council has to express its regret that no item appears in the accounts for 1891 for expenditure on books. The margin of available funds was so very narrow that the Council felt it could not recommend any expenditure on this head. But there are a considerable number of books, in various branches of Oriental literature (over and above those the Society receives as presents from the authors or from public or semi-public bodies) which the Society ought to possess. An amount of £100 a year at least would be required to supply the gaps on the Society's shelves where books of first class importance and interest ought to stand. And at least £50 a year will have to be spent for several years to come on bookbinding and repairs in order to put even the existing library in a satisfactory state in this respect. The Council would venture urgently to press home upon the members and on all friends of Oriental and historical research the desirability of donations either of books or of money to meet these crying defects. In this respect the Council has much pleasure in announcing the gift of a handsome selection of books on Siamese history and allied subjects from Mr. Satow, late Her Majesty's Consul at Bangkok.

The Council regrets that the same want of funds has prevented it pushing forward, as it would have wished, the revived Oriental Translation Fund. But as the Society is aware, the generosity of one of their number has already rendered possible the publication of two volumes, and others are to follow under the same auspices. The Council has very much pleasure in announcing that the President of the Society, the Right Honourable the Earl of Northbrook, has most generously undertaken to defray the cost up to the amount of one hundred guineas of the publication of some standard work, if possible Sanskrit, dealing with Indian history. The Council has accordingly selected the *Harsha Carita*, a work, perhaps, more urgently required than any other, and is glad to inform you that Professor Cowell, of Cambridge, has undertaken, with the assistance of Mr. Thomas, of Trinity College, to make the translation into English.

As announced in the lists read at the commencement of the Report, the Society has lost during the year 1891 no less than five of its Honorary Members. Under the rules of the Society vacancies in the list of such members can be filled up only at the Annual General Meeting; and the total number of Honorary Members is not to exceed thirty. The thirty names should be, as far as possible, those of the thirty most distinguished Orientalists in the world, and due regard being had to the representation of as many countries, and also of as many sides of Oriental activity as possible. With these objects in view the Council recommends for election on this occasion

Prof. Schrader,
Brugsch Pasha,
M. Emile Senart,
Sumangala Mahā Nāyaka Unnānsē, and
Prof. Vasilief.

By the rules of the Society Professor Robertson Smith and Professor Sayce, who were elected Vice-Presidents of the Society three years ago, retire from office at this meeting.

The Council begs to recommend that they be elected Vice-Presidents for another three years, and that the Rev. James Legge, D.D., Professor of Chinese at the University of Oxford, be also elected a Vice-President of the Society.

By the rules of the Society the following five members, of whom two are re-eligible, retire this year from the Council.

Mr. E. Delmar Morgan,
Mr. Arbuthnot,
Mr. Dickins,
Sir M. E. Grant-Duff, and
Prof. Macdonell.

The Council proposes for election to fill these vacant places :

Mr. E. Delmar Morgan,
Mr. F. F. Arbuthnot,
The Rev. J. C. Ball,
Mr. E. W. Gibb, and
Dr. Rost.

Copies of the yearly Balance Sheet, as certified by the Honorary Auditors, lie on the table.

Mr. Delmar Morgan moved, and General Pearse seconded the adoption of the Report. This motion, on being put to the meeting, was carried unanimously.

21st June, 1892.—The Earl of NORTHBROOK, President, in the Chair.

The election of the following new members was announced.

1. Mr. H. Altuart.
2. Mr. G. T. Peppe.

Surgeon-Major Oldham, M.R.A.S., read a paper on the Ancient Course of the Sarasvatī. The paper will be printed in full in the Society's Journal.

II. CONTENTS OF FOREIGN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

1. WIENER ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR DIE KUNDE DES MORGENLANDES.

Band vi. Heft 2.

P. Gr. Kalemkiar. Die siebente Vision Daniels.

G. Bickell. Kritische Bearbeitung des Iob-Dialogs.

G. Bühler. A new Variety of the Southern Maurya Alphabet.

A. von Kegl, Seibâni, ein moderner persischer Dichter des Pessimismus.

2. ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT.

Band xxv. Heft iv.

Kresmárik, (J.). Das Waḡfrecht vom Standpunkte des Śarīatrechtes nach der ḡanefitischen Schule.

Huth, (G.). Das buddhistische Sūtra der "Acht Erscheinungen." Tibetischer Text mit Übersetzung von Julius Weber.

Hommel, (Fritz). Ueber den Ursprung und das Alter der Arabischen Sternnamen und insbesondere der Mondstationen.

Stackelberg, (R. von). Iranica.

Schmidt, (Dr. R.). Specimen der Dināḷāpanikāçukasaptati.

Bradke, (P. von). Ueber Vorvedisches im Veda.

Goldziher, (Ign.). Die Ginnen der Dichter.

Jacob, (Georg.). Kannten die Araber wirklich sicilischen Bernstein?

III. OBITUARY NOTICES.

General Sir Lewis Pelly, K.C.B., K.C.S., M.P.—The news of the sudden death of this amiable and distinguished officer, at the age of 67, fell heavily on the ears of his numerous friends and admirers. He joined this Society in 1858, and had served on the Council, and contributed papers to this *Journal*. He went out to Bombay in the Native Infantry

in 1841, but at a very early date he was employed in the Political Department under Sir James Outram and General John Jacob, and he accompanied the former in the Persian expedition in 1856. In 1859 he was Secretary of Legation at Teherán, and became Chargé d'Affaires on the retirement of Sir Henry Rawlinson. In 1861-2 he acted as Consul on the East Coast of Africa; in 1862 he became Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, and in 1872 he accompanied Sir Bartle Frere on his mission to Zanzibar. In 1873 he was Agent to the Governor-General in Rajputána, and in 1874 he was Special Commissioner at Baróda. In 1876 he was appointed Plenipotentiary for the frontier discussion of Afghan affairs, at the special desire of the Viceroy, Lord Lytton, and soon after he returned to England, having received repeatedly the thanks of the Government of India, and the Orders attached to his name. His public career in India and Persia was most remarkable.

But there was a literary side of his career also: he was an admirable Persian scholar, and he contributed to the Proceedings of Scientific Societies, published separate pamphlets, was a constant writer in periodicals and newspapers, and under his direction was collected and published the *Miracle Play of Hasan and Hasain*, a set of thirty-seven dramatic scenes, concerning which the *Times*, in a long review under date August 19th, 1879, remarked that it was full of matter of the highest value to the student of comparative theology; in fact it was a work unique of its kind, and which no one could have put forth who had not the peculiar experiences and knowledge of Sir Lewis Pelly.

In 1885 he stood successfully in the Conservative interest for the Northern Division of Hackney, and sat for that borough up to the date of his death. He knew certain subjects well, and wisely confined himself to those subjects, and when he spoke, his words had due weight. He was a Director of the Imperial British East African Company, and his last utterance in the House of Commons was in connection with the affairs of East Africa, with which his official experience had made him very familiar.



He was extremely courteous in his manner, and agreeable and instructive in his conversation, and he was one of the best type of the Anglo-Indian officials.

R. N. C.

June 9th, 1892.

Mr. Stephen Austin, of Hertford.—The death, at the age of 87, occurred at Hertford on Saturday, the 21st of May, of one who in years was perhaps the oldest member of the Royal Asiatic Society. Mr. Austin was printer to the East India College at Haileybury until it was closed in 1858. Supported by the authorities of that institution, he started the printing and publishing of works in Oriental languages, and for many years he was one of the very few Oriental printers in England. As an Oriental printer he acquired a world-wide reputation, and many of the finest specimens of Oriental typography have borne his name. In 1834 he started the newspaper since known as the *Hertfordshire Mercury*, and for upwards of fifty years he actively superintended its publication. After the extinction of the East India Company the college buildings at Haileybury were purchased by the British Land Company as a speculation; and it was largely owing to the unwearying exertions and persevering energy of Mr. Stephen Austin that the old college was preserved as a place of education, and the present successful public school founded on its site. For the last 25 years the Journal of the Society has been printed at Hertford, and a great variety of Oriental types have been introduced into its pages in beautiful style and with great accuracy: books were produced from his press in the following languages, Sanskrit, Bangālī, Arabic, Persian, Pashtu, Hindustani, Hindī, and Hebrew, all these with different or varying alphabets: there were also considerable issues in the more familiar languages and alphabets of Europe, Greek, Latin, French, and English.

Mr. Austin received gold medals from Her Majesty the Queen and the Empress Eugenie of France, in acknowledgment of the taste and skill displayed in his productions, and medals of the first class at the International Exhibitions of

Paris and London, and in 1883 the Congress International des Orientalistes presented him with a diploma for services rendered to Oriental literature.

Full of enterprize in early life, and of sympathetic intelligence in his declining years, he secured to himself firm and lasting friendships: he was highly appreciated for his services by his fellow citizens, and his death has left a gap which will not easily be filled.

R. N. C.

June 8, 1892.

IV. NOTES AND NEWS.

The Game of Wei Chi.—At a recent meeting at Shanghai of the China branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, M. Volpicelli read a paper on "The Game of Wei-chi," which, he said, was the great game of China. It is considered by the Chinese to be far superior to chess, and to be the special game of the literary class. Wei-chi possesses interesting features and requires great skill in playing. It has for us the merit of absolute novelty, because it differs essentially from all Western games. Unlike chess or draughts, the men are never taken, but remain where they are played. The game is not a series of skilful evolutions, but a successive occupation of points which, joined together, give a final winning position. Though the game is on a very extensive scale, the board containing 361 places and the men employed being nearly 200 aside, still it is very simple in principle, all the men having the same value and the same powers. To achieve the object of the game on such an extensive board requires great foresight and profound calculation. This object is to occupy as much space on the board as possible. He who at the end of the game commands most places has won. This can be carried out in two ways—by enclosing empty spaces on the board with a certain number of one's men, and by surrounding and capturing the enemy's men. The name wei-chi comes from wei, meaning "to surround." Though it is so easy to state

in general terms the object the player has in view, it requires great skill to effect it if the player is matched with a good adversary. While he is trying to surround the enemy's men his are being surrounded by the adversary's, and this often occurs in the same part of the board, so that the men get interlocked and the position of one additional man may turn the scale. As there is no piece of vital importance, like the King at chess, and as the object of the game is of a general arithmetical character—to secure most places—the places lost in one part of the board may be compensated by surrounding the enemy in another quarter; so that wei-chi, instead of concentrating the attention of the player in one spot, as in chess, on the King, diffuses it all over the board. Very nice calculation is always necessary, so that one may balance the losses here with the gains there. The game was first mentioned in Chinese writings about B.C. 625. It was probably derived from the Babylonian astronomers, who were at that time the teachers of the East. Chinese Emperors have been very fond of the game, though it subjects them to the necessity of forgetting their rank, and those who play with the Emperor sit in his presence. It is recorded of an Emperor of the fourth century that on one occasion he made a move irregularly. The courtier who was playing with him held the Monarch's finger, and the Emperor was not offended. This was thought important enough to be mentioned in history.

Khalsa College.—The Sikh community at Lahore has been celebrating the opening of the new College for the education of the Sikhs there.

Mr. Fleet.—We are glad to see that the University of Göttingen has granted to Mr. Fleet the Honorary Degree of *Philosophiæ Doctor* for his distinguished services to Indian epigraphy and other branches of historical study in India.

Captain Bower's Expedition.—This traveller, together with Dr. Thorold and the rest of the party, arrived safely in Shanghai on Tuesday, the 12th of March, having traversed Ladak and a portion of Tibet.

The Mythical Bird (Syena, Saena, Rok Garuḍa).—Mr. Casartelli, M.R.A.S., has sent to the library a copy of his brochure on the Vedic, Persian, Arabic, and later Indian forms of this legend. The little pamphlet is a very excellent guide to the literature of the subject, and contains a very ingenious and probably true explanation of the mysterious name Rukh, or Rokh, given to this gigantic bird in the Arabian Nights.

Jñāneṣvara.—At Alundi, about ten miles from Poona, an annual festival is held in honour of an old Mahratta scholar of this name, who is supposed to have lived at the end of the twelfth century, and to have completed his *Dnyānevari* (a commentary in old Mārāṭhī on the Bhagavad Gītā) in the Saka year 1212. He is also the author of the *Jñāneṣvarashtaka* mentioned in Burnell's Catalogue.

Cremation of D. A. De Silva Baṭuwantudava Pandit.—A correspondent, Mr. Capper, of the *Ceylon Times*, has sent us the following interesting particulars as supplied to that paper:—

“Last Saturday morning there was a copious supply of white sand strewn from one corner to the other in Dam Street, which, according to Eastern custom, indicated an occurrence of a most dismal nature. It was the cremation day of Pandit Batuwantudava, an oriental scholar, whose equal can hardly be found in Ceylon. As the day wore on groups of sympathizers and friends were wending their way to his residence; and by 3 p.m., the appointed time for the removal of his remains, there was a large concourse of people assembled, not deterred by the inclemency of the weather which continued throughout the day. Precise to time, the hearse moved on in the following order of procession: First, there was a cart containing *pori* (roasted paddy), which was sprinkled all along the way as a mark of respect for the departed. Next followed a number of boys with banners and flags, succeeded by a dozen tomtom beaters, who played a sort of dead march. Then came the hearse with the pall-bearers, followed closely by the principal mourners, sons, and near relations of the

deceased, the numerous sympathizers and friends closing the procession.

“At the crematorium over 200 Buddhist priests of different sects awaited the approach of the hearse. There were the high priest Sumangala and his followers, Dharmarama and his followers, Suriyagoda priest representing the Malwatta Vihara, Mulleriyawa priest representing the Cotta sect, and also the priests of the Amarapura sect.

“After the coffin was removed and laid on the pyre by the relatives of the deceased, the usual offering of cloths (*pansakula*) was made by them to the priests. The time having come for the oration over the deceased, the high priest by right of office had to discharge this duty. He was, however, overpowered with grief at the sad bereavement he had sustained in the loss of one who was dear to him as a fellow student in early days, and as a fellow labourer in the literary field later in life. He could only speak a few words, deputing the work to priest Nanissara, his ablest pupil, who delivered a short and comprehensive speech, first dwelling on the unselfish, pure, and modest life led by the deceased, combined with abilities in the department of oriental languages rarely to be met with; next, the duty of relations and friends to honour such a man; and, lastly, what benefits they will derive therefrom. The discourse being over, the pyre was set fire to by the nephew (sister's son, Mr. F. S. Abeyratna) of the deceased, in accordance with ancient rites.

“Thus closes the last scene in the life of Pandit Baṭu-wantudava. That he has rendered eminent service for his country's good goes without question. A better knowledge of medicine has been disseminated among the native vedaralas by Sanskrit works being translated into the vernacular by the pandit; and his efforts in the direction of religious and metaphysical works have given an impetus to oriental studies among Buddhist priests and laymen, and have also opened the way to those interested in the study of Buddhism. His work in connection with the Mahāwansa, required by the Ceylon Government, should receive marked

recognition. A few pages of the *Tikā* (commentaries) was being revised by the pandit when he was cut off. One of his sons is treading in his footsteps, and with oriental studies he combines a knowledge of modern languages which was wanting in the pandit, and which placed him at a very great disadvantage with oriental scholars in Europe.—*Ceylon Times*.

Mohammedan Coins.—Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole has just finished his "Catalogue of the Coins of the Mogul Emperors of Hindustan in the British Museum," from the invasion of Baber in 1525 to the establishment of a British currency by the East India Company in 1835. It contains descriptions of over 1400 coins, chiefly gold and silver, 500 of which will be represented in the autotype plates illustrating the work. As the Museum possesses incomparably the finest collection in the world of this splendid coinage the volume will offer a special interest to Indian students and collectors. In his introduction, Mr. Lane-Poole deals with the various historical, geographical, and other problems suggested by the coinage, and with the difficulties of classification presented by the early imitative issues of the East India Company and the French *Compagnie des Indes*. This volume, the fourteenth, will complete the description of the entire collection of Mohammedan coins in the Museum, which has been in course of publication since 1835 and with which may be grouped the same author's analogous "Catalogue of the Arabic Glass Weights," 1891, and Mr. R. S. Poole's "Catalogue of Persian Coins."

Indian Numismatics.—Mr. Rodgers, Honorary Numismatist to the Government of India, has finished his "Catalogue of the Coins with Persian or Arabic Inscriptions in the Lahore Museum," and practically finished his "Catalogue of the Coins in the Calcutta Museum." His own immense collection has now been purchased by the Pañjāb Government, and he has nearly completed his catalogue of that. These catalogues will be of very great importance alike for the numismatics, and for the modern history of India, and we congratulate the distinguished author on the completion of his laborious task.

Indian Scholars.—We have been requested to publish the following correspondence :

63, *Elm Park Gardens, S.W.*,
27th May, 1892.

MY LORD,—I am one of the oldest students of the Languages of British India, and venture to address your Lordship on the subject of the necessity of extending some additional encouragement to the study of these languages, and of Indian Archæology.

The abolition of the Indian Army, and of a Covenanted Civil Service trained in a special college, has cut away the sources of the former supply of Oriental scholars. No civilian of the past generation would have had any scientific knowledge of languages if he had not been trained at the East India College of Haileybury.

The Civil and Military services do not now produce scholars; no doubt for their special duties they are equally, or even more, efficient, but the steady flow of Oriental scholars has ceased. The Educational Department does not supply the void, and language is but a small fraction of that Department. Nor does the native community, with some rare and splendid exceptions, supply scholars who can hold their own in European circles.

This failure is becoming yearly more manifest at the triennial Congresses of Oriental Scholars held at the different capital cities of Europe, nearly all of which I have attended.

If any post falls vacant, requiring scholarship, in Great Britain, or the Colonies, or even in British India, a Continental scholar has to be sent for, which wounds the *amour propre* of the subjects of Her Majesty.

It occurs to the undersigned, who at the close of a long career dedicated to the best interests of British India, has no personal object to serve, to suggest that your lordship might, with advantage, extend to young scholars in Oriental Languages and Indian Archæology, the same encouragement of Imperial favour, as is properly extended to the great Engineer, or Soldier, or Judge, or Administrator; some members of the very distinguished Civil and Military

Services might then be induced to strive to maintain the glories of the epoch which produced Sir W. Jones, Mr. Colebrook, and Dr. H. H. Wilson, and others of a later date. At present this branch of study is nearly entirely neglected.

The undersigned takes the liberty of illustrating his argument by two instances: Mr. Brian Hodgson, still living at the age of ninety, and the late Sir Henry Yule; the names of both these scholars is mentioned with respect and admiration in Continental circles. In their own country their services to literature have, in the first case been entirely unacknowledged, and in the latter, so tardily, that death accompanied the honour. It is true that they, and others of the older generation, have laboured *for the work's sake*, not for the chance of honour, and in that they have their full, *and to them sufficient*, reward; but the object of the State should be to encourage others, and it seems as if the younger generation is compelled now to enquire, what will pay best in the long run, and, as certainly Oriental study does not in that sense pay, it suffers, and the high repute of the British name suffers with it. It is an object of desire to secure to the British name an all round reputation in arts and arms, and in every branch of human science, especially in a branch so closely connected with the religion, customs, and culture, and welfare of the great Indian nation confided to our charge.

It is therefore, with the profoundest respect, that I suggest to your lordship, that year by year a certain number of honorary decorations be reserved to those who have distinguished themselves in the advance of Indian Languages, Literature, Archæology, and Culture, whether Europeans or Natives of Asia. Some men return to their home, illustrious as Soldiers, or Statesmen, or Judges, or Engineers; let it be possible that to some it should be permitted to be honoured as Scholars, and possibly the fruit of their labours will survive into the next generation, when the achievements of the other illustrious public servants will be forgotten. It may perhaps be argued that in this respect, viz., in the enduring of their reputation to future ages, they have their

reward, and that the Father of Buddhist research and the Author of the Life of Marco Paolo would gain no additional lustre from anything that the Secretary of State for India had it in his power to give, but perhaps the Secretary of State himself might derive honour from the fact that he honoured those who were deserving of honour; at any rate younger scholars would be encouraged. There are some who have not attained such honours, though worthy of them; there are others who would not care for them, if offered for their acceptance; but there are others who in youth or middle life, with still unexhausted powers, might be encouraged to labour on the prospect of the fruits of their labour being recognized, and in behalf of the young scholars now in India I venture to intrude on your lordship's patience.—I am, your lordship's obedient servant,

R. N. Cusr.

*To the Right Honble.,
The Secretary of State for India,
India Office.*

Copy of Reply.

SIR,—I am directed by Lord Cross to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 27th instant, and to thank you for the suggestions contained in it as to the encouragement of Oriental Scholarship.

His Lordship desires me to say that your remarks will be borne in mind, and that a copy of your letter will be sent to the Viceroy for his information.—I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

A. W. WILLIAM WYNN.

India Office, June 10th, 1892.

V.—NOTICES OF BOOKS.

ZUR GESCHICHTE UND KRITIK DES MAHĀBHĀRATA. Von
Dr. ADOLF HOLTZMANN. (Kiel, 1892.).

In this work the Epic is traced by Dr. Holtzmann (who incidentally complains of the almost exclusive attention bestowed on Vedic and dramatic literature) from its primeval Indo-Germanic home, to its development in India. There he asserts, "Epos und Veda sind gleich alt," the Epic flourishing alongside of, but quite independent of, the religious and philosophic poetry of the Brāhmins, being specially the property of the warrior caste, composed by bards at the courts of kings, and handed down by oral tradition. It had in its oldest forms as its gods Brahmā, Indra, and Agni, and in its later developments Viṣṇu and Siva, and it was only gradually united into a chronological sequence, arranged so as to please the king at whose court the bard resided.

The instances of Polyandry, the rules of family right and caste customs, as well as the great freedom of women, are examined to show the age of the underlying portion of the poem. The construction of the poem, in its collected form, is believed by Dr. Holtzmann, after a careful and critical study of the chief personages, to be the work of one individual poet, whom he believes to have been a Buddhist, at the court of Asoka, or one of his immediate successors. The invasion of Alexander the Great is said to have roused a national spirit, and the Hindu monarch, who ruled at the time, is supposed to be depicted in the character of Suyodhana, or, as he appears afterwards in the Brāhmanical revision, Duryodhana.

References to Buddhism are suggested in Cārvāka, the mendicant monk, in the connection between the name of Asvatthāman and the *ficus religiosa* (asvattha): in the passing of the amulet in the forehead of Asvatthāman (the personification of decaying Buddhism), to Yudhishtira, the believer in Vishnuism, and in the red cloth, Kashāya (Pali

Kasāva) of the Buddhist (?) mendicant. The absence of any clear signs of Buddhism in the poem is accounted for by the suggestion that the Buddhism in its earliest form differed but slightly from Brahmanism, and that all signs of Buddhism were carefully expunged by the Brāhmanical revisers. The first Brāhmanical revision is ascribed by the author to the revolt from Buddhism caused by its leanings towards Sivaism adopted from the Demonology of the Dravidian aborigines. This revision was a wholesale falsification of the old Epic, Yudhishtira being in the new version extolled as a king after the hearts of the Brāhmins, and Krishna exalted into an incarnation of Vishnu, a type of the pantheistic deity. The Brāhmanical tendency is shown in the introduction of the Brāhman Vyāsa as the author of the poem substituted for Bhishma as the father of Dhritarāshṭra, Pāndu, and Vidura. A second Puranic revision was undertaken by the Brāhmins between the years 900-1100, who found it necessary, as soon as all fear of opposition from Buddhism had passed away, to retain their supremacy and strengthen their position by incorporating the old Sivaitic superstitions into the poem, where they may be traced, according to Dr. Holtzmann, as mere mechanical mixtures, the old Vishnavite portions being on the other hand chemically combined. The enlargement of the poem, the metre and grammatical forms of which were then definitely fixed, the introduction of didactic sections, and even the addition of entirely new books were the result of this Puranic revision. The whole argument is in the highest degree interesting and suggestive. It will be followed by two further volumes. The first of these will give a critical survey of the additions, etc., of the whole poem, and also of the meaning and history of the various parts of it; and the second will deal with the relations of the poem to the rest of Sanskrit literature

C. H.

GRAMMAR OF THE GUJARÁTI LANGUAGE. By Rev. Wm. St. Clair Tisdall, Missionary of C.M.S. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co. London, 1892.)

This is one of the important series of Trübner's Collection of Simplified Grammars of the principal Asiatic and European Language, and the twenty-second of that series. The author is a missionary of the Church Missionary Society, and his knowledge has been obtained on the spot from intercourse with people who speak the language. The language is one of the important Arian languages of Northern India, which make up what may be called the Neo-Sanskritic family, as they occupy to the Sanskrit the same relation that the Neo-Latin Languages of Europe occupy to Latin. The population which speaks this language exceeds seven millions.

Our author is by no means the first, or the only, grammarian in the field. The literature of this language in the strict sense is poor, but there is great activity in the Native presses, and a great many newspapers are published in Gujaráti: there is one distinct and well-defined dialect, the Parsi, and the whole Bible is translated into the language. There is a form of written character peculiar to the language.

The author tells us in his preface that when he arrived in Bombay not a single copy of the earlier grammars could be obtained; he alluded to two Vernacular Grammars of later date, one by the Rev. J. Taylor, and the other by Sir T. C. Hope, Educational Inspector. He mentions also a Handbook of Gujaráti Grammar by P. M. Bhatt.

The Grammar is accompanied by a set of Reading Lessons and a Vocabulary, and is very creditably turned out, and no doubt will be very useful.

March 25th, 1892.

R. N. C.

GRAMMAR OF THE TÉLUGU LANGUAGE. By HENRY MORRIS, Esq., late of H. M. Indian Civil Service. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co. 1890.)

The Telinga or Telugu language is one of the four great Dravidian forms of speech of South India which have been

enriched and strengthened by an infusion of Arian words. It is spoken by a population of nearly twelve millions, according to the Census of 1881, in a ring fence, and occupying the northern portion of the Province of Madras. It has a written character of its own; the symbols differ in form from the Nágari alphabet of North India, but the group of the symbols in both alphabets is homogeneous indicating a common origin.

It is a language with a considerable literature, and well supplied with grammars and dictionaries, and the whole Bible has been translated into it; it is a vigorous and important vernacular. Mr. Morris' Grammar is carefully prepared, beautifully printed, and will be of great use to future students. A short text is given with a careful analysis.

March 25th, 1892.

R. N. C.

A COMPREHENSIVE GRAMMAR OF THE SINHALESE LANGUAGE.

BY ABRAHAM MENDIS GUNASEKARA, M.R.A.S., Ceylon Branch. (Colombo, Skeen.)

This substantial volume of 516 pages, royal 8vo., is by far the best and most complete grammar of the Sinhalese language which has yet appeared. Adapted primarily for the use of students and writers in the Ceylon Civil Service, it will also be found the most reliable work of reference on the subject by philological students here in Europe. It is a pity, however, that the book has not been constructed on historical principles. The forms given, not only in the paradigms of nouns, verbs, etc., but also in the examples on the rules of syntax, are not always in current use, and obsolete forms of different periods are given indiscriminately side by side. Sinhalese literature having lasted through so many centuries, during which the language was constantly changing, it is not possible to give any grammar that will apply equally to all the books it contains. It would have been better therefore either to omit the Elu forms not now in use or to trace the history of the various grammatical forms now obsolete, the insertion of which has so much increased the bulk of the work.

ART. IX.—*Catalogue and Description of 27 Bábí Manuscripts.*
By E. G. BROWNE, M.A., M.R.A.S.¹

To my second paper on the Bábís in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1889 I added an Appendix (App. IV, pp. 1000–1008), wherein I briefly described some of the chief Bábí works of which I had obtained MSS. in Persia, arranging these according to their authorship and the date of their composition, where these could be determined. Of the MSS. themselves (some of which were of composite character) I gave no description. This I now regard as an error of judgement, since, for many reasons (and chiefly that in the future, when they shall pass into other hands, there may be no difficulty in identifying them), it is desirable that their contents should be clearly and succinctly stated. This defect in my previous work I now propose to remedy; but I should not perhaps have done so were it not that since the year 1889 I have acquired a considerable number of new MSS. from authentic sources, a description of which may facilitate the identification of Bábí MSS. in other collections. To each of these MSS. I shall now give a distinctive press-mark, which shall be inscribed on the title-page, and which shall serve for its future identification. The whole class I denote by the letters *BB* (the first *B* indicating that they are Bábí MSS., the second that they form part of my collection).

¹ Throughout this article I employ, in referring to my previous writings on the Bábís, and to those of Baron Rosen, the abbreviations already explained at the beginning of my last article (*J.R.A.S.* for April, 1892, pp. 259–260), which is itself denoted by the abbreviation *B. iii*, just as this article will in future be referred to as *B. iv*.

I further subdivide them according to the source whence they were obtained as follows:—

- (I.) MSS. obtained in Persia between the dates February 28th, 1888 (when I first succeeded in establishing communications with the Bábís at Isfahán), and August 22, 1888, when I acquired my last Persian MS. (the Persian Beyán) in Rafsinján near Kirmán. MSS. of this class I denote by the letters *BBP* (the *P* standing for Persia).
- (II.) MSS. obtained from Cyprus as a result of the correspondence which, through the kindness of Captain Young, the Commissioner of Famagusta, I have been enabled to carry on since July, 1889, with Şubh-i-Ezel (see *T.N. ii*, pp. xviii.—xx.) All these MSS., with the exception of three or four which were brought to Şubh-i-Ezel from Persia in the summer of 1890, were transcribed by himself. I feel that it is only due to him to state that he undertook this laborious task solely from a desire to render the writings of his beloved Master accessible to the western world and out of sheer kindness to myself. I was unable to make him any return, save sundry little services utterly incommensurable with the value of his gifts, and quite undeserving of mention. All these MSS. (including one or two which he placed in my hands while I was in Cyprus in March–April, 1890) are denoted by the letters *BBF* (the *F* standing for Famagusta).
- (III.) MSS. obtained at Acre in April, 1888, or from Acre since that date. These were in all cases given or sent to me by Behá'u'lláh's eldest son, 'Abbás Efendí, his second son, Badí'u'lláh, or his third son, Ziyá'u'lláh.¹ When sent, they were accompanied by letters in which the title or nature of

¹ I believe that Behá has or had more than three sons, but these are all that I have seen or corresponded with.

the book was stated. These MSS. are denoted by the letters *BBA* (the *A* standing for Acre).

- (IV.) MSS. obtained from Sheykh A—, a learned Ezeli resident in Constantinople, who is in constant communication with Şubḥ-i-Ezel, and is implicitly trusted by him, and of whose learning and integrity alike I have had good proof. These MSS. are denoted by the letters *BBC* (the *C* standing for Constantinople).

The MSS. in each class are further specified by a number appended to the class-letters, which number denotes simply the order in which they came into my hands. Thus the first MS. obtained from Famagusta is denoted as *BBF. 1*, the second as *BBF. 2*, and so on. With this preliminary explanation of the plan of classification adopted (which, it will be observed, is empirical rather than rational, but which nevertheless appeared to me for several reasons the most satisfactory), I proceed to the detailed enumeration of the MSS., some of which, having been elsewhere sufficiently noticed, can be dismissed very shortly, while others will need a fuller description.

CLASS I. MSS. OBTAINED IN PERSIA.

BBP. 1.

ایقان

Ff. 82 (ff. 1^a, 81^b, 82^a, and 82^b blank), 22·25 × 11·25 centimetres, 22 lines to the page. Bought at Isfahán on March 1st, 1888, for 26 kráns (rather less than sixteen shillings). Unfortunately it has twice suffered serious damage, *firstly* by the bursting open of a portable ink-bottle with which it was packed, whereby the margins of the leaves were much stained; and, *secondly*, by the adhesion of a good many opposite leaves (either from undue pressure or unusual stickiness of the ink) in the process of

binding. In many parts it is consequently now almost illegible, though when I described it in 1888 it was in good condition.

For a general account of the work see Baron Rosen's description in *Coll. Sc. iii*, pp. 32-51; *B. ii*, pp. 944-9; and *Coll. Sc. vi*, pp. 143-4.

The work was composed, as I have already shown (p. 305 *supra*), two years after Behá's return to Baghdad from the mountains of Kurdistán, *i.e.* in A.H. 1274 (A.D. 1858-9), while he still owned allegiance to Şubh-i-Ezel. The passage which proves this has been already alluded to (*cf.* also *B. ii*, p. 946), but it is so important that, as it is not included in the extracts given by Baron Rosen, I here give it in full. It occurs on ff. 78^b-79^b of the present MS., and ff. 123^a-125^a of the Acre MS. which will be described presently. I follow the latter, which offers a better as well as a more legible text.

باری امید داریم که اهل بیان تربیت شوند و در هوای روح
 طیران نمایند و در فضای روح ساکن شوند حق را از غیر حق تمیز
 دهند و تلبیس باطل را بدیده بصیرت بشناسند (f. 123^b) اگرچه در
 این ایام راحه حسدی وزیده که قسم بمرگی وجود از غیب
 و شهود که از اول بنای وجود عالم با اینکه آن را اولی نه تا حال
 چنین غلّ و حسد و بغضائی ظاهر نشده و نخواهد شد چنانچه
 جمعی که راحه انصاف را نشنیده اند رایات نفاق بر افراخته اند
 و بر مخالفت این عبد اتفاق نموده اند و از هرجهت رهگی آشکار
 و از هر سمت تیری طیار با اینکه باحدی در امری افتخار نمودم
 و بنفسی برتری مجستم مع هر نفسی مصاحبی بودم در نهایت
 مهربان و رفیقی بغایت بردبار و رایگان با فقرا مثل فقرا بودم و با
 علما و عظاما در کمال تسلیم و رضا مع ذلک فوالله الذی لا اله الا
 هو با آنهمه ابتلا و بأساء و ضرآء که از اعدآء و اولی کتاب وارد شد

نزد آنچه از احبّاء وارد شد معدوم صرف است و مفقود بحت باری چه اظهار نمایم که امکان را اگر انصاف باشد طاقت این بیان نه و این (f. 124^a) عبد در اوّل ورود این ارض چون فی الجمله بر امورات محدثه بعد اطلاع یافتم از قبل مهاجرت اختیار نمودم و سر در بیابانهای فراق نهادم و دو سال وحده در صحراهای هجر بسر بردم و از عیونم عیون جاری بود و از قلبم بحور دم ظاهر چه لیالی که قوت دست نداد و چه ایام که جسد راحت نیافت و با این بلایای نازله و رزایای متواتره فوالذی نفسی بیده کمال سرور موجود بود و نهایت فرح مشهود زیرا که از ضرر و نفع و صحت و سقم نفسی اطلاع نبود بخود مشغول بودم و از ما سوی غافل و غافل از اینکه کمند قضای الهی اوسع از خیال است و تیر تقدیر او مقدّس از تدبیر سررا از کمندش مجات نه و اراده اش را جز رضا چاره نه قسم بخدا که این مهاجرتم را خیال مراجعت نبود و مسافرت مرا امید مواسلت نه و مقصود جز این نبود که محل اختلاف احباب نشوم و مصدر انقلاب (f. 124^b) اصحاب نگردم و سبب نمر احدى نشوم و علت حزن قلبی نگردم غیر از آنچه ذکر شد خیالی نبود و امری منظور نه اگرچه هر نفسی محملی بست و بهوای خود خیالی نمود باری تا آنکه از مصدر امر حکم رجوع صادر شد و لابد تسلیم نمودم و راجع شدم دیگر قلم عاجز است از ذکر آنچه بعد از رجوع ملاحظه شد حال دو سنه میگذرد که اعداء در اهلاک این عبد فانی بنهایت سعی و اهتمام دارند چنانچه جمیع مطلع شده اند مع ذلک نفسی از احباب نصرت نموده و بهیچوجه اعانتی منظور نداشته بلکه از عوض نصر

¹ BBP. 1. om. از bene.

حزنها که متوالی و متواتر قولاً و فعلاً مثل غیث هاطل وارد میشود و این عبد در کمال رضا جان بر کف حاضر م که شاید از عنایت الهی و فضل سبحانی این حرف مذکور مشهور در سبیل نقطه و کلمه علیا فدا شود و جان در باز و اگر این خیال نبود (f. 125^a) فوالذی نطق الروح بامرہ آنی در این بلد توقف نمینمودم و کفی باللہ شهیداً اختم القول بلا حول و لا قوۃ الا باللہ و انا لله و انا الیه راجعون *

BBP. 2.

A Commentary on the Tradition كُنْتُ كَنْزًا مَخْفِيًا composed by Behá's eldest son, 'Abbás Efendi, for 'Alí Shevket Púshá.

Ff. 24 (ff. 1^a, 23^b, 24^a, and 24^b blank), 18·75 × 12 centimetres, 18 lines to the page. Written in a small neat *naskh* hand. Bought in Isfahán along with the MS. described above.

Begins :

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذى قد حرك الذرات بحركة جذب صمدانيته و قد مَوَّجَ ابحر الكينونات بما هبَّت و فاحت عليها من ارياح عَزَّ فردانيته و قد طرَّز الواح الوجود بالنقطة التى اندرجت و اندمجت فيها الحروفات و الكلمات

The Persian preface begins on f. 2^a, l. 7, as follows :

و بعد بر ناظر این کلمات و واقف این اشارات معلوم و مشهود بوده نظر بخواش و طلب سالک مسالک هدایت و بنده حلقه بگوش شاه ولایت و طالب اسرار غیبیه الهیه و واقف اشارات

خفیه ربانیه محب خاندان و اهل بیت حضرت مصطفی دوست درویشان و منظور نظر ایشان متوسل بعروة الله الوثقی و السبب الاقوی علی شوکت پاشا ولد مرحوم آقا حسین پاشا و فقه الله لما یشاء این درویش اراده نموده که شرح مختصری و تفسیر موجز و مفیدی بحدیث قدسی مشهور که کنت کنزاً مخفیاً فاحببت ان اعرف فخلقت الخلق لاعرف مرقوم دارد

Ends :

ای حبیب این بال و پر در هم شکسته گل آلوده را که از قدم عالم حکایت میکند بریز تا بپره‌های عزّ توحید در این فضای وسیع و سماء (f. 23^a) منیع پرواز نمائی بجان بکوش تا بمائده بدیعه که از سماء هوایه در نزولست متنعم گردی و بفواکه قدسیه از شجره لا شرقیه و لا غربیه مرزوق شوی این طیور آشیانه حیرت را شوری دیگر در سراسر و این آوارگان سبیل محبوب را جذبی دیگر در دل باید چهار تکبیر بر ما کان و ما یکون زد و عزم کوی جانان کرد چشم را از غیر دوست بر بست و بجمال مشهود کشود و سامعه را از کل اذکار پاک و مطهر ساخت تا از مزامیر آل داود الحان بدیع ملیک محمود استماع نمود *

So far as I have read this treatise I find no mention of the author's name, but Bábí tradition ascribes it to 'Abbás Efendí. Scattered through the commentary, which in the main reflects the ideas of the Şúfis, are hints of Bábí doctrine, including discussions on the meaning of the "Point" (نقطه) and the "Unity" (واحد), which latter is regarded as the "manifestation" of "the One" (احد).

BBP. 3.

کتاب اقدس

Ff. 67 (ff. 1^a, 67^a, and 67^b blank), 16 × 10·25 centimetres, 14 lines to the page. Written in a small neat *naskh* hand. Heading, as well as initial or final words in some parts, written in blue ink. Given to me by one of the Bábís of Shíráz on April 2nd, 1888.

See *B. i*, p. 495; *B. ii*, pp. 972–981 and 1007–8; *Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 144. To this work I formerly gave the name *Lawḥ-i-Aḥdas* which I had heard applied to it by the Bábís in Persia. I was informed at Acre that its proper title is *Kitāb-i-Aḥdas*, and that the name *Lawḥ-i-Aḥdas* properly denotes an Epistle addressed to the Christians. This detail is independently confirmed by M. Toumansky. (See *Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 243, n. 1.)

BBP. 4.

کتاب اقدس

Ff. 104 (ff. 1^a–17^a and 90^b–104^b blank), 13 × 8 centimetres, 11 lines to the page, Invocation (بِسْمِ الْحَاكِمِ عَلَى مَا كَانَ وما يكون) in red. Written in a good bold *naskh* hand by Hájí Mírzá H—, the Bábí missionary whom I met at Shíráz (*B. i*, pp. 492, 495; *B. ii*, p. 972, and p. 312 *supra*), who received in return the sum of one *túmán* (six shillings).

The same work as that last described.

BBP. 5.

تاریخ جدید

Ff. 189 (ff. 1^a–2^a and 189^b blank), 21 × 13 centimetres, 19 lines to the page. Written in legible Persian *ta'liq* of an unpretentious character by a scribe who, from the mistakes in orthography of which he is not seldom guilty, was evidently a man of no great

education. Given to me by the Bábís of Shíráz in April, 1888. Concerning this important work see pp. 318-9 *supra*; *B. i*, p. 496; *B. ii*, pp. 1002-3; *Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 244; and *T.N. ii*, pp. 192-7 and *passim*.

Recent researches have thrown no small light on the origin and authorship of this history. As the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press have consented to publish an abridged translation of it which I have prepared, I prefer to reserve a full discussion of these points for the Introduction to that work, and will here confine myself to a brief statement of the more important facts.

I have previously had occasion to observe (p. 319 *supra*) that the *Tárikh-i-Jadíd* was in great measure based on a contemporary history of the Bábí movement written by Hájí Mírzá Jání of Káshán, who suffered martyrdom at Teherán in 1852. Till quite recently all my attempts to discover some trace of the earlier work proved ineffectual. Last Easter, however, I at length found opportunity to examine the five Bábí MSS. belonging to the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris which were brought back from Persia by Count Gobineau. Of these five MSS. two were in Persian and three in Arabic. Of the former, one (Suppl. Pers. 1,070) contained part, and the other (Suppl. Pers. 1,071) the whole of a partly doctrinal, partly historical work which at once rivetted my attention, and which, as I hope to prove conclusively in the Introduction to my translation of the *Tárikh-i-Jadíd*, appears to be nothing less than the hitherto lost work of Hájí Mírzá Jání. I was not able to subject this MS. to an exhaustive examination, the period of my stay in Paris not sufficing for this, but I found in it, reproduced almost word for word, the bulk of the more important narratives quoted from Hájí Mírzá Jání's work in the *Tárikh-i-Jadíd*, these being told either as the writer's own experiences, or as accounts heard at first-hand from those concerned. If this Parisian MS. be indeed (as I for my part feel assured is the case) the history of Hájí Mírzá Jání, its value can scarcely be over-estimated.

Not less important are the results of inquiries instituted amongst the Bábís of 'Ishkábád by Lieutenant Toumansky (of whose previous researches some account will be found at pp. 318-322 *supra*). Of these results, for the communication of which I am indebted to the unfailing kindness of Baron Rosen, Lieutenant Toumansky has most courteously permitted me to make use for this article. As I cannot possibly express them more clearly or more concisely than Baron Rosen has done, I prefer to quote his words. He writes :—“ M. Toumansky me donne en outre quelques informations sur le *Tarikh-i-Djadid*. c. à-dire sur l'histoire de la composition de ce livre. Il tient ces informations de Mirza Abou'l-Fazl, ابو الفضل گلپایگانی, domicilié à Samarcand, qui vient souvent à Ashkabad. Cet Abou'l-Fazl est cité dans le *Tarikh-i-Djadid*, comme m'écrivit M. Toumansky, sur une des pages 306-322¹ de *votre* manuscrit en ces mots :

جناب مستطاب شامخ الالقاب میرزا ابو الفضل مرقوم داشته
هتگامی که اصفهان مطلع آفتاب طلعت آمحضرت بود مقرر شد
که مجلسی برپا دارند و در حضور معتمد الدوله منوچهر خان الخ.

Abou'l-Fazl était jadis un des *oulémas* Shiites. Son frère est Moudjtéhid et fut un des membres de la conférence aux 'Kazimein' (*Traveller's Narrative* ii, 85-87). C'est Abou'l-Fazl auquel appartient le commencement du *Tarikh-i-Djadid* jusqu'aux mots :—بنابر,
این ایجاناب نیز بر ذمّه خود فرض دانست
qui se trouvent sur le page 3 du manuscrit de M. Toumansky.² C'est cet Abou'l-Fazl qui a appris à M. Toumansky ce qui suit au sujet de la composition du *Tarikh-i-Djadid*. En 1297 Abou'l-Fazl fit a Téhéran connaissance avec *Manouktchi*. Ce dernier dans ce temps avait l'intention de publier deux ouvrages historiques. L'un d'eux, une

¹ The passage in question actually occurs on pp. 321-2 (ff. 162^b-163^a) of my MS.

² In my MS. these words occur on f. 3^b, l. 10.

histoire des rois iraniens avant l'islamisme fut composé sur l'ordre de Manoukctchi par Ismaïl Khân Zend. La composition de l'autre, c. à-dire l'histoire du Bâb, fut confiée par Manoukctchi à un babide nommé Mirza Hosein Hamadani (qui mourut à Resht en 1299). Manoukctchi lui-même ne pouvait écrire, car il n'était pas habitué à écrire les lettres arabes, mais il désirait voir insérés dans le livre ses souvenirs et ses opinions. Mirza Hosein Hamadani s'adressa à Abou'l-Fazl, qui lui conseilla de prendre pour base la *chronologie du Nâsikh-ut-tevdrikkh*, et renfermer les souvenirs et récits de Manoukctchi dans ce cadre chronologique. Abou'l-Fazl lui-même écrivit une espèce de préface, عنوان. Mirza Hosein Hamadani soumettait son brouillon à Hadji Seyid Djevâd (جواد) Kerbélaï, qui donnait à l'ouvrage la rédaction définitive. Ce *hâdji* était un des savants shiïtes les plus connus. Il était de la famille du Seyid Mehdi surnommé بحر علوم [“the Ocean of Sciences”], avait fait ses premières études à Kerbéla sous la direction du Sheykh Ahmed Akhsâi [شيخ احمد احسائي]. Plus tard il avait profité des leçons de Kâzim Reshti, et enfin devint Bâby. Il avait connu le Bâb encore avant le اظهار. C'est lui qui avait converti au babisme Abou'l-Fazl. Djevâd mourut à Kirmân en 1299, ayant environ 100 ans.—M. Toumansky m'a autorisé à vous écrire ce qui précède. Tout cela repose naturellement sur l'autorité de Abou'l-Fazl. Vous trouverez peut-être encore des renseignements pour confirmer ou réfuter ces remarques sur la composition du *Tarikh-i-Djadid*.”

The only observation which I need at present make on the foregoing version of the compilation of the *Târikh-i-Jadid* is that it seems difficult to ascribe its final recension to Seyyid Jawâd of Kerbelâ, inasmuch as he was one of Subh-i-Ezel's most loyal supporters (See *T.N.* ii, p. 342, n. 2), while the *Târikh-i-Jadid*, in so far as it alludes at all to the later history of the Bâbî movement, manifests Behâ'î sympathies, and systematically ignores Subh-i-Ezel. Moreover, as will be set forth at the end of this article,

when I come to describe the MSS. bearing the press-marks BBC. 1 and BBC. 2, Seyyid Jewád actually composed two large volumes (the *Hasht Bihisht*, vols. i and ii) on the Theory and Practice of the Bábi religion, which are strongly Ezeli in their proclivities. (See also *T.N.* ii, pp. 351-371, and pp. 296-7 *supra*.) It is not unlikely, however, that the two or three passages in the *Tárikh-i-Jadid* which refer to Behá may be interpolations of the copyist, and that, on the other hand, passages bearing reference to Şubḥ-i-Ezel may have been excised. In any case the information obtained by M. Toumansky is invaluable, as affording a definite basis for further investigation.

BBP. 6.

كتاب اقدس. الواح سلاطين. اشعار و الواح متفرقة.

Ff. 40 (ff. 1^a and 40^b blank), 17·5 × 10·5 centimetres. The number of lines to the page varies from 15 to 24, and the writing, a minute and rather illegible *shikasté*, becomes smaller as well as closer after the first few pages. The contents of this MS., as well as the circumstances under which I obtained it at Kirmán, on July 29th, 1888, are fully described at pp. 284-291 *supra*.

BBP. 7.

زيارت نامه. لوح نصير. دلائل سبعة. اشعار و الواح متفرقة.

Ff. 220 (ff. 1^a-19^a, 45^b, 46^a, 52^a-53^a, 90-92^a, 161^a-164^a, 193^a-196^a, 213^b-220^b blank); 20·25 × 6·5 centimetres, 10 lines to the page throughout the prose portions. The poems, which are all at the end, are written in double oblique lines, between which, in some cases, two extra *beyts* are inscribed. Written for me by a Bábi telegraph-clerk at Kirmán in July-August, 1888.

Contents :

Ff. 1^a-19^a blank.

Ff. 19^b-45^b. The *Ziyarat-námé* (زیارت نامه) or "Book of Visitation" (Gobineau's "*Journal du Pèlerinage*") composed by the Báb at the beginning of his mission.

This work I discussed at pp. 896-902 of my second article in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1889, and I there attempted to prove that it was identical with a Bábí work described by Mirza Kazem-Beg at pp. 498-502 of vol. viii (series vi) of the *Journal Asiatique*. In one of my earlier letters to Subh-i-Ezel I enquired as to the authenticity of this work, and he replied, in a letter dated Oct. 1st, 1889, as follows :

کتاب زیارت که اشاره فرموده اند از حضرت نقطه است و بعد از ظهور است و عبارات آن شاهد است و زیارات بسیار نوشته اند محدود بحدی نیست لیکن از حقیر هم کتاب زیارات هست و آن بطرز دیگر است و در این بلد نیست مگر اندکی از آن *

"The *Book of Visitation* of which you spoke is by His Holiness the Point [*i.e.* the Báb], and was [written] *after* the Manifestation,¹ as is witnessed by [some of] the expressions occurring in it. He wrote many *Visitations*: they are not limited by any [definite] limitation. But there is also a *Book of Visitations* by myself. That is [written] in a different style, but there is in this land [*i.e.* Cyprus] but a little of it." Concerning this work see *B. ii*, pp. 896-902 and 1000.

Ff. 45^b-46^a blank.

Ff. 46^b-51^b. A short Epistle, of uncertain authorship, beginning with an Arabic exordium and continuing in Persian.

¹ I had in my letter expressed the same opinion which I advanced in *B. ii* (*loc. cit.*), viz. that the Báb wrote it *before* the Manifestation.



Begins :

هو الباقي الفرد الرفيع
 سبحانه الذى يسجد له كل من فى السموات و الارض و كل اليه
 يرجعون سبح الله كل من فى الوجود من الغيب و الشهود و كل
 اليه يقبلون بيده الامر و الخلق يخلق ما يشاء بامرہ لا اله الا هو
 العزيز القيوم

The Persian part begins on f. 47^b, l. 1, as follows :

ان يا اخى شنیده ام که قبل از این حضرات بعوضات الشرك
 در غياب این عبد حرفها میگویند و اسنادها میدهند که نسبت
 دون حق باشد قل یا بعوضات الشرك قد جائکم الفنا عن شطر الله
 المهيمن القيوم ان اختر الفرار على الفرار تالله المحق قد ظهر جمال
 الموعود و استوى فى عرش قدس منير

Ends :

از خداوند طلب نمائید که در ظل فنا راجع نشوید شاید در
 ظل شجره بقا مستظل شوید که این است ثمره وجود انسانی که
 در ظلال سدره ربانی مستقر شود نه اینکه تابع بریه هوا شود که
 شان ایشان بجز فنا و ضلالت نبوده و نیست اللهم فافرق بیننا
 و بینهم الي ایام بقائک * تم *

This Epistle appears from internal evidence to have been written by one of those who claimed to manifest God, but whether by the Báb or Behá I cannot confidently decide, though it seems more probable that the latter was its author. In this case the "brother" addressed is probably Şubḥ-i-Ezel.

Ff. 52^a-53^a blank.

Ff. 53^b-89^b. The *Laḥ-i-Naṣir* (لوح نصیر). See B. ii, pp. 949-953, and 1004. The Bábís of Kirmán

informed me that this document was composed by Behá at Adrianople, and that in it he first formulated his claim. It appears that my copy of this important epistle is not, as I formerly supposed, unique in Europe, for I have learned from Baron Rosen that another copy exists at St. Petersburg.

Ff. 90^a-92^a blank.

Ff. 92^b-160^b. The "Seven proofs" (دلائل سبعة). See *B. ii*, pp. 912-918 and pp. 1001-2.

About this work also I questioned Şubḥ-i-Ezel in the letter alluded to in connection with the *Ziyarat-námé*. His reply (contained in the letter of October 1st from which I have already quoted) ran as follows :

دلائل سبعة از حضرت نقطه است هرگاه مداخله در آن نباشد
و در اینجا نسخه آن نیست و چنانچه مرقوم فرموده اند در جبل
میم صادر شده است و بیشتر کتابها در چند سال حبس در ماکو
و چهرتی نازل شده است ما بقى در شیراز و اصفهان غیر از آنچه
در سبیل حج و غیره صادر شده است *

"The *Seven Proofs* is by His Holiness the Point [*i.e.* the Báb], if it has not suffered interpolation.¹ There is no copy of it here. It was composed, as you say, in the Mountain of Mím [Mákú]. Most of the [Báb's] books were revealed during the few years of his imprisonment in Mákú and Chihrík. The rest were composed in Shíráz and Isfahán, save such as [he wrote] during the pilgrimage-journey, etc." I took with me to Cyprus a copy of the "Seven Proofs," and submitted it to Şubḥ-i-Ezel, who kept it by him for several days, transcribed it for himself, and returned my copy to me with a few corrections, declaring it to be the genuine work of the Báb. He

¹ *See* at the hands of the followers of Behá. Şubḥ-i-Ezel often complained that the Behá'is had tampered with the Báb's writings to give colour to their own doctrines and views, and was always careful to guard himself by this or some similar expression from giving an unqualified guarantee to any book which he had not himself seen.

added that it was written by the Báb for his amanuensis, Aká Seyyid Huseyn of Yezd.

Ff. 161^a-164^a blank.

Ff. 164^b-192^b. The *masnavi* poem attributed to Kurratu'l-'Ayn, briefly described in *B. ii*, p. 1002.

Ff. 193^a-196^a blank.

Ff. 196^b-213^a. Other Bábí poems, as follows :

Ff. 196^b-197^a. The *ghasal* attributed to Kurratu'l-'Ayn which I have published with a translation at pp. 314-316 of vol. ii of my *Traveller's Narrative*.

Ff. 197^b-198^a. The poem of which Baron Rosen quotes the first *beyt* at the bottom of p. 251 of *Coll. Sc. vi*. The text here given (consisting of only 11 *beyts*), together with an English translation, will be found in the Appendix to *B. iii* (pp. 323-5 *supra*).

Ff. 198^a-199^b. Another poem of 18 couplets in the same rhyme and metre as the last, beginning :

هو المحبوب

هله ای گروه عمانیان بکشید هلهله ولا

که جمال دلبرهائیان شده فاش و ظاهر و بر ملا

and ending :

ز غم توای مه مهربان ز فراق تو ای شه دلبران

شده روح و هیكل [و] جسم [و] جان متخفقا متخلجا

Ff. 200^a-213^a. A poem, or group of poems, of the nature of a *tarkib-band* and *tarji'-band* combined, the refrain being constant in some parts of the poem and varying in others. The words are very wild, and the phraseology and allusions very obscure. I subjoin a few typical verses taken from different parts of the piece.

هو المعبود

طیر قدم طیار شد

نار صمد شرار¹ شد

سدر بقا نثار شد

ماء هویت جار شد

¹ MS. خیرار.

از نقطهٔ ابداع با

از نقطهٔ ابداع با

بحر صفا هیاج شد طغح منا ولاج شد

موج لقا ارتاج شد رشح ضیا بلاج شد

از نفعهٔ صافور با

از نفعهٔ صافور با

* * * * *

شمسات حق شق آمده یعنی که چه یعنی که چه

طلعات عز صعق آمده یعنی که چه یعنی که چه

طیر معلق آمده یعنی که چه یعنی که چه

زلفی محلق آمده یعنی که چه یعنی که چه

از جانب درای با

از جانب درای با

ها فآنشقوا عطراتها مسکاتها اریاحها

اطیابها انفاخها فیما یهب انفاسها

محبوبهٔ مجذوب با

محبوبهٔ مجذوب با

* * * * *

خود آمد این خود آمد این این طفل ها این طفل ها

در قطب ها در قطب ها ها اهل ها ها اهل ها

ها اهل ها ها اهل ها

این جذبهٔ بستان (?) با این غنچهٔ بستان با

سر حلقهٔ مستان با این خیل هندستان با

* * * * *



BBP. 8.

بیان فارسی

Ff. 114 (ff. 1^a, 114^a, and 114^b blank), 21·5 × 11 centimetres, in oblong form, like a pocket-book. Written in bluish ink, in an unformed and ungraceful *nīm-shikasté* hand. The lines of writing, which run parallel to the back and shorter side of the book, are unevenly distributed, and vary from 21 to 30 per page. Headings of chapters are written in red. Given to me, after much urgent entreaty, in Rafsínján, near Kirmán, on August 22nd, 1888.

The Persian Beyán is a work of such capital importance that I have had occasion to allude to it and quote from it repeatedly both in *B. i* and *B. ii*, and in vol. ii of the *Traveller's Narrative*. The contents have been fully stated by Baron Rosen (*Coll. Sc. iii*, pp. 1–32). See also *B. ii*, pp. 918–933 and 1001–1002, and p. 259, n. 1, *supra*. The present MS. ends with the following abominably ungrammatical colophon:—

تد تَمَّتْ الكلام من لسان العبد ملك العلام على يد هذا الغلام
للجناب الملائد النحوص و العوام عمدة الخوانین العظام زبدة المشاهیر
الكرام ذی الشوكة والاحتشام ذی العظمة والاحترام *

On the blank leaf at the end of the MS. (f. 114^a) are sundry notes with dates, recording, as it would appear, the times when its owner's children were born. The first entry is dated Muharram 22nd A.H. 1282 (June 17th, A.D. 1865), so that we may fairly assume that the MS. was transcribed before that date. There are five entries in all, the last a most extraordinary one. They are as follows:

(1) تولد كربلائی اصغر ولد كربلائی محمد جعفر موتاب (؟) شب

شنبه ۲۲ شهر محرم الحرام چهار ساعت از سر شب

۱۲۸۲
گذشته سنه

- (2) تولد کوكبه طييه ساعت طلوع شمس ۱۳ شهر ربيع المولود سنه ۱۲۱۱
 (3) تولد فاطمه طاهره جمعه ۲۰ شهر ذالْحججه (sic) سنه ۱۲۱۱
 (4) تولد ربابه مطهره يكشنبه ۴ شهر ربيع المولود سنه ۱۳۰۰
 (5) بسم الله العزيز العدم (sic! perhaps العلام is meant) تولد
 نور چشم معظم وولى المكرم من يظهرة الله در زوال ظهر
 يوم السبت ۱۶ شهر ربيع الثانى سنه ۱۳۰۵

CLASS II. MSS. OBTAINED FROM ŞUBĤ-I-EZEL.

BBF. 1.

من آثار البيان (مناجات).

Ff. 238 (ff. 1^a-2^a and 237^a-238^b blank), 17.75 × 10.75 centimetres, 10 lines to the page. Written in a peculiar *ta'lik* much used by Şubĥ-i-Ezel for the transcription of the sacred books.

This MS. accompanied the first letter (despatched on July 29th and received on Aug. 15th, 1889) which I received from Şubĥ-i-Ezel. In the letter he wrote as follows :

کلماتیکه از آثار بیان خواسته بودند نظر بآنکه این منزوی را بعضی از مردمان غارت نموده بودند بیشتر از الواح و کتب را از میان روده بودند آنچه میسر شده بود کتابی مشتمل بر بیست جزو ایفاد محض عالی نموده من بعد هم بعضی از کتب که مهیا شود سواد آن را خدمت ذی جود عالی خواهم فرستاد هرگاه این زمان زمانی بود که این منزوی در عراق عرب ساکن بود ارسال کتابهای بسیار میسر بود لیکن چه سود اکثری بدست جهال رفت و غارت نمودند درین بلد قلیلی باقی مانده بود آنهم بصعوبت

حمل شد نظر بکمی دوست بدین سبب بیشتر کتابهایی که فوائد
آن بسیار بود بدست نماند جز اندکی از بسیار *

“As regards the words comprised in the writings of the Beyán for which you asked, inasmuch as certain persons did plunder this recluse, and steal away most of the Epistles and Books, all that is [at this moment] available, [namely] a book of twenty folios, I [herewith] forward to you. Hereafter I will send you copies of such books as are accessible. Were it now the time when this recluse dwelt in ‘Irák-i-‘Arab [*i.e.* Baghdad], many books could have been sent; but what avails it [now]? Most of them have passed into the hands of ignorant men, and these have pillaged them. [Only] a few remain in this land, and even these were conveyed [hither] with difficulty, because of the fewness of [my] friends. For this reason most of those books, whereof the worth was great, are no longer in my hands, save only a small fraction.”

In answering this letter I enquired further as to the name and nature of this book, and in Şubḥ-i-Ezel's second letter, despatched from Famagusta on Oct. 1st, 1889, received reply as follows :

کتابیکه ارسال نزد محضر عالی شده از آثار بیان و منسوب
بحضرت نقطه و بیشتر آن مناجات با بر آورنده حاجات است
کرا قدرت بر این نوع کلام آنچه از قبل نازل شده هر یک باسی
مذکور لیکن در اواخر ایام تمام را بیک نام و همه را بیان نامیده
اند و فراوان را در نوزده جلد امر فرموده اند چنانچه شرح آن در
بیان فارسی مندرج است لیکن در بیان شئون مختلفه مشهود است
شان اول چون کتب سابقه است و ثانی بر سبیل مناجات
ودعوات و ثالث شأن خطب که در آن فصاحت و بلاغت ملحوظ
داشته اند و رابع شئون علمیّه و تفاسیر و اجوبات سائلین و خامس
بلسان فارسی که نفس شئون مذکوره است *

“The book which was sent to you is [part] of the writings of the Beyán and belongs to His Holiness the Point [*i.e.* the Báb]. It consists for the most part of prayers to the Fulfiller of needs. Who [else] is able to produce such words? What was revealed at first was called each book by a different name, but during the later period [of the Báb's life] all received one title and was called ‘*Beyán.*’ And much [of this] he [*i.e.* the Báb] directed to be arranged in nineteen volumes, as is fully explained in the *Persian Béyan.*¹ But² in the Beyán different grades [or styles] are apparent. The *first grade* resembles previous [revealed] books³; the *second* is of the nature of supplications and prayers; the *third* is [in] the style of exhortations, wherein he [*i.e.* the Báb] had regard to clearness and eloquence; the *fourth* [consists of] scientific treatises, commentaries, and answers to enquirers; and the *fifth*, which is [substantially] identical with the preceding styles, is in the Persian language.” I have already pointed out in another place (*T.N.* ii, p. 346) how fully Subḥ-i-Ezel's account of the Báb's writings and the meaning of the term ‘*Beyán*’ accords with Gobineau's (*Rel. et Phil.*, p. 311).

This present work, then, contains a collection of Prayers belonging to the “second grade” of the Beyán, using this term in its wider signification as connoting all the Báb's later writings. Owing to the number of these prayers, and the limited space at my disposal, I can only give the opening words of each.

هو العطف الرحيم الرؤف الكريم طراز جوهر (No. 1, on f. 2^b)
 مجرد كافور ساذج عال ازل الذي طرز من استطرار
 طرأثر تطيرز طرازات اطراز طراز الذي لاح واشرق
 ثم اضاءه و ابرق ثم افارولمع ولئلا من طراز الذي
 بهيج ولجلج ثم تقدس وتكرم الح

¹ See *Persian Beyán*, Váhid vi, ch. i, and *T.N.* vol. ii, pp. 344-346.

² Translated at pp. 342-4 of *T.N.* ii.

³ *i.e.* the *Kur'án*.

(No. 2, on f. 4^b) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اللهم لك الحمد لا اله الا هو سامع الدعاء ودائم العطاء. واسع الآلات وما لك الاسماء الخ

(No. 3, on f. 5^b) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم سبحانك اللهم و بحمدك اشهدك حينئذ بتوحيدي اياك و اقرارى بازليتك و ايقانى بوحدانيتك بجوهر كافور ذاتيتي و مجرد ظهور كينونيتي الخ

(No. 4, on f. 21^b) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم سبحانك اللهم كيف اذكرتك بذكري اياك او لاسبحنك بتسبيحي اياك الخ

(No. 5, on f. 26^a) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو والملائكة و اولو العلم قائما بالقسط لا اله الا هو العزيز الحكيم الخ

(No. 6, on f. 27^b) (دعاء لحروف بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم انك انت فاطر السموات و الارض و ما بينهما و مقدرهما و مصورهما و مبدعهما و منشئهما لم تنزل كنت الها واحدا احدا فردا صمدا حيا قيوما الخ

(No. 7, on f. 57^a) سبحانك اللهم لاشهدنك و كلشئى على انك انت الله لا اله الا انت وحدك لا شريك لك لك الملك و لك الحمد تحيى و تميت ثم تميت و تحيى و انك انت حى لا تموت الخ

(No. 8, on f. 60^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم يا الهى لم تنزل كنت منفردا فى ملك القدس الخ

- (No. 9, on f. 63^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم يا الهي
انك انت لم تزل كآثنا قبل كلشي الخ
- (No. 10, on f. 66^a) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم لابتن
بشآئك باسمك اللهم ربنا الرحمن الخ
- (No. 11, on f. 68^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم انك
انت فاطر السموات و الارض الخ
- (No. 12, on f. 71^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم انك
انت ممسك السموات و الارض الخ
- (No. 13, on f. 74^a) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم لاشهدنك
وكلشي على انك انت الله لا اله الا انت
وحدك لا شريك لك لك الخلق ولك الامر
محيي و تميت وانك انت حي لا تموت الخ
- (No. 14, on f. 76^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم انك
انت فاطر السموات و الارض عالم الغيب و
الشهادة الخ
- (No. 15, on f. 79^a) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم انك
انت خالق السموات و الارض و ما بينهما الخ
- (No. 16, on f. 81^a) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم قد تعالت
كينونيتك من ان اسبحتها باعلى طير الجوهريات
و تقدست ذاتيتك من ان احمدنها باعلى
شوامخ المجرديات الخ
- (No. 17, on f. 83^b) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم بسم الله الامنع الاقدس
سبحانك اللهم يا الهي انك انت لم تزل كنت
الها واحدا فردا صمدا حيا قيوما الخ

(No. 18, on f. 86^b) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الْاَمْنَعِ الْاَقْدَسِ

سُبْحٰنَكَ اللّٰهُمَّ اَنْتَ فَاطَرُ السَّمٰوٰتِ وَ

الْاَرْضِ وَ مَا بَيْنَهُمَا عَالَمِ الْغَيْبِ وَالشَّهَادَةِ اَلْحَمْدُ

(No. 19, on f. 88^b) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ اللّٰهُمَّ اِنِّیْ اَسْئَلُكَ

بِاسْمِكَ يَا اللّٰهَ يَا رَحْمٰنَ يَا رَحِیْمًا يَا رَبَّ اَلْحَمْدُ

(No. 20, on f. 91^b) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الْاَمْنَعِ الْاَقْدَسِ سُبْحٰنَكَ اللّٰهُمَّ اَنْتَ

اَنْتَ فَاطَرُ السَّمٰوٰتِ وَالْاَرْضِ عَالَمِ الْغَيْبِ وَالشَّهَادَةِ

لَنْ یَغْرُبَ مِنْ عِلْمِكَ مِنْ شَیْءٍ لَّا فِی السَّمٰوٰتِ وَلَا

فِی الْاَرْضِ وَلَا مَا بَيْنَهُمَا اَلْحَمْدُ

(No. 21, on f. 93^b) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الْاَمْنَعِ الْاَقْدَسِ سُبْحٰنَكَ اللّٰهُمَّ لِشَهِدَتِكَ

بِجَوْهَرِ كَیْنُونِیَّتِیْ وَ سَاوَجِ ذَاتِیَّتِیْ وَ مَجْرَدِ نَفْسَانِیَّتِیْ

وَ كَافُورِ اَنْیَّتِیْ بِاَنْكَ اَنْتَ اللّٰهُ لَا اِلٰهَ اِلَّا اَنْتَ

وَ حُدِّكَ اَلْحَمْدُ

(No. 22, on f. 95^b) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الْاَمْنَعِ الْاَقْدَسِ سُبْحٰنَكَ اللّٰهُمَّ اَنْتَ

اَنْتَ فَاطَرُ السَّمٰوٰتِ وَالْاَرْضِ عَالَمِ الْغَيْبِ وَ

الشَّهَادَةِ لَنْ یَغْرُبَ مِنْ عِلْمِكَ مِنْ شَیْءٍ اَلْحَمْدُ

(No. 23, on f. 97^a) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الْاَمْنَعِ الْاَقْدَسِ سُبْحٰنَكَ اللّٰهُمَّ يَا اَلْهِیَ

وَ رَبِّیْ وَ مَحْبُوبِیْ وَ مَقْصُودِیْ اَلْحَمْدُ

(No. 24, on f. 99^a) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الْاَمْنَعِ الْاَقْدَسِ سُبْحٰنَكَ اللّٰهُمَّ يَا اَلْهِیَ

اَنْتَ اَنْتَ فَاطَرُ السَّمٰوٰتِ وَالْاَرْضِ اَلْحَمْدُ

(No. 25, on f. 101^a) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الْاَمْنَعِ الْاَقْدَسِ سُبْحٰنَكَ اللّٰهُمَّ يَا اَلْهِیَ

لِشَهِدَتِكَ وَ كَلْشِیِّ عَلَیْ اَنْكَ اَنْتَ اللّٰهُ لَا اِلٰهَ اِلَّا

اَنْتَ وَ حُدِّكَ اَلْحَمْدُ

(No.26,on f.102^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم يا الهى

لاشهدنك وكلمشى الخ

(No.27,on f.104^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس انما البهاء من الله الذى

لا اله الا هو على فوادك و فواد من فى فوادك

وعلى روحك وروح من فى روحك الخ

(No.28,on f.110^a) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم يا الهى

لاشهدنك وكل شى فى هذه الليلة ليلة الجمعة

التي تنظر فيها الى داعيك فى البيان الخ

(No.29,on f.114^a) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس و اذا كنت ليلة الجمعة

او يومها بين يدي نقطة البيان او احد من مظاهر

الحى طيب نفسك عن كل ما يكرهه فوادك الخ

(No.30,on f.121^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس اللهم صل على ذات

حروف السبع ثم حروف الاولى بالملك و

الملكوت الخ

(No.31,on f.124^a) بسم الله الارضى الارضى سبحانك اللهم يا الهى

لاشهدنك وكل شى على انك انت الله الخ

(No.32,on f.129^a) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم يا الهى

لاشهدنك وكل شى على انك انت لا اله الا

انت وحدك لا شريك لك الخ

(No.33,on f.132^a) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس اللهم انى اسئلك

بابديتك التى انها هى مرتفعة فوق كل شى ان

توجدن شجرة الاثبات وما ينسب اليها الخ

(No.34,on f.136^a) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس اللهم انى اسئلك

باخريتك التى انها هى مرتفعة فوق كل شى

ان تخذلن كل ذات الف ينسب الى شجرة
النفى الخ

(No.35,onf.140^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس اللهم انى اسئلك
باوليتك التى انها هى ممتنعة فوق كل شى ان
تنصرن كل ذات الف ينسب الى شجرة
الاثبات الخ

(No.36,onf.144^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم يا الهى
لاسلنك باوليتك التى انها هى مرتفعة فوق كل
شى ان تعد من شجرة النفى وما ينسب اليه الخ

(No.37,onf.148^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم يا الهى
لاشهدنك وكل شى بما قد خلقت كلشى له الخ

(No.38,onf.152^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم يا الهى
لاشهدنك وكل شى على ما استشهدتنى عليه
من شهادة ان لا اله الا انت وان حروف الواحد
اقرب اسمائك اليك فى كتابك الخ

(No.39,onf.156^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس اللهم انى اسئلك يا لا
اله الا انت بجهآء لا اله الا انت ان لا اله الا انت
ان تصلين على حروف البآء بما انت عليه من
بها لا اله الا انت انك كنت ذا فضل عظيما الخ

(No.40,onf.158^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم يا الهى
لم تنزل انك انت خالق كل شى ورازقه و
ميميت كلشى ومحييه لم تنزل كنت الها واحدا
احدا صمدا الخ

(No.41, on f.162^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم يا الهى

لاشهدنك و كل شى على انك انت لا اله الا

انت الواحد الاحد الصمد الفرد الهى الخ

(No.42, on f.166^v) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم يا الهى

هذه ليلة قد عظمتها و شرفتها و جللتها و جملتها

و قدستها بما قد نسبتها الى نفسك و اطلمعت

فيها آية التى تدل على انه ليلة بديعة من شهر

بديع الخ

(No.43, on f.171^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس يا من يقبل من يقبله

نقطة البيان الخ

(No.44, on f.174^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس اللهم انى اسئلك ببياء

ضياء علاء رضاء ربوبيتك الخ

(No.45, on f.178^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس اللهم انى اسئلك بك

لا شى عندك عدلك و لا كفوك الخ

(No.46, on f.180^a) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم يا الهى

لاشهدنك و كلشى فى هذه الليلة الخ

(No.47, on f.185^a) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس اللهم انى اسئلك

بازليتك التى انها هى مرتفعة فوق كلشى ان

تبدلن كينونية كل ذات الف ينسب الى شجرة

النار بالنور الخ

(No.48, on f.189^a) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس اللهم انى اسئلك

بالوهيتك التى انها هى ممتنعة فوق كل شى

ان تحفظن و تغنين كل ذات الف ينسب الى

شجرة الاثبات الخ

(No.49, on f.194^a) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس فاذا اردت زيارة النقطة
 او احد من حروف الهى فلتلطفن نفسك حق
 التلطيف بحيث لو يحط علمك بان فى جسدك
 شعرا زايدا لا ينبغي لك حينئذ و لتلبس اطهر
 لباس الخ

(No.50, on f.201^a) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس اللهم انى اسئلك
 باسمك يا آله يا رب يا رحمن يا منيع الخ

(No.51, on f.201^b) بسمك اللهم ربنا الرحمن اللهم صل على ذات
 حروف السبع ثم حروف الحق من عندك و انزل
 اللهم حينئذ ليلة الجمعة على شجرة وحدانيتك
 كافر اصلها و سادج فرعها و جوهر اغصانها و مجرد
 اوراقها الخ

In the middle of this prayer, at the bottom of f. 202^b,
 occurs a form of " Visitation " for believers presenting
 themselves before " the First who believed " or " the Letter
 Sin," by which terms Mullá Huseyn of Bushraweyh appears
 to be designated. It is entitled *بالله آمن من آمنت*,
 and begins :

وان كنت مثل تلك الليلة عند شجرة البهآء
 فلتدخلن بين يدى شجرة السين و قل ان من
 ظهور الله اظهرة و من بطون الله ابطنه و من جلال
 الله اجله الخ

(No.52, on f.203^b) من عنده انه هو المهيمن القيوم بسم الله الامنع
 الاقدس سبحانك اللهم يا الهى لاشهدنك و كل
 شى على انك انت الله الخ

In the course of this piece also occurs, on f. 209^a, a form of " Visitation," which begins :

وان كنت مثل ذلك اليوم عند شجرة السين
 او احد من حروف الهى فلتلبس اعلى بها مما
 قد اتاك الله وتدخلن باذن الله على محال
 امره ثم لتقولن بين يدى الله ان استدركت او
 بين يدى حروف الهى ان استدركت انما البها
 الابهى والجمال الاجل الخ

(No.53, on f.213^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس لتصلين اللهم رب على

شجرة وحدانيتك و لتزلن اللهم عليها ما ينبغي
 لعلو جودك ومليك عز صمدانيتك الخ

(No.54, on f.214^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم انك

انت لم تزل كنت لها واحدا واحدا صمدا الخ

(No.55, on f.219^a) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم لاشهدك

وكل شى على انك انت الله الخ

(No.56, on f.223^a) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم يا الهى

اسئلك من اسمائك باعظها الخ

(No.57, on f.225^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم يا الهى

لسئلك من الوهيتك باعظها الخ

(No.58, on f.229^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس اللهم انى اسئلك من

ابديتك بتابها و كل ابديتك متابدة عندك

ثم فى ام الكتاب اللهم انى اسئلك بابديتك

كلها الخ

(No.59,on f.233^a) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس اللهم انى اسئلك من

الوهيتك باعظما الخ

(Colophon,on f.236^b) يوم الثانى من شهر الاول من السنة ٣٠

BBF. 2.

شئون خمسة

Ff. 200 (ff. 1^a-2^a, 46^b, 199^a-200^b blank), 20·5 × 12·75 centimetres, 14 lines to the page. Written in Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel's clear and legible *naskh* hand.

This MS. accompanied Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel's second letter to me (despatched from Famagusta on October 1st, received on October 11th, 1889). It contains specimens of each of the "five grades" or "styles" into which the Báb divided his writings, and is consequently partly in Persian. The nature of these "five grades" has been already explained at p. 453 *supra*. Concerning this MS. Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel wrote in the aforementioned letter as follows:

و آنچه در این نوبت ابلاغ محضر عالی شده از شئونات خمسة است که هر چند ورق بشأنی است و این کتاب از حضرت نقطه است مداخله بعضی در آن نیست مگر آنچه از قلم کتاب خارج شده باشد اگرچه حقیر نسخه سابق و این نسخه را خود نوشته ام لیکن شاید قصوری در وضع ترتیب آن شده زیرا که نسخه اصل موجود نیست ولی از خارجین مداخله ندارد چنانچه در بعضی موارد بعضی مداخله نموده و تغییرات حاصل است اما آنچه از این عبد مفتقر است انشاء الله تغییری در آن نبوده.

"What is sent to you this time is of the 'Five Grades,' whereof each few [successive] pages are in a different style. This book is by His Holiness the Point [*i.e.* the

Báb]. There has been no tampering with it on the part of certain persons, save in so far as may have resulted from slips of the pen. For though I myself copied out the previous manuscript and this one, still it may be that there has chanced some defect in the manner of its arrangement, the original copy not being available. But [at least] it has not been tampered with by outsiders, as certain persons have tampered with some passages, whereby textual corruptions have arisen. Please God there has been no interpolation in what this humble servant [of God] has written." To the first piece (on f. 2^b) is prefixed the title بيان.

The contents of the MS., stated as briefly as possible, are as follows :

(No. 1, on f. 2^b) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الْاِلهِ الْاِنْتِىْ اَنَا اللّٰهُ لَا اِلٰهَ اِلَّا اَنَا الْاِلهِ الْاِلهِ

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الْاِلهِ الْاِلهِ بِاللّٰهِ الْاِلهِ الْاِلهِ الْاِلهِ الْاِلهِ الْاِلهِ

المؤله الخ

(No. 2, on f. 7^b) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الْاِلهِ الْاِلهِ سُبْحَانَكَ اللّٰهُمَّ يَا اللّٰهُمَّ

لاشهدنك في تلك الساعة من هذه الليلة التي

قد شرفنا وعظمتها وجللتها وجملتها الخ

(No. 3, on f. 12^a) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الْاِلهِ الْاِلهِ بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الْاِلهِ الْاِلهِ الْاِلهِ الْاِلهِ الْاِلهِ

لله الذي قد مجلى على كل الممكنات بارتفاع

امتناع ازليته واسترفع فوق كل الموجودات

باستقلال استجلال عظمته الخ

(No. 4, on f. 17^b) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الْاِلهِ الْاِلهِ الْاِنْتِىْ اَنَا اللّٰهُ لَا اِلٰهَ اِلَّا اَنَا الْاِلهِ

الِلهِ وَاِنَّمَا الْبِهَاءُ عَلَى مَنْ يَظْهَرُهُ اللّٰهُ ثُمَّ اِدَّاهُ نَفْسُهُ

لَا يَزَالُ فِي عِزِّ الْاَزَلِ وَبَعْدَ فَاشْهَدُ اَنَّ اللّٰهُ سُبْحَانَهُ لَمْ

يَزَلْ كَانَ غَيْبًا مَّمْتَنًا مَّرْتَفَعًا خ

¹ MS. الخ, which is doubtless a mere slip.

(No. 5, on f. 22^b) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الّٰه الّٰه الّٰه انى اسئلك باسمك يا
 آيَه يا اِلَه يا اللّٰه يا آيَه يا آلَه يا آوَه يا آيَه يا
 آوَه يا آوَه يا آهَانِ الْح

(What follows the exordium is mostly in Persian.)

(No. 6, on f. 27^a) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الّٰوْحِد الّٰوْحِد بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الّٰوْحِد الّٰوْحِد
 بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الموحّد الموحّد اننى انا الله لا اله الا انا
 الّٰوْحِد الّٰوْحِد الْح

(No. 7, on f. 32^a) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الّٰوْحِد الّٰوْحِد سبّحانك اللهم يا الهى
 لاشهدنك ومن فى ملكوت امرک وخلقک
 بانک انت الله لا اله الا انت وحدک الْح

(No. 8, on f. 36^b) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الّٰوْحِد الّٰوْحِد الحمد لله المشرق قدسه
 من ضياء عزازيته والمستشرق عزه عن بهاء مجد
 ابديته الْح

(No. 9, on f. 40^b) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الّٰوْحِد الّٰوْحِد الحمد لله الذى لا اله الا هو
 الّٰوْحِد الّٰوْحِد وانما البهأ على من يظهره الله من
 اول الذى لا اول له الى اخر الذى لا اخر له ثم على
 ادلاء ظهوره فى عز الازل بالقدس لم يزل الْح

(No. 10, on f. 44^b) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الّٰوْحِد الّٰوْحِد ترفيع وتمنيح بساط
 قدس سلطان حى قيومى را سزاوار بوده و هست
 که لم يزل در علو امتناع ذات مقدس خود
 بوده الْح

(The last four and a half lines on f. 46^a and the whole
 of f. 46^b are blank, but there appears to be no interruption
 in the continuity of the text.)

(No. 11, on f. 49^b) كتاب الفآء يا طاهر بسم الله الابهى الابهى بالله
البهى البهى الخ

(Part of this piece will be found on pp. 318-319 of *T.N.* ii. What is here the third clause is there placed over the line immediately under the title. Thus it is written; but a fresh examination of it convinces me that it is intended as an insertion, as here placed.)

(No. 12, on f. 54^b) بسم الله الابهى الابهى سبحانك اللهم يا الهى
لاشهدنك و كل شى على انك انت الله لا اله
الا انت وحدك لا شريك لك الخ

(No. 13, on f. 59^b) بسم الله الابهى الابهى الحمد لله الذى قد اطرز
ذاتيات الحمديات باطرار طرز طراز طرازىته
واشرق كينونيات الذاتيات باشرق شوارق شرق
شراقته الخ

(No. 14, on f. 65^a) بسم الله الابهى الابهى الحمد لله الذى لا اله الا
هو الابهى الابهى واما البهآء من الله على من
يظهره الله ثم ادآء نفسه فى الاخرة و الاولى و يعد
فاشهد ان الله سبحانه لا يوصف بوصف خلقه
ولا ينعمت بنعمت عباده الخ

(No. 15, on f. 70^a) بسم الله الابهى الابهى حمد و سپاس بى قياس
ذات محبوب لم يزلى را سزا است كه لم يزل
باستقلال استجلال ذات مقدس خود بوده و لا
يزال باسترفاع امتناع ذات مقدس خود خواهد
بود نشناخته اورا هيچ شى حق شناختن الخ

(No. 16, on f. 75^b) بسم الله الاجمل الاجمل بالله الله الجمل الجمل

بسم الله الجمل ذى الجمالين بسم الله الجمل

ذى الجملاء بسم الله المُجمل المُجمل الخ

(No. 17, on f. 81^a) بسم الله الاجمل الاجمل سبحانه اللهم يا الهى

لاشهدنك وكل شى على انك انت الله لا اله

الا انت وحدك لا شريك لك لك الملك

والملكوت ولك العز والمجبروت ولك القدرة

واللاهوت ولك القوة والياقوت الخ

(No. 18, on f. 85^b) بسم الله الاجمل الاجمل الحمد لله الذى قد

استعلى بعلوه فوق كل الممكنات واسترفع بارتفاعه

فوق كل الموجودات واستمنع بامتناعه فوق كل

الكائنات واستقهر باقتهاره فوق من فى ملكوت

الارض والسماوات الخ

(No. 19, on f. 90^a) بسم الله الاجمل الاجمل الحمد لله الذى لا اله

الا هو الاجمل الاجمل وانما البهائم من الله على

الواحد الاول ومن يشابه ذلك الواحد حيث لا

يرى فيه الا الواحد الاول الخ

(No. 20, on f. 96^b) بسم الله الاجمل الاجمل تسبيح وتقديس ذات

محبوب لم يزلى را سزاوار بوده وهست كه لم يزل

باستجلال استقلال ذات مقدس خود بوده ولا

يزال باستمناع استرفاع كنه مقدس خود خواهد

بود نشناخته اورا هيچ شى حق شناختن الخ

(No. 21, on f. 102^b) بسم الله الاقوم الاقوم بسم الله القوم القوم بالله

الله القوم القوم الله لا اله الا هو الاقوم الاقوم الله

لا اله الا هو القوم القوم الله لا اله الا هو المؤمنون
المتقون الخ

(No.22, on f.107^b) بسم الله الاقوم الاقوم سبحانك اللهم يا الهى
لاشهدنك وكل شئ على انك انت الله لا اله
الا انت وحدك لا شريك لك لك الملك
و الملكوت ولك العز والجبروت ولك القدرة
واللاهوت ولك القوة والياقوت الخ

(No.23, on f.112^a) بسم الله الاقوم الاقوم الحمد لله الذى قد اشرق
من صبح الازل على هياكل الموجودات بظهورات
عز فردانيته و اضاء على كل الممكنات بشوارق
مجد صمدانيته الخ

(No.24, on f.117^a) بسم الله الاقوم الاقوم الحمد لله الذى لا اله الا هو
الاقوم الاقوم و انما البهاء على من يظهره الله ثم
ادلائه لم يزل ولا يزال¹ و بعد فاشهد ان الله سبحانه
لم يزل كان غيبا ممتعا مرتفعا مبهما مجتلا
مجتملا موحدًا موحدًا مستمدا مفتردا ولا يزال
ليكون مثل ما قد كان الخ

(No.25, on f.121^b) بسم الله الاقوم الاقوم ترفيع و تمنيع بساط قدس
حتى قيومى را سزاوار بوده و هست كه لم يزل
بارتفاع امتناع ذات مقدس خود بوده ولا يزال
باستجلال استقلال كنه مقدس خود خواهد
بود الخ

¹ MS. يزل, but this appears to be a mistake.

(No.26,on f.126*) بسم الله اَحدِ الاحد بالله الله الاحد الاحد الله
لا اله الا هو اَحد اَحد الله لا اله الا هو اَحد
الاحد الله لا اله الا هو المُوحد المُوحد الخ

(No.27,on f.131*) بسم الله اَحد اَحد سبحانك اللهم يا الهى
لاشهدنك وكل شئ على انك انت الله لا اله
الا انت وحدك لا شريك لك لم تنزل كنت
الها واحدا احدا صمدا فردا حيا قيوما سلطانا
مهيمنا قدوسا دائما الخ

(No.28,on f.136*) بسم الله اَحد اَحد شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو
المنفرد في عز الازال والمتوحد في سلطان القدس
والجلل والمتأحد في ملك العزو والجمل الخ

(No.29,on f.141*) بسم الله اَحد اَحد وانما البهآ من الله على
من يظهره الله جل وعلا قدرة وارتفع وامتنع
ذكرة من اول الاول الى اخر منتهى ظهور صبح الازل
ثم على ادلائه في بهآ الجلل وضيآ الجمل الخ

(No.30,on f.146*) بسم الله اَحد اَحد تسبيح وتقديس بساط
قدس حى قيومى را سزاوار بوده وهست كه لم
يزل الخ

(No.31,on f.151*) بسم الله الاجلل الاجلل بالله الله الجلل الجلل
الله لا اله الا هو الاجلل الاجلل الله لا اله الا هو
الجلل الجلل الله لا اله الا هو المجتلل المجتلل الخ

(No.32,on f.156*) بسم الله الاجلل الاجلل سبحانك يا الهى لاشهدنك
وكل شئ على انك انت الله لا اله الا انت
وحدك الخ

(No.33,on f.161^b) بسم الله الاجل الاجل الحمد لله الذى قد تجلى

على كل الممكنات بظهورات عز لاهوتيته و تعرف

كل الموجودات كينونيته بايات عز جبروتيته الخ

(No.34,on f.166^a) بسم الله الاجل الاجل الحمد لله الذى لا اله الا

هو الاجل الاجل و انما البهائم من الله على من

يظهرة الله لم يزل ثم على ادلائه بالقدس الجمل

و بعد فاشهد الخ

(No.35,on f.170^b) بسم الله الاجل الاجل تسبيح و تقديس ذات

محبوب لم يزل را سزاوار بوده و هست الخ

(No.36,on f.175^a) بسم الله الانور الانور بسم الله النور ذى النوارين

بسم الله النور ذى النوراء بسم الله النور ذى الانوار

بسم الله النور ذى النوار الخ

(No.37,on f.181^a) بسم الله الانور الانور سبحانك اللهم لاشهدنك

و كلشى بانك انت نور السموات و الارض و ما

بينهما و نوار من فى ملكوت الامر و الخلقى و ما

دونهما الخ

(No.38,on f.184^b) بسم الله الانور الانور الحمد لله الذى قد استرفع

بسلطان قدس نواريته و استرفع به على كل

الممكنات الخ

(No.39,on f.189^a) بسم الله الانور الانور الحمد لله الذى لا اله الا هو

الانور الانور و انما البهائم على كل عرش ظهور حيث

لاول لاوليته و لا آخر لآخريته الخ

(No.40,on f.194^a) بسم الله الانور الانور تسبيح و تقديس ذات

محبوب لم يزل را سزاوار بوده و هست الخ

(No.41, on f.198^a) شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو العزيز المحبوب هو هو
 الاكبر بسم الله المنع الاقدس شهد الله انه لا اله الا
 هو له الخلق و الامر يحيى ويميت ثم يميت
 ويحيى وانه هو حى لا يموت الخ

Excluding the last of these pieces, which appears to form a kind of appendix or peroration to the rest, it will be observed that the remaining forty fall into groups of five, each group beginning with the same formula. Thus the first five begin with the formula *بسم الله الله الله*, the second with *بسم الله الواحد الاوحد*, etc. We may fairly assume that within each group the first piece represents what the Báb calls the "first grade" or "style" of his writings, the second piece the second grade, and so on. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the last piece in each group of five is in Persian, and therefore corresponds to the Báb's "fifth grade" (see p. 453 *supra*). Of the majority of these pieces it must be frankly confessed that they are not only untranslatable, but almost unreadable, consisting merely of endless permutations (often etymologically and grammatically impossible) of the different "Names" of God.

BBF. 3.

من آثار البيان

Ff. 200 (ff. 1^a-2^a, 199^b-200^b blank), 20·5 × 13 centimetres, 14 lines to the page. Written in Şubḥ-i-Ezel's clear and legible *naskh* hand.

This MS. accompanied Şubḥ-i-Ezel's third letter to me (despatched from Famagusta on Dec. 3rd, 1889, received on Dec. 18th, 1889). It contains selections from the Báb's writings of almost every variety; prayers; forms of visitation; letters to Şubḥ-i-Ezel and other believers; extracts from the Commentary on the *Súra-i-Yúsus*, etc. Concern-

ing this MS. Subh-i-Ezel wrote very briefly. Alluding to the visit which, as I informed him, I had paid to Sheykh Ṭabarsí, he said :

در طبرسی که وارد شده‌اند چنان است که همه جا رسیده‌اند
زیارتی که مخصوص از جهة آمجاست در این کتاب که این نوبت
میرسد مسطوراست ملاحظه فرمایند.

“If you have visited Ṭabarsí it is as though you had been at all [the holy] places. The form of visitation specially [appointed] for that place is contained in the book which will reach [you] this time : read it.” In reply to further enquiries, Subh-i-Ezel said that this form of visitation was composed by the Báb himself. To this MS., as to the last, is prefixed the title بیان, evidently in that wide sense to which I have already adverted (p. 453 *supra*). As it contains a great number of pieces, I must, for the sake of brevity, confine myself to the briefest enumeration of all save the most interesting.

The first five pieces (extending from f. 2^b to f. 27^b) begin with the formula بسم الله الاقدم الاقدم, and appear to represent each of the “five grades” above described, the fifth of the group being, as usual, in Persian, and beginning in the same way as the Persian pieces already described. The first of these, containing endless permutations of the root قدم, is much the longest, extending to f. 23^b.

Next follows another similarly arranged group of five pieces (ff. 23^b–55^a), each beginning with the formula بسم الله الاقرب الاقرب. Of these again the first contains permutations of the root قرب, and the last is in Persian.

Next follows a third group of five pieces (ff. 55^a–76^a) beginning with the formula بسم الله الاحیى الاحیى, and arranged like the preceding.

The 16th piece (ff. 76^a–78^b) is preceded by the formula بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم, and begins :

الحمد لله الذى شهد لذاته بذاته بانه لا اله الا هو الحق فى ازل
الازال وانه هو كائن بمثل ما كان فيما يحدث من الازمان و لا له
تغير فى شان ولا انتقال الخ

The 17th piece (ff. 78^b-82^a) begins with the formula
بسم الله الممتنع المنيع, and proceeds :

وان هذا لكتاب من عند الله المهيمن القيوم الى من قد جعل
الله ذكر اسمه اسم نبيل قبل على ذكرا من عنده للعالمين ان يا
نبيل قبل على لم يكن لى من اول ولا اخر واننى انا كنت
ازلا قديما.

Since *Nabil* is, as I have shewn (*B. ii*, p. 997), equivalent
to Muḥammad, it is clear that we have here an epistle
addressed to a Bábí named Muḥammad 'Alí, presumably
either to Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí of Bárfurúsh (*Jenáb-i-
Kuddús*) or Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí of Zanján, and probably
to the latter. For on f. 97^b we find the following words :

انا قد جعلناك من قبل فى الفرقان حجتنا على العالمين ثم قد
جعلناك فى البيان حجة من عند حجتنا فى مظاهر واحد الاول
على العالمين.

And from the *Tárikh-i-Jadíd* we learn that Mullá
Muḥammad 'Alí of Zanján enjoyed the title of *Jenáb-i-
Hujjat* ("the Proof" or "Authority").

The 18th piece (ff. 82^a-93^b) is another epistle addressed
by the Báb to one of his chief apostles, beginning thus :

بسم الله المقتدر المقتدر هذا كتاب من عند نقطة البيان عبدالله
وحجته للعالمين جميعا الى من قد جعل الله ذكر اسمه ذكر اسم
حجته وجعله من عند حجته حجة للعالمين جميعا قل اننى انا
اول ما قد خلقنى الله ربى وجعلنى من عنده بهيانا بهيا الخ

The following passage of this epistle (on f. 84^b), wherein the Báb asserts his identity with all previous and future prophets, is noteworthy :

وان من ظهور بديع الاول الى حينئذ قد اظهرنى الله فى كل
 ظهور باسم ما قد ظهر و كل اياى يتبعون كنت فى يوم نوح نوح
 وفى يوم ابراهيم ابراهيم وفى يوم موسى موسى وفى يوم عيسى عيسى
 وفى يوم محمد محمد وفى يوم على قبل نبيل على قبل نبيل
 ولاكون فى يوم من يظهره الله من يظهره الله وفى يوم من يظهره من
 بعد من يظهره الله من يظهره من بعد من يظهره الله وفى يوم من
 يظهر من بعد بعد من يظهره الله من يظهر من بعد بعد من يظهره الله
 وفى يوم من يظهر من بعد بعد بعد من يظهره الله من يظهر من بعد
 بعد بعد من يظهره الله وفى يوم من يظهر من بعد بعد بعد من
 يظهره الله من يظهر من بعد بعد بعد من يظهره الله الى آخر
 الذى لا آخر له مثل اول الذى لا اول له كنت فى كل ظهور حجة الله
 على العالمين هذا معنى قول حق انتم تذكرون *

The 19th piece (ff. 89^b-93^b) is entitled وصايا , begins with the formula بسم الله الاجود الاجود , and consists in great part of permutations of the root جود . From the expression ان يا اسم الجواد occurring on f. 91^b it would appear to be addressed to a believer named *Jawád*, who is commanded in one passage to write to "Muḥammad in Calcutta," and to "forward this letter to him and to such as be on the sea beside him," and, in another passage at the end of the epistle, "to ascend by the way of Baṣra," if he desires "to meet God," and to "direct Muḥammad before Taḳí" [*i.e.* Muḥammad Taḳí] thither (presumably to Makú), as well as all others in whom he sees "aught of the light" [of faith].

The next piece in the collection which is of special interest is the 23rd (ff. 98^b-107^a). This is the form of prayer ordained by the Báb for the visitation of Sheykh Tabarásí and the commemoration of the martyrs who fell there, and is headed accordingly—*في زيارة الشهداء في الطبرسي*—It begins thus :

بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم يا الهى لم يكن لى قلب
اقدر ان اذكرک ولا فؤاد ان اسبحکک و لا روح ان اقدسک و لا نفس
ان اوحدک و قد ناب كلى بما قد قضيت و ان لك الامر و الخلق
فيما قضيت و تقضى الخ

A little further on the martyrs are thus described :

تلك انفة ما سبحت دونك و تلك ارواح ما حمدت سواک
و تلك انفس ما وحدت غيرک و تلك اجساد ما عبدت دونک

“These were hearts which glorified none but Thee, spirits which praised none but Thee, souls which declared Thy Unity alone, bodies which did service to Thee only.”

A few lines lower curses are invoked on the persecutors as follows :

ان تعذب الذين قتلوا حججک و استکبروا على اوليائك و عبدوا
غيرک بكل عذابک ما انت مقتدر عليه في الانشاء و ان تأخذنهم
و ما ملکت ايما نهم بما قد احاط به علمک من مقادير اخذک
و مواقع شدتک ان لا عز لمن خذلته و لا شى لمن اعدمته و لا حیات
لمن عذبتہ و لا شى لمن قد عبد غيرک و غر بما انيته *

Two pages further on (f. 100^b) similar curses are repeated :

فالهن اللهم من قطع من شجرة محبتک ورقة او غصنا او فرعا
بكل لعن قد اخطت به علما ان انک انت جبار الذی لا يفوت
عن قبضتک من شى الخ

The instructions to the Bábí pilgrim who intends to visit the shrine begin on f. 102^a as follows :

و اذ اردت ان تدخل تلك الارض المقدسة فاطهر نفسك و طيب
 ما عندك على احسن ما كنت مقتدر عليه و اعلم ان هنالك اعلى
 افق العرش و منتهى ذروة الفردوس و ان الله لم يزل ناظرک و مظاهر
 نفسه مجليک الخ

The purifications to be performed and the prayers to be offered up, before setting out for the shrine, and on arriving there, are then specified in full. One of these prayers, which is to be recited on entering the inner shrine, appears to be addressed to Mullá Huseyn of Bushraweyh, who is described as "the Friend of God, whom he hath chosen unto Himself, and elected for this revelation." It is in many ways remarkable, but I must confine myself to quoting a few lines from it :

ان اعلى البهائم و ابهى الشنآء من مليک الانشآء و مقدر الاشياء
 عليك يا جوهر القران و طرز البيان و يا من قد خصك الله بما لا
 خص احد من عباده حيث قد تجلى لك بك بنفسك قبل كل
 شى و عرفك نفسه و اشهدك على وحدانيته قبل كل شى ثم قد
 خلق بك كل شى و رزق بك كل شى و امات بك كل شى
 و احى بك كل شى و ابعث بك كل شى اشهد انك
 و ان قتلت و لكنك حى عند الله فقد انقطعت الى
 الله بكل ما عندك الى ذروة علو ما سبقك احد و لا يلحقك من
 شى فتعالى ما قد دركت و طوبى لما قد شهدت عليه فاشهد انك
 و من قد سعد معك اولئك هم فى افق الاعلى من العرش و ذروة
 الابهى من سماء الكرسي هنالك يسبحون الله بحمد ربهم ثم بذكره
 ليوحدون و ما اكبر من هذا عزا فى البيان فاشهد انك

انت لم تنزل ولا تنزل كنت حيا بحياة ربك تسبحه وتحمده
وتوحده وتكبره الى يوم ان يرجعك الله الى الحياة الاولى ان وعده
كان مفعولا *

The 24th piece (ff. 107^a-126^a) is of considerable length, but a superficial examination of it reveals no points of special interest.

The 25th piece (ff. 126^a-126^b) appears to be addressed to Subh-i-Ezel, and is described as *از جمله وصايا*. It begins:

الله اكرم بسم الله الكرم ذى الكارمين بسم الله الكرم ذى الكرماء
قد تهجتنى ان يا اسمى فى المرأت الازلية حيث قد حكى عن الله
ربه ودل على الله موجده.

The remainder of the epistle, which is very short, is partly in Persian.

The 26th piece is short, and not specially noteworthy. The 27th is long (ff. 127^a-130^a), is written partly in Persian, and contains answers to sundry questions addressed in writing to the Báb.

Nos. 28-45 (ff. 130^a-141^a) are all short epistles addressed to believers who had written to the Báb. The names of these correspondents are mentioned in several cases, but their identification cannot be satisfactorily effected in a brief notice like this, and I therefore reserve them for future consideration.

The 46th piece is the document which I published and translated at pp. 996-7 of *B. ii*, wherein Subh-i-Ezel is designated the Báb's successor.

The 52nd piece is the same as the first in *BBF. 1*, already described at p. 453 *supra*.

The 53rd piece (ff. 150^a-153^a) is the 57th chapter of the *Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsuuf* (see pp. 261-8 *supra*), containing the explanation or expansion of v. 56 of the *Súra*.

The 58th piece is an extract from the *Book of the names* (كتاب الاسماء; see *T.N.* ii, pp. 202, 318, 338), to which are prefixed ordinances bearing on the arrangement of the Bábí calendar. The year is here explicitly described as consisting of 361 days (19×19), and no mention is made of the intercalary days used by the Behá'ís, so that these would seem to have been introduced by Behá (cf. *T.N.* ii, pp. 419, 422-5). This preface concludes with a command that all letters shall be fully dated, according to the Bábí method, and, as a specimen, a date (seemingly that whereon this document was written) is given in full, as follows :

ولا تكتبن من كتاب الا وتكتبن فيه اسم اليوم واسم ما قضى من
عدد الشهر ثم اسم الشهر ثم اسم السنة مثل ان حينئذ يوم الاستقلال
من يوم العلم من شهر العلم من سنة الحجاب كذلك انتم في الرضوان
تسلكون *

The date thus given is "the day of *Istiklál* [Friday], the day of 'Im [the 12th day] of the month 'Im [the 12th month] of the year *Jáb*" [$ج+ا+ب=6$], so that the document must have been written during the last year of the Báb's life (October, 1849). For this reason, if for no other, it is interesting.

The 59th piece is a letter of instructions to Şubḥ-i-Ezel, who therefore prefixes to it, as to some of the letters previously described, the words *از جمله و صايا باين عبد*—"Some of the behests given to this servant." It begins as follows :

بسم الله الازل الازل
هذا كتاب من عند الله المهيمن القيوم الى الله العزيز المحبوب
شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو له الخلق والامر من قبل ومن بعد يحيى
ويमित ثم يميت ويحيى وانه هو حي لا يموت في قبضته ملكوت

كل شئ يخلق ما يشاء بامرہ انه كان على كل شئ قديرا ان يا اسم
الازل فاشهد على انه لا اله الا انا العزيز المحبوب ثم اشهد على انه لا
اله الا انت المهيمن القيوم

The following passage (on f. 175^a) is important, as implying not only that the Báb regarded Şubḥ-i-Ezel as his sole vicegerent, but that he did not contemplate such a contingency as the appearance of "Him whom God shall manifest" in Şubḥ-i-Ezel's life-time :

واذكر بالحسنى الذينهم امنوا بى ثم بكلماتى لئلا يختلفون فى
امر الله وهم عن الصراط ليعبدون فان يظهر الله فى ايامك بمثلك
هذا ما يورثن الامر من عند الله الواحد الوحيد فان لم يظهر فايقن
بان الله ما اراد ان يعرف نفسه فلتفوض الامر الى الله ربكم و رب
العالمين جميعا

"Exhort to virtue those who believe in me and in my words, that they disagree not touching the Religion of God, [for then] shall they stray away from the Path. And if God cause one like unto thee to appear in thy days, then he it is to whom shall be bequeathed the authority on the part of God the Single, the One.¹ But if [such an one] appears not, know for a surety that God hath not willed to make Himself known, and render up the authority to God, your Lord, and the Lord of the words, all."

Almost immediately after this comes another passage, which is of considerable importance, as shewing that the Báb intentionally left the [Persian] Béyan incomplete, only publishing 11 of the 19 *Váhids*,² and, as stated by the Ezeli author of the *Hasht Bihisht* (see *T.N.* ii,

¹ Here, as elsewhere (*B.* ii, p. 997), *Wahid* probably stands as equivalent to *Yahyd* (i.e. Şubḥ-i-Ezel).

² This affords another instance of Count Gobineau's extraordinary accuracy in all that he states concerning the Bábí literature and doctrines. See *Religions et Philosophies*, p. 332.

p. 353), conferring on Şubḥ-i-Ezel the right of completing it if the time should be propitious. This passage is as follows :

وان ابواب البيان قد قدر على عدد كل شئ ولكننا ما اظهرناه الا
احدى وعشرواحدا لكل هيكل واحد من هياكل التسعة من قبل
العشر احدى عشر واحداً ذكر من عند الله العلى العظيم ذلك ذكر
جود والا كل لله وكل اليه ليرجعون وان اظهر الله عزا في
ايامك فاطهر منا هج الثمانية بانن الله بما كنت عليه من الاكرمين.

From a passage on f. 175^b it would appear that with this epistle were sent to Şubḥ-i-Ezel seven *Vāhids* of one of the sacred books. Of these he is instructed to keep one himself, and to distribute the other six to the "Lands of Fâ, 'Ayn, Khâ, Alif, Mîm, and Kâf" (i.e. Fârs, 'Irâk, Khurâsân, Âzarbaijân, Mâzandarân, and (?) Kirmân). The particular believer in each of these provinces to whom the *vâhid* intended for that province is to be sent, is designated, but in a somewhat enigmatical manner, as follows :

وان واحد ارض الفآء يوصل الى اسم العلى وفي ارض
العين الى اسم النبيل الذى قد نصر الله بما ملكه يوم القيمة وكان
له عند الله شاناً عظيماً وان في ارض النجآء يوصل الى اسم
صداق صديق وان في ارض الالف الى اسم عز رحيم وان في ارض
الميم من كان هنالك من الموقنين وان في ارض الكاف يوصل الى
اسم ربك الجواد الجواد الجويد لا يحل لاحد ان يملك الا واحداً
وكل به يفرحون وما كان من اشعار الله المهيمين التيوم مع الالواح
فاحفظها ولا تهب الاعباد الله المخلصين

In a letter written by Şubḥ-i-Ezel on March 13th, 1892, in answer to questions addressed to him by myself as to the identity of the persons to whom allusion is here made, the

following explanations (some of which refer to other documents described in this article) were given. By *Ismu'l-Anis* (اسم الانيس, "the Name of the Intimate") Hájí Suleymán Khán, who accompanied the Báb on his pilgrimage-journey, and suffered martyrdom at Teherán in 1852, is meant. *Ismu'l-Jawád* (اسم الجواد, "the Name of the Generous") denotes Áká Seyyid Jawád of Kerbelá, who died some eight years ago at Kirmán. (See *T.N.* ii, p. 342, n. 2, and pp. 443-4 *supra*.) The *Letter Sin* (حرف السين) sometimes means "*Jenáb-i-Báb*" (i.e. Mullá Huseyn of Bushraweyh, who inherited this title when his master declared himself to be the "Point"), and sometimes *Hazrat-i-Kuddús* (Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí of Bárfurúsh). *Ism-i-Muṣavvir* (اسم مصور, "the Name of the Limner") means the Báb himself. *Ism-i-Hujjat* (اسم حجت, "the Name of the Proof") means Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí of Zanján. (Cf. p. 472 *supra*.) *Ism-i-Šádik* (اسم صادق, "the Name of the Faithful") means Mullá Muḥammad Šádik, called *Muḥaddas-i-Khurásán*, "the Saint of Khurásán." *Ism-i-Raḥim* (اسم رحيم, "the Name of the Merciful") was a Tabrizí, reports of whose death had been circulated. *Ism-i-Nabíl* (اسم نبيل, "the Name of the Noble") denotes a certain Hájí Sheykh Muḥammad of Qazvín, who died at Láhiján in Gilán during the Baghdad period. (The name *Nabíl* always stands for *Muḥammad*, with which it is numerically equivalent. Cf. *B.* ii, p. 997). By *Ismu'l-'Alí* (اسم العلى, "the Name of the High") in the Land of Fárs, Hájí Seyyid 'Alí, the Báb's maternal uncle and guardian, and one of the "Seven Martyrs," is no doubt meant.

The 60th piece (ff. 176^b-177^a) contains more "instructions" (وصايا) addressed to "the Name of the Merciful" (اسم الرحيم), who is very probably the same *Raḥim* mentioned in the last piece. Şubḥ-i-Ezel's authority is again asserted and confirmed in the following words :

وان الامر ينتهي الى اسم الوحيد لان ظهوره بنفسه حجة و من
بعده ان اظهر الله بمثله ذا حجة فينتهي اليه و الا الامر بيد الشهداء
في البيان الذينهم عن حدود ما نزل في البيان لا يتجاوزون *

The 61st piece, containing the Báb's testamentary dispositions as to his burial, is translated in part in n. 1 on p. 46 of the second volume of my *Traveller's Narrative*. From the introduction of the words انيس, مونس, in the first line it would appear to be addressed to Hájí Suleymán Khán b. Yahyá Khán of Tabriz, to whom this title of *Anis* was given by the Báb. (See preceding page.) This piece, which is as short as it is interesting, I give in full.

(از جمله وصايا لاجل الدفن)

الله اكبر الله اكبر الله خير مونس وانيس تكبير بثمره ازليه
رسانيده و آنچه در هر حال سزاوار است بعون الله وقوته فرموده
باشند بقعه شاه عبد العظيم ارض نيكواست بواسطه قرب وحيد
در حفظ والله خير الحافظين *

The 62nd piece (ff. 177^a-182^b) is a prayer for daily repetition written by the Báb, who here styles himself, according to Şubḥ-i-Ezel's explanation given on the preceding page, مظهر اسم المصتور.

The 63rd piece (ff. 182^b-188^a) begins with a long doxology, which is followed by what would seem to be a form of visitation to be used by such as present themselves before (or before the grave of) "the First to believe," otherwise called "the Tree" (elsewhere "the Letter") "*Sin*," i.e. Mullá Huseyn of Bushraweyh. This is implied in the opening words of the "visitation" (on f. 185^a), which run thus :

هذه صلوة وزيارة لاول من اجاب ربه ولمظاهر نفسه والمستشهدين

بين يديه ثم التفت الى شجرة السين وقل انما البهائم الابهي والسناء
الاسنى من الله رب الاخرة والاولى عليك يا ايها الشجرة الطوبى الخ

From allusions to "afflictions" and "calamities" suffered by "the Tree" (or "Letter") "Sin" and his "branches" (i.e. followers, it seems probable that this is another form of visitation for Skeykh Ṭabarsí comparable to No. 23 *supra*.

The 64th piece consists for the most part of praise and prayer, but also contains a form of salutation to the Sun, similar to that whereof I gave a translation (from the *Persian Beyán*) at pp. 929-930 of *B. ii*. This form, interesting as illustrating the revival of Zoroastrian ideas by the Báb,¹ begins as follows:

ثم التفت الى الشمس وقل انما البهائم الابهي والعلاء الاعلى من
ربك الله رب كل شئ عليك يا ايها الشمس الطالعة والاية الازلية
والطعلة الاحدية والوجهة الالهية والقمص الوجدانية لاشهدنك وكل
شئ على انه لاله الاهوربى و ربك لم يزل كان الها واحدا احدا
فردا صمدا الخ

The 65th and last piece (again described by Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel as *از جمله احكام ووصايا*) contains the Báb's instructions to those of his followers who shall visit the place of his martyrdom ("the place where this Tree shall be struck down"), together with the form of prayer to be used by them. I subjoin the text of the former only:

وان على محمل الذى صُرِبَتْ تلك الشجرة فرض على الذين هم
امنوا بالله و اياته كلهم اجمعون ان يصلوا هنالك ركعتين صلوة

¹ Gobineau says well (*Relig. et Philos.*, p. 316) in speaking of the Bábí conception of the Divine Nature:—"En un mot, soufys, guèbres sémitisés,—c'est à dire tous les guèbres depuis les Sassanides,—et avant eux l'Orient tout entier, ont confessé et chéri et cherché ce dieu-là depuis que la science a commencé dans ces contrées."

على ما قد فصلناه في الكتاب ثم يقولون و يكشفون رؤسهم و يقومون
على التراب من دون التعلين و يخرجون عن ابدانهم لباسهم حتى
لم يكن عندهم الا مثل ما هم به يكفون و ان قبل ذلك عليهم ان
من الله ان يقتسلوا لله رب العالمين فاذا نزلوا تلك الارض و صلوا
تلك الصلوة في ذلك المقعد لم يحل عليهم ان يخرجوا من حول
تلك الارض تسعة عشر يوما يعتكفون هنالك و يسبحون الله و
يقدمونه ثم يستغفرون الله و يتوبون تلك من حدود الله قد فرضت
على الناس كلهم اجمعون و لقد كتب الله على الذينهم بعد التسعة
و العشر هم يريدون ان يخرجون ان يقولون سبحانك اللهم انك
انت فاطر السموات و الارض و ما بينهما الخ

This piece ends on f. 199^a as follows :

و ان عند الله ام الكتاب به ينسخ الله ما يحكم ثم يثبت ما يريد
انه فعال لما يريد *

BBF. 4.

آثار قدوسيه *Writings of Jenáb-i-Kuddús.*

نعمات الروح لئالي و مجالي *Writings of Subh-i-Ezel.*

Ff. α , β , and 208, (α^1 , α^2 , β^1 , 1^a , 21^a - 22^a , 102^a - 106^a , 204^a - 205^a , and 208^b blank), 20.5×12.75 centimetres, 14 lines to page in first and last parts, which are written in *naskh*, 17 in second and third parts (which are written in *nim-shikasté*, or what Subh-i-Ezel calls *shikasté-i-hayarân*). The letter which accompanied this MS. bears the date *J(emâdi-uth-)thâni* 13th [A.H. 1307=February 4th, A.D. 1890], and is bound up with the MS., of which it now forms (additional) ff. α and β . In it

Şubḥ-i-Ezel thus writes of the accompanying volume :

سه کتاب سابق که فرستاده شده بود از بیانست مداخله نفوسی در آن نیست لیکن در این نوبت نظراز آنکه از آثار بیان چیزی بدست نیامد چند جزوی از کلمات خود و دو جزواز آثار حضرت قدوس ابلاغ محضر عالی گردید تا آنکه همیشه ایام این منزوی را یاد آوری فرمایند *

"The three books previously sent are [a part] of the *Beyán*, nor have they been tampered with by any persons.¹ This time, however, since no [more] portions of the *Beyán* were at hand, a few folios of my own words and two folios of the writings of *Hazrat-i-Kuddús*² are sent to you, that you may ever bear in mind this recluse."

The contents of the MS. are divisible into five parts :

- I. (ff. α - β , additional). Şubḥ-i-Ezel's letter, quoted above.
- II. (ff. 1^b-20^b). Writings of *Hazrat-i-Kuddús* (six separate pieces).
- III. (ff. 22^b-101^b). *Naghamátu'r-Rúḥ* ("Songs of the Spirit") by Şubḥ-i-Ezel, consisting of text (written in *naskh*) and commentary (in *nim-shikasté*), both in Arabic, and both composed by Şubḥ-i-Ezel. From the heading prefixed to the text (الجلد الثانی) (من نعمات الروح) it would appear that there is a first part of this work which I do not possess.
- IV. (ff. 106^b-203^b). *La'álí ú Majáli* (لئالی و مجالی), an imitation and expansion of the well-known *Sententiae* of 'Alí ibn Abí Tálíb,³ by Şubḥ-i-Ezel.

¹ Cf. p. 447, n. 1 *supra*.

² *i.e.* Mullá Muḥammád 'Alí of Bárfurúsh, who suffered martyrdom at his native place in the summer of 1849 after the fall of Sheykh Ṭabaráfi. See Gobineau, *Rel. et Phil.*, pp. 230-2.

³ First published in Europe in the original Arabic, with a Persian translation, and Latin glossary and notes, by Professor Stickel (Jena, 1834).

V. (ff. 205^b-208^b). A short piece in Arabic without title, apparently by Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel, certainly not by the Báb, whose death is thus alluded to (f. 206^b):

يا اهل الكتاب اذكروا ربكم فقد جائكم ربكم و الملك حوله فقد
 حاججتم بالله من دون شئى و ادبرتم عن الحق و قتلتم نقطة الاولى
 من دون حق و تعديتم فى الامر و كنتم من الضالين و اطعمتم نفس
 الطاغوت بينكم و قاتلتم الذين امنوا الى ان سفكت دماءهم على
 الارض و كنا شاهدين *

Of each of the last four parts I shall now give a brief description.

Writings of Hazrat-i-Ẕuddus (آثار قدوسيه).

(No. 1, on f. 1^b) بسمه العلى الكبير المتكبر الحمد لله الذى قد
 اقام العرش على الهوآء و اكفهر على الماء سر البقاء
 و قد رشح على النار سر الامضاء بانه لا اله الا هو و
 هو الذى لا اله الا هو و هو الشجرة القديم الحمد لله
 الذى قد احكم على السر الظهور بالظهور فى افق
 الطور بالسر المعجل المستور بانه لا اله الا هو العلى
 لدى قديم الخ *

(No. 2, on f. 6^a) بسم الرب المتكبر العزيز القهار و انك يا الهى
 لتعلم انى لا ادعو عبادك الا للخضوع لدى باب
 رحمتك و الانابة لهم فى كل وجه لدى ظهور
 طلعتك و انك يا الهى لتعلم حكمك و تبين
 سرک و تظهر امرک فلا شک و لا ريب يا الهى ان
 الحججة لم تكن لاحد عليك و انما منك الهجة
 على الناس فلو انك قد اصطفيت اعلا من

عبادك و نزلت عليه حجة من عندك و ان كان
من نذر القظمير نفيراً الخ

(No. 3, on f. 10^b) بسم الرب الجبار المختار القهار الايا ايها الورقآء
المغنى في عمآء البهآء بديعا ان استمع الكل
نعت الاسبذاب بالسر الهوية في سطرانما لاهل
البقاء بالسر المرشح بانى انا الحق لاله الا هو في
سر الايات رفيعا فقل ان استمعوا ندائى بالسر السطر
من الشجرة الحمراء في ابجر الاحدية لاهل الوفاء
بالنار النور جميعا الخ

(No. 4, on f. 13^a) بسمه الذى لاله الا هو العلى العظيم الحمد لله
مطرز ديباجة الهويات بالاية البديعة و سكنون
العمائيات بطراز النقطة المنيعة و مخترع
البهآئيات بترشح الانوار من طراز الالف الجوهريّة
و مبدع الاوراق الاشارات بظهور ورقآء السينآئية
بانه لاله الا هو العلى القديم الخ

(No. 5, on f. 17^a) بسم الرب المتعال المتكبر العزيز الفعال اللهم
يا الهى و ربى و مولى و سيدى لك الحمد على
ما يجرى قضاآئك بالبدآء و لك الحمد على ما
يعضى قضاآئك بالورقة الحمراء و لك الحمد حمد
الهوية في ذروة الابداع و لك الحمد حمدا يفضل
على كلما في اللواح الاختراع و لك الحمد حمدا
ابدائيا و لك الحمد حمدا اختراعيا و لك الحمد
حمدا ازليا و لك الحمد حمدا هائيا و لك
الحمد في نذر العمآء الخ

(No. 6, on f. 19^a)¹ بسم الرب العزيز المتكبر القديم الحمد لله الذي
 قد خلق الكينونية الاحدية من رشح التجلى في
 الظهور وقد تلامح الكينونيات بالنور المتشعشة في
 الطور وقد اظهر الهوية الهائية في كل وجه من نقطة
 المغفور ثم الذين اشركوا بربهم يظهرون الخ

These specimens of the style of *Hazrat-i-Kuddus*, few though they be, sufficiently show that his Arabic is even more open to the grammarian's criticism than is usually the case with Bábí writings in that language.

Naghamdtu'r-Rúh (نغمات الروح).

This, as I have already said, presents a continuous text, composed by Subh-i-Ezel, and interspersed with his own commentary, extending from f. 22^a to f. 101^b. I shall give the first few lines only of the exordium, the whole of the introductory preface, and a short specimen of the commentary and text commentated, the latter being here distinguished (for want of a separate fount of type) by overlining.

لا اله الا الله

الجلد الثانى من نغمات الروح
 بسمه الباقي الملك الديموم المستعان

الحمد لله ممسك السماء بقدرته ومسكن الارض بمشيته ومرفع
 الجبال بعزته ومشفق الاكام بقوته ومجربى البحور بحكمته وخالق
 النفوس بديموميته ومطرز ديباج الذوات بهويته ومزين الواح العماء

¹ The handwriting of the MS. suddenly changes at the top of this page (i.e. for this piece and the last 7 lines of the preceding one) from *naskh* to *nim-shikasté*.

بروبيته المادح نفسه بالبقآء والجلال والمقدس ذاته عما يقال
والدائم الكآئن بلا انتقال والصدد الباقي بلا زوال والكآئن الديموم
لم يزل ولا يزال الخ

أما بعد فيقول العبد الراجي الجاني الى الله القيوم والذره الاحقر
الفاني تلقآء الملك الديموم بانه لما جرى الامر المحتوم والقضاء
المبروم فسرت بعضا مما رشح من لدي في مواقع الذكر والتقرير و
شرحت ما انشدته في بعض المواقع والمواضع وقد كررت الشرح
ثانيا ولما وقع بعض الامور شاهدت في نفسي رجحا من الذل والحزن
اذا امسكت القلم عن الجريان وحينئذ لما ذكر ذكر ذلك اقرب
الاحبآء التي وافقه العلماء لدي واحب الودآء عندي واثبت
الصدقآء في ذلك الامر اذا كررت ما شرحت وبيئت ما بقي من
تبيانه في نصف الاخير ورجوت عن وداده العفو وعن مودته الصفح
لئلا يقشع احد بعد ثبوته في الامر ولئلا تنزل اقدام بعد استقامتها
وثبتها ولا تهلك نفسا بعد ما استقرت على ملك السرآئرو البساط
والعزة المحقة ولا يزعزع من احد بعد ما استقام وثبت في ذلك
الدين ولا تخمد نائرة شوقه ولا يكون الناس في حجاب *
فاقول وابتدى في الشرح فبالله التكلان والاستعانة والتوفيق قوله فما
كاشف الضرآء الخ اى لا يكشف الضر الحقيقي الذى هو من سبب
الدين وابعاد العبد عن ربه والاحتجاب عنه الا هو لما انه هو ينزل
ذلك البلاء وجميع البلايا ويدفعها ويأمن النفس عن جهات
النفسانية ويقربها اليه وهو الكاشف لكل الضرآء وانما الامور بيديه
وما لامره من مرد وهو يذهب الغم وينفس الكرب ويكشف الضر
بظهور نفس المشية وحقيقة الباقيه فاذا اسقيت نفسك من
ذلك الطمطم التمقام والبئر الهيولى الجهنام اذا اشهد ما جلى الله

هناك في طور الامر وانظر ما ذا يجلى في الكلام و طير في جو ذلك
الهواء الخ

As will be apparent from the above extract, the commentary is very profuse, if not very clear.

Ends (on f. 101^b):

فانى كلما اجريت في تلك الكلمات من النصائح و المواعظ ما
قصدت بها نصيحتك بل اردت نصيحتى للناس فلا محزن في شأن و قل
الله ربى و انه لقوى حفيظ و قل هو الحق و انه لمعى يهدين و الحمد
لله رب العالمين *

٥٢٢١٦٨٥

٢١٢٥٢١١٢٧٦

The cyphers at the end of the *Naghamātu'r-Rūḥ* are repeated at the end of the *La'ālī ū Majālī* (f. 203^a), and at the end of another MS. containing some of Şubḥ-i-Ezel's Persian writings which will be described presently. They indicate, as Şubḥ-i-Ezel informed me by word of mouth, that the writings to which they are appended are by him. Their significance, however, he was not willing to divulge to me. Probably they refer in some way to the *abjad* notation.

La'ālī ū Majālī. (لئالى و مجالى).

Of this piece also I shall give first of all the opening words of the exordium, then the short introductory preface, then a few specimens of the aphorisms or "Sententiae," which, arranged in groups according to the position of the initial (or sometimes the final) letter in the alphabet, make up the remainder of the work.

الا الله

لا اله

لئالى و مجالى

بسم الله الكافى المنان

الحمد لله الاول حيث لا اول قبله و الاخر حيث لا اخر بعده

والظاهر حيث لا ظاهر فوقه والباطن حيث لا باطن دونه ولا شئ معه كان اولا ولا يذكر بالاولا آئل وكان اخرا ولا يعرف بالاولا آخر وكان ظاهرا ولا ينعت بالظواهر وكان باطنا ولا يوصف بالباطن الخ
 وبعد قد طلع ما ظهر وشرق و سطع من سائل مهتدى بالله و الشهير بمهتدى فقد سئل في كتابه نظيرا لما ظهر و تنظيرا لما طلع و اشتهر من امام الصدق العدل الغالب على ابن ابيطالب صلوات الله على مجليه و سلامه عليه و على الائمة من بعده ما دامت الشمس مشرقة و القمر الامر ساطع لامع فقد اجبته بما ظهر مني و يسر لي من سبل الامر ليكون ذكرا للذاكرين و شرفا للمهتدين البالغين و بالله التوفيق و الاستعانة و انه لا حول و لا قوة الا بالله *
 بسم ربي العدل المستعان استعينوا بالله تجدوا رضاء الله
 استعينوا بالله تجدوا لقاء الله استعينوا بالصبر تجدوا هناك الاجر
 استعينوا بالصلوة تجدوا الخيرات

and so on for 23 similar sentences, the section ending with the words الاستعانة الاستعانة.

The second section (f. 107^b) contains thirty-one short aphorisms beginning with the word اخلصوا, as, for example:

اخلصوا العهود تجدوا العقود اخلصوا الوعد تجدوا الوجد اخلصوا
 الانوال تجدوا الافعال الخ

The third section (ff. 107^b-109^a) consists, for the most part, of aphorisms beginning with the definite article, further arranged according to the letter in which they end, e.g.:

العلم تاج الجهل غسق ساج المعرفة سراج وهاج الرديّة ليل داج
 الايمان فلاح الايقان صلاح العرفان مجاح الخير نور
 الشر ظلام ديجور الخ

The whole work, excluding the preface, consists of 179 such sections, arranged in groups alphabetically according to the initial letter of the aphorisms. The number of sections belonging to each letter varies. Sections i-xix begin with ا; xx-xxvii with ب; xxviii-xxxiii with ت; xxxiv-xxxvii with ث; xxxviii-xli with ج; xlii-xlvi with ح; xlvii-lii with خ; liii-lv with د; lvi-lvii with ذ; lix-lxv with ر; lxvi-lxx with ز; lxxi-lxxv with س; lxxvi-lxxxii with ش; lxxxiii-lxxxvi with ص; lxxxvii-lxxxviii with ض; lxxxix-xcii with ط; xciii-xcv with ظ; xcvi-cv with ع; cvi-cviii with غ; cix-cxiii with ف; cxiv-cxvi with ق; cxvii-cxxix with ك; cxxx-cxlii and again clxviii-clxxi with ل; cxliii-cl with م; cli-clvii with ن; clviii-clxii with و; clxiii-clxvii with ه; clxxii-clxxix with ي. The work thus consists entirely of short, disconnected aphorisms, and the specimens which I have given, though few, will, I think, sufficiently indicate its general character.

The last piece contained in the MS. is separated by three blank pages (ff. 204^a-205^a) from the preceding one, is written in *naskh*, occupies only six pages, and begins abruptly as follows :

قد ضلت الحكماء يومئذ وما عرفوا مقدار شئى ورجع الخلق
الى حده والممكن الى محدود فنأته افانتم حينئذ بايات الله لا
تتذكرون وهاهت العرفاء يومئذ وما نعتوه وما عرفوا شيئاً من
معارف ربك وما وحدوا الله حق توحيدده وهم اذا محتاجون الخ

Ends (on f. 208^a) :

قد افترى على الله كذبا فكلما دعاه الى الله ربه موسى قد امتنع
عن عبادة الله واستكبر وكان من العالين وما قدر الله للذين كفروا
آلا النار هي حسبهم يردونها وانهم كانوا فيها من المحضرين *

BBF. 5.

آثار ازینیه بزبان فارسی

Ff. 274 (1^a and 274^b blank), 17·75 × 10·75 centimetres,
11 lines to the page.

A collection of Şubḥ-i-Ezel's Persian writings, transcribed by himself in a clear, graceful, and somewhat peculiar *ta'liq* hand, and containing a number of sections or chapters of various lengths, to each of which is prefixed a doxology, but no title. The full examination and description of such a collection being necessarily a work of time, I confine myself here to giving the beginning and ending. Near the end of the MS. is a rather long and very important piece wherein Şubḥ-i-Ezel defines and defends his position, and enters a protest against the schism of the Behá'ís. This piece I hope to publish with a translation in a subsequent number of the *Journal*.

Begins:

لا اله	الا اله
آثار	الزلیمة

هو المستعان

سپاس معری از ذکر ما کان و حمد مقدس از نعت ما یکون مر
خداوند قهار سبح متعالی را سزاست که لم یزل بحار جود و رحمت
او در النظام است و بیوم عز و قدرت او در اضطرام در هر لحظه در
شئون نیست و در هر نفحه در غنون ابداع فرموده خلق هستی را و
وجود داد خلق لا وجود و نیستی را ما عرفه من شی و ما وصفه ما
خلق نشناخته او را هیچ چیز و وصف ننموده او را ما خلق زیرا که
عرفان ذات مقدس او با اقتران ممکن شود و چون اقتران در خلق
وجود لا یمکن از این سبب عرفان او بغیر از او نتوان نمود و وصف

او (f. 2^a) بجز از آیات او نتوان گفت زیرا که شناختنش بغیر ممکن نشود و عرفانش بما خلق مشهود نگردد الخ

Ends:

هرگاه واصل بآن منبع قدس شده ذات حقیقتِ او را یافته
و عارف گشته معنی کنز حقیقت و عرفان احدیت او را درک نموده
و الادرزمره هالکین مستهلک گردیده مسحوب شده نُبْحَانَ اَلله
وَتَعَالَى عَمَّا يُشْرِكُونَ وَ الْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ

۵۳۲۱۶۸۵

۳۱۲۵۳۱۱۲۷۶

۱۳۳۲
سه

- * عشق آمد و باز نوحه بر خویش نمود *
- * خاکی تن ما ز هجر پر ریش نمود *
- * در سبزه جان بچشم حسرت نگریم *
- * آه از غم دل که نیش بر خویش نمود *

BBF. 6

تفسیر سورة البقرة

The Báb's Commentary on the Súratu'l-Bakara [*Kur'án, II*].

This and the three following MSS. (all containing works of the Báb) were not transcribed by Subh-i-Ezel, but were transmitted to me through him from Persia. The circumstances under which they were conveyed from Teherán to Cyprus and thence to me were somewhat peculiar. On July 9th, 1890, I received from Teherán a letter from an unknown correspondent belonging to the Ezeli sect of the Bábís which bore as its date "Tuesday, Shawwál 14th, A.H. 1307" (June 3rd, 1890). After a preliminary doxology, the writer proceeded to explain that, being at Famagusta

in Cyprus in the month of Zi'l-Ka'da, A.H. 1306 (July, 1889), he had been present when my first letter, asking for books and information, was handed to Şubḥ-i-Ezel, and had perused its contents; and that he had also been present when the "Governor" (*i.e.* the Commissioner of the district, Captain Young), called to see Şubḥ-i-Ezel and to converse with him through his interpreter. On leaving Cyprus to return to Persia he had been commanded by Şubḥ-i-Ezel to collect together such of the Báb's writings as he could (especially those concerning which I had more particularly enquired). On arriving at Teherán he had accordingly set to work on this task, and had succeeded in obtaining copies of (1) *The Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsus*, or *Aḥsanu'l-Kiṣāṣ*; (2) *The Names of All Things* (اسماء كلشی); (3) *The Commentary on the Súratu'l-Baqara*; (4) *The Commentary on the Súratu'l-'Aşr*; (5) *The Doxology of our Lady Fátima* (تسبیح حضرت فاطمه). These books were to have been forwarded through a certain Ezeli, whose position would have enabled him to secure their safe conveyance,¹ but his sudden death had rendered this impossible. My correspondent therefore desired me to suggest some means of transmission, adding that desire to see Western lands and to learn their languages and arts, as well as anxiety to escape from the continual persecutions of the Mullás (who had lately, without cause or pretext, slain six of his co-religionists at Isfahán and burned their bodies),² rendered him very willing to bring the MSS. to England himself, if I approved of this plan, and if he could obtain money for the journey.

To this letter I replied in the manner directed. After thanking my correspondent for all the trouble he had taken, I explained to him the great expense and difficulty of the scheme he proposed, and suggested that the books

¹ My correspondent did not mention the name of this person, but I have no doubt in my own mind as to who is meant.

² The persecution of Si-dih is alluded to. See my *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii., pp. 406-410.

should, when opportunity offered, be conveyed to Cyprus and placed in the hands of Şubh-i-Ezel, who could afterwards, if he pleased, transmit the originals or copies of the originals to me through Captain Young. In any case it appeared to me right and proper that they should first be placed in his hands.

On September 19th, 1890, I received another letter in the same hand, bearing the Constantinople post-mark, but written, apparently, from Famagusta, whither my mysterious correspondent had again journeyed. In this letter he stated that he had, according to my advice, abandoned the idea of coming to England, and had safely brought the following six volumes with him to Cyprus and handed them over to Şubh-i-Ezel: (1) *The Names of All Things*, 2 vols.; (2) *The Commentary on the Sûratu'l-Bakara*, 1 vol.; (3) *The Commentary on the Sûratu'l-Kawthar*, 1 vol.; (4) *The Commentary on the Sûratu'l-'Aşr*, 1 vol.; (5) *The Commentary on the Sûra-i-Yûsuf or Ahsanu'l-Kişaş*, 1 vol.

Having thus explained how this and the following volumes were conveyed to Cyprus, whence most of them have since been sent to me, I return to the present MS., the *Commentary on the Sûratu'l-Bakara*. That it was one of the Báb's earlier works appears from a passage in the *Tárikh-i-Jadid*, of which the substance will be found at pp. 902-903 of my second paper on the Bábís in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1889. This passage contains the account given by Mullá Huseyn of Bushraweyh of his conversion to Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Wahháb of Khurásán, who narrated it to Háji Mírzá Jání of Káshán, from whose book it is copied by the author of the *Tárikh-i-Jadid*. It is too long to quote or translate *in extenso*, and I must therefore confine myself to citing that portion of it which bears directly on the Commentary in question.

پس از ساعتی در طایفه چند جلد کتاب بنظرم رسید برداشتم
دیدم تفسیری است بر سوره مبارکه بقره. چون قدری خواندم

دیدم تفسیری است بی نظیر تعجب نمودم و پرسیدم این تفسیر را که نوشته فرمودند جوانی تازه کار نوشته و اظهار علم و بزرگی زیاد مینماید. گفتم کیست و کجاست فرمودند می بینی و باز هم من ملتفت معنی میبینی نشدم. صفحه دیگر را ملاحظه نمودم نوشته بود تفسیر باطن باطن بنظرم تفسیر باطن آمد و عرض کردم اینجا باید تفسیر باطن باشد و باطن باطن نوشته اند فرمودند من چگویم صاحب تفسیر زیاده بر اینها اظهار جلالت و عظمت و دانش مینماید بدقت ملاحظه کنید من مجدداً اعاده در مرور نمودم دیدم تفسیر باطن باطن است و صحیح نوشته اند گفتم صحیح است و لیکن من خسته ام شما بخوانید من مستمع میشوم. ایشان قدری خواندند علی رسم سایر ناس عرض کردم کفایت میکند دیگر زحمت مکشید

“After a while” [says Mullá Huseyn of Bushraweyh] “I observed several volumes lying in a recess. I picked up one of them, and found it to be a Commentary on the *Súratu'l-Bakara*. After reading a little I perceived it to be a commentary of singular merit, and demanded in astonishment who the author might be. “A mere youthful beginner,” answered he, “who nevertheless lays claim to a high degree of knowledge and greatness.” I again asked who and where the writer was. “Thou seest him,” he replied; but I did not at the time apprehend his meaning, and continued to read on till I came to a passage where it was written, “*the explanation of the inmost of the inmost.*” This appeared to me to be an error, and I remarked, “Here it should be ‘the inmost,’ and they have written ‘the inmost of the inmost.’” “What can I say?” he answered, “the author of the Commentary lays claim to even more than this of greatness, glory, and knowledge. Consider the passage attentively.” I did so, and said, “It is quite correct. But I am wearied. Do you read and I will listen.” He

read for a time, and then, as men are wont, I said, "It is enough. Do not trouble yourself further."'"

It is this work, then, hitherto unknown in the West, that the present MS. represents. The MS. reached me, together with another (the *Commentary on the Sūratu'l-'Aṣr*) to be described immediately, on December 8th, 1890. With them came a letter from Şubḥ-i-Ezel, dated November 25th, wherein he wrote as follows :

مهاجر معهود هم در همان ایام وارد شده لوح مرقوم را رسانده از
خیال خود منصرف گشته بمحل خویش بازگشت نمود کتب که
اشاره شده بود شش جلد مهیا شده لیکن بعدم فرصت بتمامه سواد
نشده اکنون بتوسط سرکار حاکم حرسه الله تعالی دو جلد آن که یکی
شرح آیات سوره بقره و دیگری شرح و العصراست ابلاغ نزد محضر
عالی گشته بقیه آن یعنی سه جلد دیگر که شرح کوثر و دو کتاب
اسماء کل شیء باشد بتدریج انشاء الله فرستاده میشوند شرح سوره
یوسف هم حاضر است تا اقتضای ارسال آن چه وقت شود.

"The pilgrim of whom you wot also arrived about the same time" [as Captain Young, whose absence on leave from Cyprus had prevented Şubḥ-i-Ezel from writing for a considerable period]. "The letter which you wrote being conveyed to him, he abandoned his idea [of proceeding to England in person], and returned to his own place. The books which have been signified, six volumes, are ready, but owing to lack of opportunity they have not yet been completely copied. Now, by means of His Excellency the Governor [*i.e.* Captain Young] (may God Almighty guard him!), two volumes of them, one of which is the *Commentary on the verses of the Sūra-i-BaĀara*, and the other the *Commentary on 'Wa'l 'Aṣr,*' are forwarded to you. The remainder, namely three other volumes, the *Commentary on the Kawthar* and two volumes of the *Names of All Things*, will, if it please God, be forwarded by

degrees. The *Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsus* is also ready, whenever the time to send it may come."

The description of this MS. is as follows: Ff. 110 (ff. 1^a-2^a, and 110^a-110^b blank), 19×11.5 centimetres, 19 lines to the page. Written in a legible *naskh* hand, without title or colophon. F. 2^a bears a seal-mark which reads—
عبدہ الراجی الحسینی محمد رحیم

The text begins with the *Súratu'l-Fátiha* and a short commentary on it, which I give *in extenso*—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله رب العالمين. الرحمن الرحيم. مالك يوم الدين.
اياك نعبد و اياك نستعين. اهدنا الصراط المستقيم. صراط الذين
انعمت عليهم غير المغضوب عليهم ولا الضالين. هذه السورة
المباركة عند الله سبعة آيات محكمات الآية الاولى كتاب محمد ص
وقد جعل الله فيها احكام وجوده مما لا بداية لها ولا نهاية وهى
جنة الفردوس قد جبل الله ظلها لمن امن بنبوته و دخل عليها بها
و الثانية كتاب على ع و قد جعل الله فيها احكام ولايته المطلقة مما
هو عليه وهى جنة الواحديّة قد جعل الله ظلها لمن اقر بولايته
و الثالثة كتاب فاطمة ع و قد جعل الله فيها كل ما لها وعليها وهى
جنة النعيم جعل الله ظلها لمن امن بها و احبها بعد ما عرفها بما
هى اهلها كما تجلت للعارف لها بها فح (?) حلت تلك الجنة له
و الرابعة كتاب الحسن ع و فيها مكتوب احكامه و احكام شيعته
ممن قد دخل لجة الاحدية بيت ظل محبته وهى جنة العدن
و قطب الجنان و لا خطيرة لها و قد جعل الله ظلها لمن اقر بولايته
(f. 3^a) لآباء ع م و الخامسة كتاب الحسين ع و اخذ روحى فداه
منها احكام نفسه حتى قرأ فيها اسم قاتله عليه اللعنة وهى جنة
المقام قد جعل الله ظلها لمن اقر بولاية الحسين ع و جاء بزيارته

و بكى لمصابه و السادسة كتاب جعفر بن محمد و فيها مكتوب مما شاء الله فيه و هى جنة الخلد و السابعة كتاب موسى بن جعفر و فيها مكتوب مما شاء الله فيه و هى جنة الماوى قد جعل الله ظلها لمن اقر بولايته ع¹ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الم ذلك الكتاب لا ريب فيه هدى للمتقين هذه الآية لاهل الحقيقة معرفة الله سبحانه يعرفون حروفها حرفا واحدا و معانيها معنى واحدا مع تغاير حروفها و كثرة معانيها و هم قوم يعرفون الله بالله و يرون بارئهم و الفردوس رآى العين و الفردوس نفسه لانهم لا ينظرون بغير الله كان الله و لم يكن معه شئ و الان كما كان و هم اهل جنة الاولى بقاؤهم بقاء الله و ليس لهم وصف دون انفسهم و ما سواهم معدومون عند مقامهم و لذا صار الجنان ثمانية و العجيم سبعة و السبعة ظل السبعة و الاولى لا ضد لها و لا ظل بل فى الحقيقة خلوة من الجنان و الجنان خلوة منها الخ

The Commentary ends on f. 109^b with v. 131 of the *Súratu'l-Bakara* as follows :

قال الله تعالى تلك امة قد خلت لها ما كسبت و لكم ما كسبتم
 و لا تسئلون عما كانوا يعملون و لقد اشرت فيها اليها و الى هنا قد
 اخذت القلم عن الجريان بانن الرحمن *

The rest of the Commentary, therefore, would seem never to have been written. I have not been able to find the expression تفسير باطن باطن alluded to in the account of Mullá Huseyn's conversion given by the *Tárikh-i-Jadíd*, which may perhaps be mistaken as to the identity of the work, since Şubh-i-Ezel told me that it was the perusal of the *Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsus* which convinced Mullá Huseyn of the Báb's divine mission.

¹ Here, without break or hiatus, begins the Commentary on the *Súratu'l-Bakara*. The commentary on the first verse extends to f. 8^a, so I must needs content myself with giving the first few lines only.

(To be continued.)



ART. X.—*Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian, Hindustani, and Turkish MSS. in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

This Catalogue has been compiled chiefly from the following ones which are still in the Library :—

- (1) A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Hindustani Languages, preserved in the Libraries of the Royal Asiatic Society, and the Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland. MS. By William H. Morley, 1838.
- (2) A Descriptive Catalogue of the Historical Manuscripts in the Arabic and Persian Languages, preserved in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. By W. H. Morley, Printed by order of the Council, 1854.
- (3) A Rough Additional Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts belonging to the R.A.S. (such as are not entered in Morley's work). By Guy Le Strange, 1881.

A fuller description of many of the MSS. will be found in some one of these Catalogues which are here indicated as (1) M. Ms. Cat. (2) M. P. Cat. and (3) Le S. Cat. respectively.

The order of arrangement, transliteration, titles of works and names, are in accordance with those used in the British Museum Catalogues. Arabic MSS. not included in the above mentioned Catalogues have been referred for description when necessary to Mr. H. C. Kay, and the Persian and Hindustani to Mr. E. G. Browne. Mr. E. J. W. Gibb has examined and described all the Turkish, and the Catalogue of them is made from his notes.

18th January, 1892.

OLIVER CODRINGTON,
Hon. Librarian.

ARABIC MSS.

[Table of Transliteration.

ث=th	خ=kh	ض=d	ع=' (a, i, u)
ج=j	ذ=d	ط=t	غ=gh
ح=h	ص=s	ظ=z	ق=k
		ء='a, 'i, 'u.]	

- 1 and 2. *Korān*. In two volumes. Arabic Texts very finely written in large Naskh, with interlinear Persian translation and copious marginal notes in Shikastah Amīz. Very finely illuminated first pages and title heads of *Surah*. Pages of text enclosed in gold and coloured frames. Verses marked with a gold leaf. *Ajsaa* noted in red. Vol. I. contains the first 18 and part of the 19th *Surah*. Fol. 316. Vol. II. contains the remainder of the Book. Fol. 356. 9 lines of text on a page. Size, 19½ by 12. (M. Ms. Cat. 1 and 2.)
3. *Korān* Well written in Naskh by Ḥāfiẓ Ḥafīz Allāh Walad Shaikh Ibrahim. Illuminated first page. Headings of *Surah* in red. *Ajsaa* and quarter *Ajsaa* noted by illuminated marginal labels. Verses of *Surah* marked by gold pellets. Fol. 446. 11 lines on a page. Size, 12½ by 8½. (M. Ms. Cat. 3.)
4. *Korān*. Written in Naskh with interlinear translation in Malay. Headings of *Surah*, *Ajsaa*, and quarter *Ajsaa* in red. Verses divided by gold pellets. Fol. 352. 9 lines of text on a page. Some pages damaged and partly destroyed. Size, 13½ by 9½. (M. Ms. Cat. 4.)
5. Fragments of a fine folio *Korān*, written in Naskh. 13 lines on a page. 1st, 7th, and 13th lines in large letters on blue or pink ground. Verses marked by a gold rose. Size, 16 by 14.

6. *Korān*. Finely written in Naskh. First page illuminated in gold and colour, and the others lined and marked in gold. Headings of *Surah* in gold. *Ajzaa*, half *Ajzaa*, 60th parts of the book, and groups of five and of ten verses noted in gold in the margin. Fol. 349. 14 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1098. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 7.)
7. Portions of the *Korān*. Parts of the 4th, 5th, 7th, and 9th, and the whole of the 8th *Surah*. Naskh. Fol. 69. 11 lines on a page. Size, $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 8.)
- 8, 9, and 10. *Korān*, in 3 vols. Finely written in Naskh. Illuminated in gold and colour. Each line enclosed in a gold border and an ornamental gold frame to each page. *Surah* headings in red. *Ajzaa* marked in red. Gold pellets between the verses. Vol. I. contains first 8 *Surah*. Fol. 256. Vol. II. contains 9th to the 28th *Surah*. Fol. 250. Vol. III. contains the remainder. Fol. 271. 7 lines on a page. Size, $5\frac{1}{4}$ by $3\frac{1}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 9, 10, and 11.)
11. *Korān*. Written on a roll of paper 20 feet long by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, mounted on rollers, in a wooden glazed case. Writing very small and arranged with gold dividing lines into variously shaped areas forming here and there patterns, words, or letters. The first two *Surah* in large characters and illuminated with colour. The remaining *Surah* not indicated, the writing continuous, and the *Ajzaa* marked by the first words being in red and by red numerals in the margin.
12. *Korān*. Fine Maghribī writing. Titles of *Surah*, divisions, and verses, marked in red, yellow, and green. Fol. 167. 22 lines on a page. Size, 11 by 8. (Le S. Cat. 52.)
13. *Extracts from the Korān, with Turkish Notes*. Naskh. Fol. 75. 11 lines on a page. Size, 5 by $3\frac{1}{2}$. (Le S. Cat. 53.)
14. *Extracts from the Korān*. Maghribī. Fol. 147. 9 lines

- on a page. Imperfect. Size, $4\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{1}{2}$. (Le S. Cat. 55.)
15. *Prayers, Extracts from the Korān, etc.* Naskh. Fol. 79. 9 lines on a page. Size, $7\frac{1}{2}$ by 5. (Le S. Cat. 56.)
16. *Bāb fi faḍā'il Sūrat al-Ḳadar.* On the Excellencies of the 97th Surah of the Korān. Naskh. Fol. 64. 15 lines on a page. Size, $5\frac{1}{2}$ by 4. (M. Ms. Cat. 12.)
17. (1) *On the Reading of the Korān.* Naskh. Fol. 10. 21 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1151.
 (2) *A Poetical Commentary on the Korān.* Naskh. Fol. 49. 13 lines on a page in double column. Dated A.H. 1150. Size, 8 by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (Le S. Cat. 54.)
18. *Al-Rauḍat min al-Kāfi.* On Duties and Religious Ceremonies illustrated by Traditions. Nastalik. Fol. 465. 24 lines on a page. Size, $11\frac{1}{4}$ by 7. (Le S. Cat. 58.)
19. *Al-Istibṣār fi mā Ikhtalaf min al-Akhbār.* On Traditional Discrepancies. By Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan at-Tūsī. Naskh. Fol. 380. 27 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1093. Size, 13 by 8. (Le S. Cat. 67.)
20. *Kitāb as-Salat wa al-Jawābat i al-Imām ar-Rāzī.* Questions and Answers, Theological and Legal. By Imām ar-Rāzī. Naskh. Fol. 137. 24 lines on a page. Size, $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$. (Le S. Cat. 61.)
21. *Ash-Sharā'a al-Aḥkām* or *Sharā'i' al-Islām.* On Laws and Statutes of Islām. By Najm ad-Dīn Abūl-Kāsim Ja'far ibn Sa'id al-Hillī. Shiitic. Naskh. Fol. 260. 21 lines on a page, and marginal notes. Dated A.H. 1120. Size, $11\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$. (Le S. Cat. 57.)
22. *Sharḥ al-Kāfi.* Vol. II. of a Commentary on the Kāfi. Shiitic. By Muḥammad Ṣālih at-Tabrizī. Comprising the Kitāb al-Hajjat and the Bāb at-Tukiyat. Naskh. Fol. 255. 29 lines on a page. Size, $11\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{4}$. (Le S. Cat. 59.)
23. *Commentary on the Mukhtaṣar of Khalīl.* By Muḥammad al-Kharshī. Magjhrībi. Fol. 169. 31 lines on a page. Size, $11\frac{1}{2}$ by 8. (Le S. Cat. 60.)

24. *Abridgement of the Work of Shaikh Khalil ibn Ishak al Māliki*. Naskh. Fol. 210. 13 lines on a page with marginal notes. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by 6. (Le S. Cat. 65.)
25. *A History of the Prophets, Martyrs, etc.* Imperfect. Sals. Fol. 387. 17 lines on a page. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by 6. (Le S. Cat. 66.)
26. *Jāmi' at-Tawārikh*. Part of the general history of the world from the earliest times. By Rashīd ad-Dīn ibn 'Imād ad-Daulah Abūl-Khair Ibn Muwāfik ad-Daulah. Comprising (1) Fragments of the history of Muḥammad and his early adherents. (2) The concluding portion of the history of Khitā. (3) The history of Hind and Sind. (4) A fragment of the history of the Jews, from the creation to the time of Jonah. Naskh. Fol. 59. 35 lines on a page. Illustrated by 100 drawings in colour executed in an unusually high style of art. Dated A.H. 714. Size, $17\frac{1}{4}$ by 12. This MS. is fully described in the Society's Journal, Vol. VI. 1841, by Mr. W. H. Morley and Professor Duncan Forbes, also in M. P. Cat. 1.
27. *Jāmi' at-Tawārikh*. A portion of Rashīd ad-Dīn's history, with an interlinear translation into Persian. Commencing with the 11th chapter of the *Tarikh i Hind wa as-Sind*, and containing the history of Shākmūnī. Text in Naskh. Translation in Nastalik. Fol. 33. 20 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1238. Size, 13 by $9\frac{1}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 2.)
28. *Tuhfat al-Mujāhidīn*. History of the early Muḥammadans in Malabar and their struggles with the Portuguese. By Shaik Zāin ad-Dīn al-Ma'bari. Naskh. Fol. 43. 14 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1246. Size, 9 by 7. (M. P. Cat. 4.)
29. *History of the Expeditions of Idrīs, Sultan of Burnū, in the land of Kānin against the tribes of Bulala*. Naskh. Fol. 113. 17 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1269. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by 7. (Le S. Cat. 68.)
30. *Kharīdat al-'Ajā'ib*. A Cosmography. By Ḥafs 'Umar

- ibn al-Wardī. Maghribī. Fol. 97. 28 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1221. Size, $12\frac{1}{2}$ by $8\frac{1}{2}$. (Le S. Cat. 71.)
31. *Hayāt al-Kulūb*. An Encyclopædia. Naskh. Fol. 407. 26 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1093. Size, $10\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{4}$. (Le S. Cat. 69.)
32. *Al-Iklīl*. Vol. viii. of the Work on Yemen Geography. By Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan, al-Hamaḍānī. Naskh. Fol. 71. 19 lines on a page. Size, $9\frac{3}{4}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (Le S. Cat. 73.)
33. *D'āwī Aḳhīdas m'a Istibānāt*. Translation of Euclid. with the two additional books attributed to Hypsielus, with marginal notes in Persian. Nastalik. Fol. 531. 22 lines on a page. Size, $11\frac{3}{4}$ by $7\frac{1}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 15.)
34. *Sharḥ al-Jaghminī*. A Commentary on the Astronomical Work al-Mulakhkhaṣ fī al-Hay't. By Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad al-Jaghminī. Fol. 65. 19 lines on a page, with marginal notes and diagrams. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by 5. (Le S. Cat. 70.)
35. *Marginal Gloss* by *Ash-Sharīf Jurjānī*, on the *Tahrīr al-Kawād al-Mintakīyat fī Sharḥ ash-Shamsiyah of Kutb ad-Dīn Maḥmud ar-Rāzī*. Naskh. Fol. 61. 21 lines on a page, with marginal notes. Size, 10 by $6\frac{1}{2}$. (Le S. Cat. 62.)
36. *Al-Kānūn fī al-Ṭibb*. Part of the *Kānūn* of Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusain ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Sīna, commonly called Avicenna; containing the concluding sections (14 to 22) of Book III., Book IV., and Book V. on Pharmaceutics. Moorish Arabic. Fol. 243. 35 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 627. Size, $13\frac{1}{2}$ by $9\frac{1}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 22a.)
37. *Elementi della Lingua Araba, Spiegati Secondo i principi Latini in Italiano*. By Professor Guiseppe Grassi. Written by Miss Forbes in fine Arabic and Italian writing. Fol. 183. 23 lines on a page. Size $10\frac{1}{4}$ by $8\frac{1}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 16.)
38. *Treatises on Arabic Grammar*. Naskh. (1) *Mi'at 'Āmil*, on the Government of Arabic Sentences. By Abū

- Bakr 'Abd al-Kāhir al-Jurjāni. Fol. 56. 15 lines on a page. (2) Paradigms of Arabic Grammar. Fol. 3. (3) *Al-Ajarrūmiyah*; on Arabic Syntax. By Abū 'Abd Allah Muḥammad ibn Dāūd as-Sanhājī, called Ibn Ajarrūm. Size $10\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 18.)
39. *Al-Kāfiyah*. A Treatise on Arabic Grammar. By Abū 'Amrū 'Uthman, commonly called Ibn Ḥājib. Nastalik. Fol. 89. 5 lines on a page, with interlinear and marginal notes. Dated A.H. 1082. Size $9\frac{1}{2}$ by 6. (M. Ms. Cat. 17.)
40. A Note-book containing some Arabic Verses. Maghribi. Size, 8 by 3. (Le S. Cat. 74.)
41. *Muntakhab al-Lughāt*. A Dictionary of Arabic Words explained in Persian. By 'Abd ar-Rashīd at-Tattavī. Nastalik. Fol. 414. 21 lines on a page. Size, $8\frac{1}{4}$ by $6\frac{1}{4}$. (Le S. Cat. 72.).
42. *Diwān*. Poetical Works. By Sharaf ad-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar ibn 'Alī called Ibn al-Fāriḍ. With a Preface by his grandson 'Alī. Naskh. Fol. 65. 21 and 18 lines on a page. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$. (Le S. Cat. 75.)
43. *Kalīlah wa Dimnah Sha'r 'Arabī*. A Poetical Version of Kalīlah Dimnah. Naskh. Fol. 121. 15 lines on a page in double column. Dated A.H. 1238. Size, 12 by $8\frac{1}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 19.)
44. *Ālf Lailah wa Lailah*. A portion of the 1001 Nights. Naskh. Fol. 168. 17 lines on a page. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 20.)
45. *Sharḥ i Hikmat al-'Ayin*. Commentary on the Hikmat Al-'Ayin of Najm ad-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn 'Umar al-Kātibī al-Kazwīnī. Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 138. 17 lines on a page. Size, $9\frac{1}{4}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 21.)
46. (1) *Rashīdiyyah Sharḥ Sharīfah 'ilm al-Manāẓrat wa al-Adāb*. A Commentary upon an Arabic Work on the Science of Disputation with marginal and interlinear Persian notes. Naskh. Fol. 34. 19 lines on a page. (2) *Tract of Fol. 3, respecting the Sunni Doctrines of the Attributes of the Deity*. By Sayid al-Ḥakīm as-Samarḳandi. Size, 9 by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 22.)

47. (1) *A Theological Tract*. Naskh. Fol. 7. 21 lines on a page. Size, 8½ by 6.
 (2) *Kāṣīdat*. A Poem. Ta'liq. 29 lines on one page in double column with marginal notes. Size, 16 by 10. (Le S. Cat. 63.)
48. *Two Imperfect Writings*. By Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf as-Sanūsi al-Ḥasani. Maghribī. Fol. 79. 23 lines on a page. Size, 8½ by 6½. (Le S. Cat. 64.)

PERSIAN MSS.

Table of Transliteration.

ث=ṯ	ح=h	ش=sh	ط=t	غ=gh
ج=j	خ=kh	ص=s	ظ=z	ق=k
چ=ch	ذ=z	ض=z	ع='(a, i, u)	'='(a, i, u)

1. *Tafsīr*. An explanation of the Koran. By Faḥ Ullah Naib Shaikh Bahā ad-Dīn. Vol. I. [Shikastah. Fol. 347. 29 lines on a page. Defective at the beginning. Size, 14 by 8. (M. Ms. Cat. 23.)
2. *Tafsīr of Shaikh Bahā ad-Dīn*. Vol. V. Shikastah. Fol. 337. 27 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1107. Size, 14 by 8. (M. Ms. Cat. 24.)
3. *An enumeration of the times which each letter of the Alphabet occurs in the first 30 Surahs of the Koran*. Nastalik and Shikastah. Fol. 32. Size, 9½ by 8½. (M. Ms. Cat. 28.)
4. (1) *A Collection of Prayers*. Talik. Fol. 114. 11 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1079.
 (2) *The properties of the Seven Verses of the Koran which the Prophet communicated to 'Alī ben Abī Talīb*. Shikastah and Naskh. Fol. 5. 7 and 9 lines on a page.

- (3) *The Prayer Tawakkulat 'Alī Allah and its thirty-one excellent qualities.* Shikastah and Naskh. Fol. 8. 7 and 9 lines on a page.
- (4) *On the Births and Deaths of the fourteen Innocents.* Shikastah. Fol. 3. Size, $7\frac{3}{4}$ by 5. (M. Ms. Cat 30.)
- 5 *Treatise on the Ceremonies and Religious Duties of Muhammadans.* By Naṣr Ullah ben Muḥammad ul-Kirmānī. Nastalik. Fol. 302. 15 lines on a page. Incomplete at the end. Size, $8\frac{1}{4}$ by 6. (Le S. Cat. 1.)
6. *Hidayah Fārsī.* Persian translation of the Hidayah. Vol. III. Nastalik. Fol. 208. 13 lines on a page. Size, 12 by 7. (Le S. Cat. 187.)
7. *Hajjat ul-Hind.* A treatise of Musulman Controversy—The tale of the Parrot and the Sharāk. By Ibn 'Umar Mihrābi. Nastalik. Fol. 152. 13 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1195. Size, 9 by 5. (M. Ms. Cat. 262.)
8. *Jāmi' i 'Abbāsi.* An abridgement of the Laws according to the Doctrines of the Shiah. By Bāha ud-Dīn Muḥammad 'Āmalī. Shikastah. Fol. 297. 16 lines on a page—last page wanting. Size, $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 27.)
9. *Sharḥ Masnavi.* A Commentary on the Masnavi of Jalāl ud-Dīn Rūmī. By Mīr Muḥammad. Fol. 116. 17 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1091. Size, 9 by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 241.)
10. *'Arā'sh 'Abkār or Nazhat ul-Arvāḥ.* A moral and religious work in prose and verse. By Husain ben 'Ālim ul-Husainī. Shafia. Fol. 121. 11 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1080. Illuminated. Size, 8 by 5. (M. Ms. Cat. 238.)
11. *'Arā'sh 'Abkār.* Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 126. 11 lines on a page. With marginal and interlineal notes. Dated A.H. 1119. Size, $9\frac{3}{4}$ by $5\frac{3}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 239.)
12. *Dabistān.* An account of the Religious Creeds and Philosophical Systems of the East. By Mūbad Shāh Muḥsin Fānī. Nastalik. Fol. 366. 18 lines on a page. Size, $9\frac{1}{4}$ by 7. (M. Ms. Cat. 26.)

13. *Risālah i Ḥasaniyyah*, A controversy on the Shiah Doctrines. By Ibrāhim ben Walī Allah Astārabādī. Naskh. Fol. 87. 15 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 958. Size, $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 29.)
14. *Mahābhārat*. Persian Translation. Vol. I. Containing first six books. Nastalik. Fol. 617. 21 lines on a page. Size, 12 by $7\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 72a.)
15. *Mahābhārat*. Vol. II. Containing last ten books (books seven and eight are omitted). Nastalik. Fol. 460. 21 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1126. Size, 12 by $7\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 73.)
16. *Jūg Bāshisht*. History of the Seventh Incarnation of Vishnu. Translated. Shikastah. Fol. 149. 13 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1179, and A.D. 1823. Size, $7\frac{3}{4}$ by 5. (M. Ms. Cat. 124.)
17. *Siyar i Hazrat Kalīm ul-Raḥman Mūsi*. Life of Moses and History of the Jews. By M'uin ud-Dīn Haratī. Nastalik. Fol. 315. 15 lines on a page. Size, 9 by $6\frac{1}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 114.)
18. *Rauzat ul-Aḥbāb fī Siyar un-Nabī u ul-Āl u ul-Aṣḥāb*. A History of the Life and Actions of Muhammad and his companions and their disciples. By Jamāl ud-Dīn 'Aṭā Ullah ben Faḏl Ullah ush-Shīrāzī un-Nīshābūri. Nastalik. Fol. 441. 19 lines on a page. Last few leaves much worm-eaten and defective. Size, $10\frac{3}{4}$ by 6. (M. P. Cat. 5.)
19. *Rauzat ul-Aḥbāb fī Siyar un-Nabī u ul-Āl u ul-Aṣḥāb*. First portion of the work concluding with the events of A.H. 4. Nastalik. Fol. 200. 20 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 999. Imperfect at the end. Size, $11\frac{1}{4}$ by $7\frac{1}{4}$. Bound up with No. 51. (M. P. Cat. 6.)
20. *Manākib ul-Murtazavi*—On the virtues of 'Alī ben Abī Ṭālib By Mir Muḥammad Sālīḥ Kashfī. Nastalik. Fol. 416. 14 lines on a page. Size $11\frac{3}{4}$ by $7\frac{1}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 7.)
21. *Futūḥ A'sam*. A History of the immediate successors of Muḥammad, and the early Conquests of the

- Musalmans. Persian version of the Arabic Work of A'sam ul-Kūfi. By Muḥammad ben Aḥmad Mustaufī Haravī. Nastalik. Fol. 355. 17 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1242. Size, $11\frac{3}{4}$ by 8. (M. P. Cat. 8.)
22. *Tārikh i Ṭabarī*. Persian translation of the general History of at-Ṭabarī. By Abū 'Alī Muḥammad ben 'Abd Ullah ul-Bal'amī. The history continued to A.H. 529 by some other author. Naskh. Fol. 351. 33 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 701. Size, $12\frac{3}{4}$ by $9\frac{1}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 9.)
23. *Tārikh i Ṭabarī*. Persian version by Bal'amī. Naskh. Fol. 451. 27 lines on a page. Imperfect at the end. Size, $9\frac{3}{4}$ by $6\frac{1}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 10.)
24. *Tārikh i Ṭabarī*. Persian version by Bal'amī. Nastalik. Fol. 344. 24 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 988. Size, 13 by $9\frac{1}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 11.)
25. *Ṭabaḳāt i Nāṣiri*. A general History from the earliest times to A.H. 658. By Abū 'Umar Uṣmān ben Muḥammad ul - Minhāj ben Sirāj ul - Jūzjānī. Nastalik. Fol. 300. 21 lines on a page. Size, 10 by 6. (M. P. Cat. 12.)
26. *Tārikh i Banākiti*. A general History up to A.H. 717. By Abū Sulaimān Dā'ūd, surnamed Fakhr ud-Dīn ul-Banākiti. Vol. I. containing the first six and part of the seventh book. Fol. 301. (M. P. Cat. 13.)
27. *Tārikh i Banākiti* Vol. II. containing the remainder of the work. Fol. 157. Naskh. 15 lines on a page. Size, $7\frac{3}{4}$ by 5. (M. P. Cat. 14.)
28. *Majma' ul-Ansāb*. A history from the Creation to A.H. 736. By Muḥammad ben 'Alī ben Shaikh Muḥammad. Nastalik. Fol. 145. 15 lines on a page. Size, $8\frac{3}{4}$ by 6. (M. P. Cat. 15.)
29. *Rauzat us-Ṣafā*. A general history from the earliest times to A.H. 911. By Muḥammad ben Khāwand Shāh ben Maḥmūd, commonly called Mir Khwānd. Vol. I. Preface and history to the time of the last

- Sassanian King, Yazdajird III. Naskh. Fol. 223. 26 lines on a page. Size, $13\frac{1}{2}$ by $8\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 16.)
30. *Rauzat us-Safā*. Vol. I. Partly Naskh and partly Nastalik. Fol. 240. 25 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1085. Size, 15 by $9\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 17.)
31. *Rauzat us-Safā*. Vol. I. Nastalik. Fol. 302. 21 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1037. Size, $12\frac{3}{4}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 18.)
32. *Rauzat us-Safā*. Vol. II. History of Muḥammad and the first four Khalifs. Nastalik. Fol. 219. 31 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1005. Size, $12\frac{1}{2}$ by 8. (M. P. Cat. 19.)
33. *Rauzat us-Safā*. Vol. II. Nastalik. Fol. 508. 19 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1076. Size, $10\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 20.)
34. *Rauzat us-Safā*. Vol. II. Nastalik. Fol. 709. 19 lines on a page. Defective at the end. Size, $11\frac{1}{2}$ by 6. (M. P. Cat. 21.)
35. *Rauzat us-Safā*. Vol. III. History of the twelve Imāms and the Amāvi and 'Abbāsi Khalifs to A.H. 656. Nastalik. Fol. 104. 31 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1005. Size, $12\frac{1}{2}$ by 8. (M. P. Cat. 22.)
36. *Rauzat us-Safā*. Vol. III. Nastalik. Fol. 204. 24 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1079. Size, $11\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 23.)
37. *Rauzat us-Safā*. Vols. I. II. III. Naskh. Fol. 403. 30 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1022-23-24. Some of first pages partly destroyed. Size, $14\frac{1}{2}$ by 9. (M. P. Cat. 24.)
38. *Rauzat us-Safā*. Vol. IV. History of the Dynasties contemporary with the 'Abbassi, and up to A.H. 778. Nastalik. Fol. 269. 20 lines on a page. Illuminated first two pages. Illustrated with paintings. Size, $12\frac{1}{2}$ by $8\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 25.)
39. *Rauzat us-Safā*. Vol. V. History of the Turks, Khāns, Monguls, and Sarbadārians of Persia to the time of Timūr. Naskh. Fol. 75. 27 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 995. Size, $13\frac{3}{4}$ by $8\frac{3}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 26.)

40. *Rauzat us-Safā*. Vol. VI. History of Tīmūr and his successors to A.H. 873. Naskh. Fol. 277. 27 lines on a page. Written by the same hand as Vol. V. Dated A.H. 996. Size, $13\frac{3}{4}$ by 9. (M. P. Cat. 27.)
41. *Rauzat us-Safā*. Vol. VI. Nastalik. Fol. 403. 24 lines on a page. Size, $10\frac{3}{4}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 28.)
42. *Rauzat us-Safā*. Vol. VI. Nastalik. Fol. 412. 23 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 991. Size, $13\frac{1}{4}$ by 9. (M. P. Cat. 29.)
43. *Rauzat us-Safā*. Vols. IV. V. and VI. Nastalik. Fol. 577. 25 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 978 and 979. Finely illuminated title and first pages. Size, $13\frac{3}{4}$ by 10. (M. P. Cat. 30.)
44. *Rauzat us-Safā*. Vol. VII. History of Sultan Ḥusain Mīrzā. Naskh. Fol. 111. 27 lines on a page. Size, $13\frac{3}{4}$ by $8\frac{3}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 31.)
45. *Khulāṣat ul-Akhhār*. An Abridgement of the *Rauzat us Safā*. By Ghīyaṣ ud-Dīn Muḥammad ben Hamām ud-Dīn, surnamed Khwānd Amīr. Nastalik. Fol. 596. 17 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 977. Size, $10\frac{1}{2}$ by 7. (M. P. Cat. 32.)
46. *Ḥabīb us-Siyar*. A general history by Khwānd Amīr. Vol. I. From the Creation to the History of the first four Khalifs. Nastalik. Fol. 283. 27 lines on a page. Size, 12 by 7. (M. P. Cat. 33.)
47. *Ḥabīb us-Siyar*. Vol. II. History of the twelve Imams, Amāvi and 'Abbāsi Khalifs, and of Dynasties contemporary with the 'Abbāsi. Nastalik. Fol. 305. 27 lines on a page. Size, 12 by 7. (M. P. Cat. 34.)
48. *Ḥabīb us-Siyar*. Vol. II. Nastalik. Fol. 356. 21 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1026. Size, $11\frac{3}{4}$ by $7\frac{1}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 35.)
49. *Ḥabīb us-Siyar*. Vol. II. Nastalik. Fol. 457. 20 lines on a page. Size, $10\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{3}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 36.)
50. *Ḥabīb us-Siyar*. A portion of the Second Volume comprising nearly all of the first chapter. Nastalik. Fol. 140. 14 lines on a page. Imperfect at the beginning. Size, $10\frac{1}{4}$ by 7. (M. P. Cat. 37.)

51. *Habib us-Siyar*. First chapter of the second volume. Nastalik. Fol. 107. 19 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 999. Size, 11 by $7\frac{1}{4}$, bound up with No. 19. (M. P. Cat. 38.)
52. *Habib us-Siyar*. First two and part of the third Chapter of Vol. III. comprising the history of the Mongols, Khāns, Mamlūks, Muẓaffarides, and other contemporaries, and of Timūr and his descendants. Nastalik. Fol. 395. 21 lines on a page. Size, $9\frac{3}{4}$ by $5\frac{3}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 39.)
53. *Habib us-Siyar*. First two chapters of Vol. III. Nastalik. Fol. 259. 19 lines on a page. Size, $10\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 40.)
54. *Habib us-Siyar*. The fourth chapter and conclusion of Vol. III. comprising the history of the Safavī dynasty and of Persia to A.H. 930, with cosmographical notices and brief account of notable men. Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 277. 19 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1239. Size, 11 by $5\frac{3}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 41.)
55. *Nagāristān*. A collection of narratives and notices of Rulers and Celebrated Persons, from the time of Muḥammad to the tenth century of the Hijrah. By Aḥmad ben Muḥammad ul-Ghaffārī. Nastalik. Fol. 247. 17 lines on a page. Size, $11\frac{1}{2}$ by 7. (M. P. Cat. 42.)
56. *Zubd ut-Tārikkh* or *Zubdat ut-Tavārikkh*. A general History of Persia from the earliest times to A.H. 1063. By Kamāl ben Jalāl. Nastalik. Fol. 115. 15 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1088. Size, $7\frac{1}{4}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 44.)
57. *Mir'āt ul-'Ālam*. A general History from the Creation to A.H. 1079. By Muḥammad Bakhtāvar Khān. Partly Nastalik, Shikastah Amiz, and Shikastah. Fol. 282. 29 and 31 lines on a page. Size, 17 by 10. (M. P. Cat. 45.)
58. *Mir'āt i Āftāb Numā*. A general history from the earliest times to A.H. 1217. By 'Abd ur-Raḥmān Shāhnavāz Khān Hāshimī Banbānī Dihlavī.

- Nastalik. Fol. 402. 17 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1228. Size, $11\frac{2}{3}$ by $6\frac{2}{3}$. (M. P. Cat. 45.)
59. *Ṭabaqāt i Akbarshāhi*. A general history of India, from Sabaktagīn Ghaznavī to the Author's own time in Akbar's reign. By Nizām ud-Dīn Aḥmad ben Muḥammad Muḥim ul-Haravī. Nastalik. Fol. 517. 21 lines on a page. Imperfect in places, and has been disarranged in binding. Size, $9\frac{2}{3}$ by $4\frac{2}{3}$. (M. P. Cat. 46.)
60. *Tārīkh i Haḳḳī*. A general history of the Muhammadan Dynasties of India to the time of Akbar. By Shaikh 'Abd ul-Haḳḳ ben Saif ud-Dīn Dihlavī, called Haḳḳī. Nastalik. Fol. 118. 15 lines on a page. Size, 9 by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 47.)
61. *Tārīkh i Firishtah, or Gulshan i Ibrahīmī*. A general history of India. By Muhammad Kāsīm Hindūshāh Astarābādī, Surnamed Firishtah. Nastalik. Fol. 602. 21 lines on a page. Size, $16\frac{1}{2}$ by $10\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 48.)
62. *Tārīkh i Firishtah*. Nastalik. Fol. 593. 25 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1147. Size, $13\frac{3}{4}$ by $8\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 49.)
63. *Tārīkh i Firishtah*. Nastalik. Fol. 576. 23 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1159. Size, 16 by 9. (M. P. Cat. 50.)
64. *Tārīkh i Firishtah*. Introduction and first two books, up to the death of Akbar. Nastalik. Fol. 349. 17 lines on a page. Size, $11\frac{1}{2}$ by 7. (M. P. Cat. 51.)
65. *Tārīkh i Firishtah*. Introduction and first two books. Nastalik. Fol. 322. 19 lines on a page. Size, $11\frac{1}{2}$ by 7. (M. P. Cat. 52.)
66. *Khulāṣat ut-Tavārikh*. A general history of India, from the earliest times to the death of Aurangzib. By Sujān [Sanjan] Rāi Munshī. Nastalik. Fol. 325. 19 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1130. Size, $12\frac{1}{2}$ by $8\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 53.)
67. *Khulāṣat ut-Tavārikh*. Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 209.

- 19 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1223. Size, $12\frac{1}{4}$ by $8\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 54.)
68. *Khulāṣat ut-Tawārikh*. Nastalik. Fol. 352. 15 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1239. Size, $11\frac{1}{2}$ by $9\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 55.)
69. (1) *Ḥaḳīkat i Rājahāi Mutafarrīkah i Hindūstān*. A short history of the early Rajahs of India. Nastalik. Fol. 23. 15 lines on a page. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by 5. (M. P. Cat. 56.)
- (2) *An account of the early Rajahs of Hastinapūr*. Nastalik. Fol. 5. 15 lines on a page, Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by 5. (M. P. Cat. 57.)
- (3) *Ḥaḳīkat i Rājahāi Ūjjain*. An account of the early Rajahs of Ujjain. Nastalik. Fol. 8. 15 lines on a page. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by 5. (M. P. Cat. 58.)
- (4) *Ḥaḳīkat i binā u 'Urūj Daulat i Rājahāi Satārah*. A short history of the Rajahs of Satārah. Nastalik. Fol. 8. 15 to 17 lines on a page. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by 5. (M. P. Cat. 79.)
- (5) *Ḥaḳīkat i binā u 'Urūj Daulat i Rājahāi Satārah*. Shikastah. Fol. 8. 10 and 14 lines on a page. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by 5. (M. P. Cat. 80.)
- (6) *An account of Mādhūrāo Pēshwa, comprising the events which took place between A.H. 1174 and 1187*. Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 5. 9 and 10 lines on a page. Size, $7\frac{1}{2}$ by 5. (M. P. Cat. 82.)
- (7) *Ḥaḳīkat i binā u 'Urūj i Firḳah i Sikhān*. A short history of the origin and rise of the Sikhs. Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 19. 15 and 16 lines on a page. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by 5. (M. P. Cat. 83.)
- (8) *Ḥaḳīkat i binā u 'Urūj i Firḳah i Sikhān*. Nastalik. Fol. 23. 14 to 17 lines on a page. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by 5. (M. P. Cat. 84.)
- (9) *A letter from the Emperor Shāh 'Alam to the King of England*. Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 3. 14 and 15 lines on a page. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by 5. (M. P. Cat. 134.)
70. *Tārikh i Sind*. A history of Sind from the Muhammadan conquest to its annexation to Akbar's Empire.

- By Muḥammad M'aṣum, poetically named Nāmī. Nastalik. Fol. 223. 11 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1233. Imperfect in places. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by 7. (M. P. Cat. 59.)
71. *Khutūt i Sivāji*. Letters, Firmans, and documents relating to the transactions between the Mahrattas and Aurangzīb. Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 34. 9 and 11 lines on a page. Size, $9\frac{1}{4}$ by 6. (M. P. Cat. 81.)
72. *Makhsan Afghānī*. A history of the Afghans from the time of Adam to the reign of Jahāngir. By Ni'mat Ullah ben Ḥabīb Ullah. Nastalik. Fol. 272. 13 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1131. Size, 9 by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 60.)
73. *Tārīkh i Nasab Nāmāh i Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī*. A history of the Durrānī Afghans from Aḥmad Shāh to A.H. 1212. By Imām ud-Dīn Husainī. Nastalik. Fol. 76. 23 lines on a page. Size, $13\frac{3}{4}$ by $8\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 61.)
74. (1) *Nasab Nāmāh i Afāghinah u Kaiḥiyat i Ḥukūmat Ānhā*. A history of the Afghans. By Sayyid Muḥammad ut-Tabātabāi ul-Iṣfahānī. Nastalik. Fol. 41. 11 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1224. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 62.)
- (2) *A Short History of the Sikhs from the time of Nānak to A.D. 1806*. By Bakht Māl. Shikastah. Fol. 55. 12 lines on a page. (M. P. Cat. 85.)
75. *Risālah i Ansab Afāghinah*. A history of the Afghans. By 'Abbās Khān Sarvānī. Nastalik. Fol. 20. 9 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1217 and A.D. 1803. Size, $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 63.)
76. *Tazkirah i Aḥwāl i Salāṭin i Bijāpūr*. A short History of the 'Adil Shāhi dynasty of Bijāpūr to A.H. 1111. Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 39. 14 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1234. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 64.)
77. *Basāṭin us-Salāṭin*. A History of the 'Adil Shāhi dynasty to A.H. 1111. By Muḥammad Ibrāhīm uz-Zubairī. Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 387. 13 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1240. Size, $10\frac{3}{4}$ by 8. (M. P. Cat. 65.)

78. *Muntakhab i Tavārikh i Bahri*. Notices, Extracts, etc., relating to the History of the Dakhin. By Kāzī 'Abd un-Nabī. Partly Nastalik, partly Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 155. 13 lines on a page. Size, 11½ by 7¼. (M. P. Cat. 66.)
79. *Tārikh i Nizām 'Alī Khān u Nāṣir Jung*. A History of the Nizams of Haidarābād from the origin of the family to A.H. 1206. Nastalik. Fol. 212. 14 lines on a page. Imperfect at the end. Size, 10¼ by 7¾. (M. P. Cat. 67.)
80. *Tārikh i Sultān Muḥammad Kutbshāhī*. A History of the Kutb Shāhī dynasty of Galkandah. Nastalik. Fol. 303. 15 lines on a page. Size, 11¼ by 6½. (M. P. Cat. 68.)
81. *Ḥadīkat ul-'Ālam*. History of the Kutb Shahis and Nizams of Haidarābād. Part I. Preface and Seven Books, to reign of Abūl Ḥasan. By Abūl Kāsim ben Razī ud-Dīn al-Mūsavī, called Mīr 'Ālam. Nastalik. Fol. 336. 15 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1258. Size 12 by 7. (Le S. Cat. 8.)
82. *Mir'āt i Aḥmadī*. A History of Guzerat, from the origin of the Kingdom to A.H. 1174. By 'Alī Muḥammad Khān. 1st portion up to A.H. 1131. Nastalik. Fol. 246. 15 lines on a page. Size, 11¾ by 8½. (M. P. Cat. 70.)
83. *Mir'āt i Aḥmadī*. 2nd portion. History from A.H. 1131 to 1174. Nastalik. Fol. 309. 15 lines on a page. Size, 11¾ by 8½. (M. P. Cat. 71.)
84. *Mir'āt i Aḥmadī*. The Khātimah or Appendix, giving an Account of the City and Sūbah of Ahmadābād. Nastalik. Fol. 43. 15 lines on a page. Size, 11¾ by 8. (M. P. Cat. 72.)
85. *Mir'āt i Aḥmadī*. Detached portions of the work. Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 92. 13 lines on a page. Size, 9¾ by 5¾. (M. P. Cat. 73.)
86. *Aḥcāl Rājahāi Maisūr u Nagar*. A concise history of the Rajahs of Mysore from Timmarāj to Haidar 'Alī. Nastalik. Fol. 21. 15 lines on a page. Size, 8½ by 6¼. (M. P. Cat. 74.)

87. *Nishān i Haidarī u Khurūj u Nuzūl i Daulat i Tipū Sultān*. A history of the reigns of Haidar and Tipū Sultāns. By Mīr Husain 'Alī Khān Kirmānī. Nastalik. Fol. 396. 11 lines on a page. Size, $8\frac{1}{4}$ by $5\frac{3}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 77.)
88. *A Register of Accounts of Military Expenditure of Tipū Sultān*. Irregularly written in Shikastah. Fol. 174. Size, $8\frac{1}{4}$ by 6. (M. P. Cat. 78.)
89. *Tārīkh i Mahārājāh Ranjīt Singh*. A history of the Sikhs from A.D. 1469 to 1831. By Munshī Sūhan La'l. Nastalik. Fol. 643. 17 lines on a page. Size, 11 by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 87.)
90. *Mir'at i Daulat 'Abbāsi*. A history of the Dāwud Pūtras or family of the Nawābs of Bhāwalpūr, from their origin to A.H. 1224. By Lālah Daulat Rāī. Nastalik. Fol. 441. 15 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1247. Size, $10\frac{3}{4}$ by 7. (M. P. Cat. 88.)
91. *'Imād us-Sa'adat*. A history of the Nawabs of Oude, from the origin of the family to A.H. 1216. By Ghulām 'Alī Khān Naḳavī. Nastalik. Fol. 239. 11 lines on a page. Size, 14 by $8\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 89.)
92. *Intikhāb i Akhbār i Navāb Vazīr ul-Mamālik Bahādur u Intikhāb i Akhbār i Durbār Mu'alla u Aṭraf*. A journal of occurrences which took place in Oude and at the court of its Nawab A.H. 1208-1209. Nastalik. Fol. 293. 11 lines on a page. Imperfect at beginning and end. Size, $9\frac{3}{4}$ by $6\frac{1}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 90.)
93. *Intikhāb i Akhbār i Durbār i Navāb Vazīr ul-Mamālik Āsaf ud-Daulah Bahādur*. A journal of events which took place at Oude and at the court of its Nawab, A.H. 1209-1210. Nastalik. Fol. 328. 11 lines on a page. Imperfect at the end. Size, $8\frac{1}{4}$ by 6. (M. P. Cat. 91.)
- 93A. *Tārīkh i Manṣūrī*. History of the Niḏāmat family of Murshidabād, By Navāb Nāzīr Sidī Dārāb 'Alī Khān. Nastalik. Fol. 284. 17 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1270, Bengali Śaka 1261, and A.D. 1854. Size, $11\frac{3}{4}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$. (Le S. Cat. 6.)

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95. *Zafar Nāmah*. Nastalik. Fol. 302. 21 lines on a page. Imperfect at beginning and end. Size, 11 by $5\frac{1}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 93.)
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97. *Tūzak i Timūri*. Institutes of Timūr. Talik. Fol. 26. 7 lines on a page. Size, 8 by $4\frac{1}{2}$. (Le S. Cat. 49.)
98. *Tūzak i Timūri*. Nastalik. Fol. 126. 10 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1229. Size, 7 by 5. (Le S. Cat. 50.)
99. *Maṭla' us-Sa'dain u Majma' ul-Bahrain*. A History of Timūr and his Descendants to A.H. 875. By Kamāl ud-Dīn 'Abd ur-Razzāk ben Jalāl ud-Dīn Ishaq us-Samarqandī. Nastalik. Fol. 379. 23 lines on a page. Written by the author A.H. 875. Size, $10\frac{2}{4}$ by $6\frac{1}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 95.)
100. *Tazkirat us-Salāṭin i Chaghatā*. A general History of the Chaghatai Sovereigns. By Muḥammad Hādī, surnamed Kāmvar Khān. Vol. I. From the Origin of the Mongols to the death of Jahāngīr A.H. 1037. Nastalik. Fol. 421. 16 lines on a page. Size, 10 by $6\frac{1}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 96.)
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103. *Tārīkh i Khāfi Khān*. Vol. II., containing the History of Aurangzib A.H. 1068 to 1118. Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 200. 19 lines on a page. Size, 11 by 7 $\frac{3}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 99.)
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105. *Mā'āsir ul-Umarā*. The continuation and remainder of the work. Fol. 233. Dated A.H. 1204. Size, 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ by 7. (M. P. Cat. 102.)
106. *Mā'āsir ul-Umarā*. First portion to letter *Fe*. Nastalik. Fol. 231. 21 lines on a page. Size, 12 by 7. (L. S. Cat. 9.)
107. *Mā'āsir ul-Umarā*. From the letters *Kāf* to the end. Nastalik. Fol. 179. 21 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1261. Size, 12 by 7. (M. Ms. Cat. 89A.)
108. *Mā'āsir ul-Umarā*. 2nd Edition. Edited with additions by 'Abd ul-Ḥayy Khān, called Šamšām ul-Mulk. Nastalik. Fol. 421. 25 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1242. Size, 17 by 11 $\frac{1}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 103.)
109. *'Ibrat Nāmāh*. A history of the Empire of Dehli from the death of Aurangzib to A.H. 1133. By Sayyid Muḥammad Kāsim Ḥusaini, called 'Ibrat. Shikastah. Fol. 108. 12 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1202 and A.D. 1788. Size, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 7. (M. P. Cat. 104.)
110. *Siyar ul-Muta'akhhirin*. A history of the Muḥammadan power in India, from A.H. 1118 to 1195. By Mīr Ghulām Ḥusain Khān Ṭabāṭabā'ī. Nastalik. Fol. 481. 21 lines on a page. Size, 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 7 $\frac{3}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 105.)
111. *Siyar ul-Muta'akhhirin*. Nastalik. Fol. 362. 25 and 28 lines on a page. Size, 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ by 8 $\frac{3}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 106.)

112. *Siyar ul-Muta'akhhirin*. Vol. I. History from the death of Aurangzīb to A.H. 1152. Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 496. 15 lines on a page. Size, 12 by 8 $\frac{1}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 107.)
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114. (1) *Akbar Nāmah*. A history of the Emperor Akbar. By Abūl Fazl ben Mubārak, surnamed 'Allāmi. Shikastah. Fol. 232. 32 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1146. Size, 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 9 $\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 109.)
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117. *Akbar Nāmah*. Vol. I. Part 1. Nastalik. Fol. 146. 23 lines on a page. Size, 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ by 8. (M. P. Cat. 112.)
118. *Akbar Nāmah*. Vol. II. Part 2. Nastalik. Fol. 168. 23 lines on a page. Size, 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ by 8. (M. P. Cat. 113.)
119. *Akbar Nāmah*. Vol. I. Part 1. Nastalik. Fol. 288. 17 lines on a page. Size, 11 by 7 $\frac{3}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 114.)
120. *Akbar Nāmah*. Vol. I. Part 2. Nastalik. Fol. 367. 17 lines on a page. Size, 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 7 $\frac{3}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 115.)
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122. *Tārīkh i Jahāngīr Nāmāh Salīmī*. The Autobiographical Memoirs of Jahāngīr, from his Accession to A.H. 1029. Followed by a *Pand Nāmāh* or collection of moral maxims and rules, and concluding with a number of letters, petitions, etc. Nastalik. Illuminated first two pages. Fol. 195. 14 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1040. Size, 9 by 5½. (M. P. Cat. 117.)
123. *Jahāngīr Nāmāh*. First Edition, with *Pand Nāmāh*. Nastalik. Fol. 164. 13 and 17 lines on a page. Size, 11 by 6¾. (M. P. Cat. 119.)
124. *Tūzak i Jahāngīrī*. The Second Edition of the Autobiography, edited with an introduction and commentary by Muḥammad Hādī. Nastalik. Fol. 488. 15 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1231. Size, 11½ by 7¼. (M. P. Cat. 120.)
125. *Ikbāl Nāmāh Jahāngīrī*. A history of the reign of Jahāngīr (A.H. 1014 to 1037). By Muḥammad Sharīf Mu'tamad Khān. Nastalik and Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 211. 12 and 15 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1145. Incomplete. Size, 9½ by 5½. (M. P. Cat. 121.)
126. *Pādshāh Nāmāh*. A history of the first ten years of Shāh Jahān's reign. By Muḥammad Amīn ben Abūl Hasan Kazvīnī. Nastalik. Fol. 408. 20 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1173. Size, 12¾ by 8¾. (M. P. Cat. 122.)
127. *Pādshāh Nāmāh*. A history of the reign of Shāh Jahān. Vol. I. Containing preface and an account of his ancestors and of the first ten years of his reign. By 'Abd ul-Ḥamid Lāhaurī. Nastalik. Fol. 509. 15 lines on a page. Illuminated. Size, 13 by 8½. (M. P. Cat. 123.)
128. *Pādshāh Nāmāh*. Vol. I. Nastalik. Fol. 503. 15 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1231. Size, 11¼ by 7¼. (M. P. Cat. 124.)
129. *Shāh Jahān Nāmāh* or *Mulakkhkhāṣ*. A history of the reign of Shāh Jahān. By Muḥammad Ṭāhir,

- commonly called 'Ināyat Khān. Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 87. 29 lines on a page. Imperfect at the end. Size, 16 by 10. (M. P. Cat. 125.)
130. *'Amal i Šālih*. A history of Shāh Jahan. By Muḥammad Šālih Kanbū. Latter portion of the work beginning at the eleventh year of the reign. Nastalik. Fol. 306. 20 lines on a page. Size, $12\frac{2}{3}$ by $8\frac{2}{3}$. (M. P. Cat. 126.)
131. *'Ālamgīr Nāmāh*. A History of 'Ālamgīr Aurangzīb from A.H. 1067 to the eleventh year of his reign. By Muḥammad Kāzim ben Muḥammad Amīn Munshī. Partly Nastalik and partly Shikastah Amiz and Shikastah. Fol. 432. 15 and 22 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1150. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by 5. (M. P. Cat. 127.)
132. *'Ālamgīr Nāmāh*. Nastalik. Fol. 508. 16 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1152. Size, $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 128.)
133. *'Ālamgīr Nāmāh*. Shikastah. Fol. 425. 17 and 19 lines on a page. Size, $10\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 129.)
134. *'Ālamgīr Nāmāh*. Shikastah. Fol. 410. 20 and 24 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1137. Size, $10\frac{1}{4}$ by 6. (M. P. Cat. 130.)
135. *'Ālamgīr Nāmāh*. Nastalik. Fol. 490. 18 to 24 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1225. Size, $12\frac{2}{3}$ by $6\frac{2}{3}$. (M. P. Cat. 131.)
136. *Ma'āsir i 'Ālamgīri*. A History of Aurangzīb from A.H. 1067 to 1118. By Muḥammad Sāḳī Musta'idd Khān. Nastalik. Fol. 274. 15 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1230. Size, $11\frac{1}{2}$ by 7. (M. P. Cat. 132.)
137. *Tārīkh i Pādshāhān i 'Ajām*. An Epitome of the History of Persia from Kayūmars to A.H. 1046 in the reign of Šafī I. Nastalik. Fol. 115. 11 lines on a page. Size, $6\frac{1}{4}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 135.)
138. *Riyāz ul-Firdaus*. A General History of Persia, from the earliest times to the reign of Sulaiman, A.H. 1077. By Muḥammad Mirak ben Mas'ūd ul-Husaini. Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 194. 17 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1243. Size, $11\frac{3}{4}$ by $8\frac{1}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 136.)



139. *Kitāb ul-Muʿjam fī Aṣṣar Mulūk ul-ʿAjām*. A history of the early kings of Persia, from Kayūmars to the death of Nūshīrvan. By Faḏl Ullah ben ʿAbd Allah ul-Kazvīnī. Nastalik. Fol. 152. 16 lines on a page, with numerous marginal scholia in Arabic and Persian. Dated A.H. 1090. Size, $10\frac{1}{4}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 137.)
140. *ʿĀlam Ārāi ʿAbbāsi*. A history of the Ṣafavi dynasty of Persia from its origin to the death of Shāh ʿAbbās I. A.H. 1037. By Iskandar Munshī. Vol. I. and first part of Vol. II. up to the seventh year of Shāh ʿAbbās. Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 279. 19 lines on a page. Size, 11 by $6\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 139.)
141. *ʿĀlam Ārāi ʿAbbāsi*. Vol. II. History from the Accession of Shāh ʿAbbās to A.H. 1037. Nastalik. Fol. 287. 28 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1059. Size, $15\frac{1}{2}$ by 9. (M. P. Cat. 140.)
142. *ʿĀlam Ārāi ʿAbbāsi*. Vol. II. Nastalik. Fol. 674. 17 lines on a page. Imperfect at the end. Size, $10\frac{1}{2}$ by 6. (M. P. Cat. 141.)
143. *ʿĀlam Ārāi ʿAbbāsi*. Vol. II. First portion of the first part; from Accession of Shāh ʿAbbās to the end of A.H. 1015. Nastalik. Fol. 422. 17 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1082. Imperfect at the end. Size, 12 by $7\frac{1}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 142.)
144. *ʿĀlam Ārāi ʿAbbāsi*. Vol. II. Latter portion of the first part, A.H. 1016 to 1025; and the second part, completing the work. Nastalik. Fol. 429. 17 lines on a page. Size, 13 by $8\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 143.)
145. *ʿĀlam Ārāi ʿAbbāsi*. Vol. I. Nastalik. Fol. 153. 23 lines on a page. Imperfect. Size, $10\frac{1}{4}$ by 6. (M. P. Cat. 144.)
146. *Favāʾid i Safaviyyah*. A history of the Ṣafavi Family from its origin to A.H. 1216. By Abūl-Ḥasan ben Ibrahīm Kazvīnī. Nastalik. Fol. 153. Size, 9 by $5\frac{3}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 145.)
147. *Tārīkh i Nādirī*. A history of Nādir Shāh. By Muḥammad Mahdī Astrābādī, called Mahdī Khān.

- Naskh. Fol. 245. 18 lines on a page. Illuminated and illustrated with paintings. Size, $11\frac{3}{4}$ by 7. (M. P. Cat. 146.)
148. *Tārīkh i Nādīrī*. Nastalik. Fol. 189. 17 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1225. Size, 11 by $7\frac{1}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 147.)
149. *Aḥsan ut-Tavārīkh, or Tārīkh i Muḥammadi*. A history of the Kājār Family, from its origin to the death of Āghā Muḥammad Khān. A.H. 1211. By Muḥammad Taḳī us-Sāru'ī. Nastalik. Fol. 259. 12 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1235. Size, $13\frac{1}{4}$ by 8. (M. P. Cat. 149.)
150. *Aḥsan ut-Tavārīkh*. Nastalik. Fol. 171. 16 lines on a page. Size, $11\frac{1}{2}$ by 8. (M. P. Cat. 150.)
151. *Ma'āṣir i Sulṭāniyah*. A history of the Kājārs from their origin to A.H. 1229. By 'Abd ur-Razzāk Najaf Kulī. 2nd Part. Nastalik. Fol. 104. 17 lines on a page. Imperfect. Size, 12 by 8. (M. P. Cat. 152.)
152. *Ma'āṣir i Sulṭāniyah*. The portion of the second part missing in the last MS. Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 12. 16 lines on a page. Size, $11\frac{1}{2}$ by 8. (M. P. Cat. 153.)
153. *Tārīkh i Jahān Ārā*. A history of the Kājārs, from the origin of the family to the end of A.H. 1233. By Muḥammad Šādīk Marvazī. Vol. I. History to A.H. 1221. Nastalik. Fol. 165. 15 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1234. Size, $11\frac{3}{4}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 154.)
154. *Tārīkh i Jahān Ārā*. Vol. II. A.H. 1222 to 1233. Nastalik. Fol. 224. 15 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1233. Size $11\frac{3}{4}$ by 7. (M. P. Cat. 155.)
155. *Risālah i Tadābir i Shāh u Vasir*. A short Account of Āghā Muḥammad Khān, King of Persia, and of his Vazīr Hājī Ibrāhīm Khān Shīrāzī. Nastalik. Fol. 137. 9 and 11 lines on a page. Size, $7\frac{1}{4}$ by $5\frac{3}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 156.)
156. *Tārīkh i Hasht Bahist*. A History of the Ottoman

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159. (1) *Tavārīkh i Narshakhī.* A History and Description of Bukhārā from its Origin to the Extinction of the power of the Sāmānides. An abridged translation from the Arabic of Abū Bakr un-Narshakhī, by Muḥammad ben 'Umar. Nastalik. Fol. 105. 13 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1246. (M. P. Cat. 160.)
 (2) An Account of the Holy and Learned Men of Bukhārā from A.H. 54 to 814. Nastalik. Fol. 46. Dated A.H. 1246. Size, $9\frac{3}{4}$ by 6. (M. Ms. Cat. 71A.)
160. *Tazkirah i Mukīm Khānī.* A History of the Uzbek Khāns of Māvarā un-Nahr. By Muḥammad Yūsuf Munshī ben Khājah Baḳā. Nastalik. Fol. 165. 13 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1246. Size, 10 by $5\frac{3}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 161.)
161. *A Short History of the Sultāns of Māvarā un-Nahr.* Nastalik. Fol. 31. 13 and 18 lines on a page. Defective in places. Size, $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 162.)
162. *Tārīkh Nāmah.* A Collection of Chronograms giving dates of births and deaths of Kings of Māvarā un-Nahr, and of Great and Holy Men who flourished A.H. 736-1055. Nastalik. Fol. 227. 17 lines on a page. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 163.)



163. *Tazkirat i Daulat Shāhi*, or *Tazkirat ush-Shu'arā*. Lives of Poets. By Daulat Shāh ben 'Alā ud-Daulah ul-Bakhtishāh ul-Ghāzī us-Samarḳandī. Nastalik. Fol. 124. 18 lines on a page. Size, $9\frac{3}{4}$ by $7\frac{1}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 176.)
164. *Tazkirat ush-Shu'arā*. Memoirs of Persian and Hindustani Poets. By Āzād Husaini Vāsiṭi Balgrāmi:— Ghulām 'Alī. Shikastah. Fol. 159. 19 lines on a page. Size, $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 186.)
165. *Tazkirat ush-Shu'arā*. By Ghulām 'Alī. Talik. Fol. 330. 17 lines on a page. Illuminated. Dated A.H. 1079. Size, 8 by $4\frac{3}{4}$. (Le S. Cat. 7.)
166. *Khizānah i 'Āmirah*. Lives of Persian Poets. By Āzād Balgrāmi, Ghulām 'Alī. Nastalik. Fol. 420. 20 lines on a page. Size, 8 by $4\frac{3}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 187.)
167. *Hukm nāmah i Tipū Sultān*. Orders and Regulations instituted by Tipū Sultān. In Persian, Marathi, and Karnatā languages. Fol. 153. Size, 12 by $8\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 94.)
168. *Regulations of the Treasury Department of Tipū Sultān*. Shikastah. Fol. 39. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by 6. (M. Ms. Cat. 110.)
169. *Risālah Muḥṭavi bar Rasūm i Kadkhadāi*. A treatise on the Regulations for Marriages under Tipū Sultān's rule. Shikastah. Fol. 7. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by 6. (M. Ms. Cat. 111.)
170. *Risālah Muḥṭavi bar Rasūm i Kadkhadāi*. Shikastah. Fol. 7. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 112.)
171. *A Description of the Seals, Flags, Standards, Inscriptions, etc., used by Tipū Sultān*. Shikastah. Size, 9 by 7. (M. Ms. Cat. 113.)
172. *A Book of Military Accounts*. Shikastah. Fol. 94. Size, 9 by 7. (M. Ms. Cat. 261.)
173. *Copies of Persian Letters, Accounts, etc.* Fol. 88. Size, $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $8\frac{1}{4}$. (Le S. Cat. 17.)
174. *Inscriptions from Mosques and other buildings*. In Arabic, Persian, and English. Naskh and Nastalik. Fol. 52. Size, $9\frac{3}{4}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$ (M. Ms. Cat. 138.)

175. *Description of the Tomb of Shāh Jahān, with Inscriptions, etc.* Nastalik. Fol. 107. 8 lines on a page. Size, 10 by 6. (Le S. Cat. 4.)
176. *Risālah i Mister Wilford.* Extracts and notes from Captain Wilford's Routes in Afghānistān, Bukhāra, etc. By Mughāl Beg. Fol. 46. 17 lines on a page. Dated A.D. 1806. Size, 9½ by 6. (M. Ms. Cat. 117.)
177. *Masir i Ṭālibī.* The Travels of the Author in Europe, A.H. 1213-1218. By Abū Ṭālib ben Muḥammad Iṣfahānī. Nastalik. Fol. 306. 15 lines on a page. Size, 10 by 7½. (Le S. Cat. 2.)
178. *'Ajā'ib ul-Makhlūqāt.* Wonders of the Creation. Translation of Kazvīnī's Arabic Work. Talik. Fol. 438. 15 lines on a page. Illuminated and illustrated with paintings. Size, 10 by 6. (M. Ms. Cat. 116.)
179. *'Ajā'ib ut-Ṭabakāt.* The Wonders of the Universe. By Muḥammad Ṭāhir ben Abūl-Kāsim. Nastalik. Fol. 178. 17 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1234. Size, 9½ by 5½. (Le S. Cat. 3.)
180. *Tārikh i Iṣfahān.* A descriptive and historical account of Iṣfahān. Translated from the Arabic by Husain ben Muḥammad ul-'Alavī. Nastalik. Fol. 83. 17 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 884. Size, 10 by 7. (M. Ms. Cat. 115.)
181. *A Description of the Public Buildings at Shāhjahanābād, with copies of the Inscriptions on them.* Nastalik. Fol. 64. 11 lines on a page. Size, 13 by 8½. (M. Ms. Cat. 98.)
182. *Nuzhat ul-Ḳulūb.* Cosmography. By Hamd Ullah ul-Kazvīnī. Nastalik. Fol. 170. 27 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1219. Size, 12¼ by 8. (M. Ms. Cat. 31.)
183. *Nuzhat ul-Ḳulūb.* Geographical portion. Nastalik. Fol. 122. 20 lines on a page. Size, 12 by 7¼. (M. Ms. Cat. 32.)
184. *Majmal ul-Hikmat.* A Compendium of Philosophy. Translated from the Arabic. Nastalik. Fol. 334. 14 lines on a page. Imperfect. Size, 6¼ by 3¼. (M. Ms. Cat. 251.)

185. *Kitāb Intazām i Hiyat*. A paraphrase translation of Dodesley's *Economy of Human Life*, in Persian, Arabic, and Hindustāni. By Major Pogoan. Nastalik and Naskh. Fol. 172. 15 lines on a page. Dated A.D. 1828 and A.H. 1244. Size, 12 by 8. (M. Ms. Cat. 225.)
186. *Akhlāk i Muḥsinī*. A work on Ethics. By Ḥusain ul-Kāshifī. Nastalik. Fol. 194. 13 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1247. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{4}$. (Le S. Cat. 46.)
187. *Akhlāk i Muḥsinī*. Nastalik. Fol. 189. 15 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1069. Size, 9 by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (Le S. Cat. 47.)
188. *Akhlāk i Nāṣiri*. A treatise on Ethics. By Nāṣir ud-Dīn Muḥammad ut-Ṭūsī. Nastalik. Fol. 183. 15 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1216. Size, 11 by $6\frac{1}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 220.)
189. *Akhlāk i Nāṣiri*. Nastalik. Fol. 180. 16 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1053. Size, 9 by 5. (M. Ms. Cat. 234.)
190. *Akhlāk i Nāṣiri*. Talik. Fol. 158. 19 lines on a page. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 235.)
191. *Akhlāk i Nāṣiri*. Talik. Fol. 193. 15 lines on a page. Size, $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 236.)
192. *Akhlāk Jalālī*, or *Lavāmi' ul-Ishrāk*. A treatise on Ethics. By Jalāl ud-Dīn Davānī. Talik. Fol. 90. 19 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1043. Size, $8\frac{3}{4}$ by $4\frac{3}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 237.)
193. *Zara't Nāmah*. A treatise on Agriculture. Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 16. 13 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1223. Size, $9\frac{1}{2}$ by 6. (M. Ms. Cat. 266.)
194. *Bij Ganit*. A treatise on Algebra. Translated from the Sanskrit by 'Aṭā Ullah Rashīdī ben Aḥmad Nādir. Talik. Fol. 106. 15 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1213. Size, $10\frac{3}{4}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 152.)
195. *M'ualijāt dāra Shikūhī*. A work on Medicine. By Mīr Muḥammad 'Abd Ullah Hakīm. Vol. I. Nastalik. Fol. 252. 16 lines on a page. Size, $13\frac{1}{2}$ by $8\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 142.)

196. *M'ualijāt dāra Shikūhi*. Vol. II. Fol. 636. 15 lines on a page. Size, 14 by 10. (M. Ms. Cat. 143.)
197. *M'ualijāt dāra Shikūhi*. Vol. III. Fol. 781. 15 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1056. Size, 14 by 9½. (M. Ms. Cat. 144.)
198. *Makhsan ul-Adviyat*, or *Ḳarābādīn*. A Dictionary of *Materia Medica*. By Ibn Sayyid us-Sind Muḥammad Hādī ul-Afilī ul-Halavī Muḥammad Husain. Vol. I. Preface and first five and part of the sixth chapter of the first part of the dictionary. Nastalik. Fol. 349. 21 lines on a page. Size, 15 by 10. (M. Ms. Cat. 145.)
199. *Makhsan ul-Adviyat*. Vol. II. Continuation of the sixth chapter and to the twentieth chapter. Fol. 352. (M. Ms. Cat. 146.)
200. *Makhsan ul-Adviyat*. Vol. III. From the twentieth to the twenty-eighth chapter. Fol. 339. (M. Ms. Cat. 147.)
201. *Makhsan ul-Adviyat*. Vol. IV. Appendix to the first part, and first portion of the second part of the work. Fol. 454. (M. Ms. Cat. 148.)
202. *Makhsan ul-Adviyat*. Vol. V. The remainder of the work. Fol. 398. (M. Ms. Cat. 149.)
203. *Tuhfat ul-Mūminīn*. A work on *Materia Medica*. By Muḥammad Mūmīn Husainī. Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 354. 27 lines on a page. Size, 11½ by 8. (M. Ms. Cat. 150.)
204. *Tazkirah Aṣār i Sung Mazār*. A tract on Cholera. By 'Abd Ullah ben Hājī Muḥammad Mazāndarānī. Nastalik. Fol. 8. 16 lines on a page. Size, 10 by 8½. (Le S. Cat. 11.)
205. *Risālat Mā'kūl u Mashrūb*. A treatise on Dietetics, in Verse. Nastalik. Fol. 9. 12 lines on a page. Size, 6½ by 4½. (M. Ms. Cat. 151.)
206. *Tā'bir Nāmāh*. An Interpretation of Dreams. By Abūl Faẓl Husain ut-Taftatī. Nastalik and Shikastah. Fol. 354. 17 and 18 lines on a page. Size, 9¼ by 5¾. (M. Ms. Cat. 265).

207. *Ta'bir i Khavāb*. A Masnavi Poem on the Interpretation of Dreams, preceded by a short Treatise on Omens, Dreams, etc. Talik. Fol. 20. 12 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1238. Size, 9½ by 6.
208. *Risālat Jihād*. A treatise on the Art of War. Shikastah. Fol. 55. 13 lines on a page. Size, 9½ by 6¼. (M. Ms. Cat. 243.)
209. *Risālat Tadbir ul-Ḥarb*. On the Art of War. Translated from French. Shikastah. Fol. 20. Size, 8 by 6. (M. Ms. Cat. 232.)
210. *Risālat 'Im Mūstki*. Translation from the Sanskrit Pārjātaka. Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 107. 15 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1137. Size, 8¾ by 5. (M. Ms. Cat. 153).
211. *Treatise on the Game of Chess*. Illustrated. Naskh. Fol. 64. 15 lines on a page. Imperfect at the end. Size, 9¾ by 7. (M. Ms. Cat. 260.)
212. *Treatise on Horticulture*. By Muḥammad Faẓl, of Lahore. Nastalik. Fol. 64. 14 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1251. Size, 10 by 6. (Le S. Cat. 10.)
213. *Risālat dar Bayān Atā'mah*. Treatise on Indian Cookery. Nastalik. Fol. 13. 15 lines on a page. Size, 10½ by 7. (M. Ms. Cat. 267.)
214. *Burhān i Kātib*. A Persian Dictionary. By Muḥammad Husain ben Khalaf ut-Tabrizī, called Burhān. Nastalik. Fol. 573. 21 lines on a page. Size, 12 by 8½. (M. Ms. Cat. 154.)
215. *Burhān i Kātib*. Nastalik. Fol. 515. 23 lines on a page. Size, 13 by 8¾. (M. Ms. Cat. 154A.)
216. *Farhang i Rashūdi*. A Persian Dictionary. By 'Abd ar-Rashīd ben 'Abd ul-Ghafūr Tatavi. Nastalik. Fol. 340. 21 lines on a page. Size, 11½ by 7½. (M. Ms. Cat. 155.)
217. *Farhang i Jahāngiri*. A Persian Dictionary, with Appendix. By Jamāl ud-Dīn Husain Injū. Nastalik. Fol. 420. 25 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1093. Size, 12 by 7. (Le S. Cat. 12.)

218. *Farhang*. A Dictionary of Arabic Words explained in Persian. Nastalik. Vol. I. From letter *Alif* to letter *Sin*. Fol. 321. 23 lines on a page. Size, $13\frac{3}{4}$ by $9\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 156.)
219. *Farhang*. Vol. II. Continuation to letter *Yi*. Last few pages wanting. Fol. 282. (M. Ms. Cat. 157.)
220. *Muntakhab ul-Lughât Duncanî*. A Persian Dictionary. By Muḥammad Ṣādīq Bahbahānī. Nastalik. Fol. 207. 12 lines on a page. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by 6. (M. Ms. Cat. 159.)
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227. *Inshā i Latīf*. Forms of Correspondence. Shikastah. Fol. 72. 15 lines on a page. Size, 9 by 4. (Le S. Cat. 14.)

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232. *A Collection of Letters on various Subjects*. Shikastah. Fol. 86. Size, 9½ by 6. (M. Ms. Cat. 229.)
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234. *Ṣaḥīfā Shāhi*. A Dictionary of terms and appropriate verses used in Epistolary Correspondence. By Husain Va'iz Kāshifi. Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 141. Irregular. Size, 9½ by 7. (M. Ms. Cat. 230.)
235. *Fihrist i Katab Kitābkhāna Sirkār*. A catalogue of the Oriental MSS. in the College of Fort William. A.D. 1813. Nastalik. Fol. 138. 9 lines on a page. Size, 10 by 8½. (M. Ms. Cat. 162.)
236. *Fihrist i Kitābha*. A catalogue of Persian, Arabic, and Hindi books in the Library of Ferzada Kole. Nastalik. Fol. 96. 15 lines on a page. Size, 9 by 6. (M. Ms. Cat. 162A.)
237. *A Treatise on Letter-Writing*. By Sayyid 'Alī Nakī Khān. Nastalik. Fol. 27. Size, 6½ by 4¼. (M. Ms. Cat. 252.)
238. *Shāh Nāmāh*. The Historical Epic Poem. By Abūl Kāsim Firdausī Tūsī. With preface by Mīrzā Bāisunghar. Talik. Fol. 581. 22 lines on a page

- in four columns. Dated A.H. 1077. Size, $14\frac{1}{2}$ by 9. (M. Ms. Cat. 165.)
239. *Shāh Nāmāh*. With preface. Talik. Fol. 531. 25 lines on a page in four columns. Finely illuminated and illustrated with paintings. Containing an autograph note of the Emperor Shāh Jahān. Size $13\frac{1}{2}$ by 9. (M. Ms. Cat. 165A.)
240. *Shāh Nāmāh*. With preface. Talik. Fol. 632. 25 lines on a page in four columns. Size, $10\frac{1}{2}$ by 7. (Le S. Cat. 37.)
241. *Shāh Nāmāh*. With preface and dictionary of obsolete words. Talik. Fol. 741. 19 lines on a page in four columns. Size, $14\frac{1}{2}$ by $10\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 166.)
242. *Shāh Nāmāh*. Talik. Fol. 577. 25 lines on a page in four columns. Size, $13\frac{1}{2}$ by 8. (M. Ms. Cat. 166A.)
243. *Shāh Nāmāh*. Talik. Fol. 474. 27 lines on a page in four columns. Illuminated and illustrated with paintings. Size, $12\frac{1}{2}$ by $9\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 177.)
244. *Khusrau u Shīrīn*. Poem. By Nizām ud-Dīn Muḥammad Ilyās ben Yūsuf;—Nizāmī Ganjavī. Talik. Fol. 92. 11 lines on a page in double column. Illuminated and illustrated. Size, 11 by $7\frac{1}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 174.)
245. *Khusrau u Shīrīn*. Talik. Fol. 239. 15 lines on a page in double column. Imperfect. Size, 8 by 5. (M. Ms. Cat. 192.)
246. *Panj Ganj* or *Khamsah Nizāmī*. The five principal Poems of Nizāmī Ganjavī. Nastalik. Fol. 338. 23 lines on a page in 4 columns. Illuminated first pages, illustrated with paintings. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 188.)
247. *Khamsah Nizāmī*. Talik. Fol. 454. 14 lines on a page in double column, and marginal writing. Dated A.H. 1077. Size, $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 189.)
248. *Makhsan ul-Asrār*. A mystic Sufi Poem. By Nizāmī. Nastalik. Fol. 55. 20 lines on a page, in double column. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 190.)



249. *Iskandar Nāmah*. A Poem. By Nizāmī. Nastalik. Fol. 262. 13 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1036. Size, 8 by $4\frac{1}{2}$. (Le S. Cat. 42.)
250. *Iskandar Nāmah*. Second Part. Talik. Fol. 124. 13 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1212. Size 8 by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 191.)
251. *Būstān*. A moral Poem. By Musharrif ud-Dīn Sa'dī Shirāzī. Talik. Fol. 149. 14 lines on a page. Finely illuminated and illustrated with paintings. Size, 12 by $7\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 170.)
252. *Būstān*. Nastalik. Fol. 165. 13 lines on a page in double column. Finely illuminated in gold. Size, $10\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$. M. Ms. Cat. 171.)
253. *Būstān*. Talik. Fol. 104. 11 lines on a page in double column. Dated A.H. 1217. Size, 10 by $6\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 172.)
254. *Būstān*. Talik. Fol. 175. 13 lines on a page in double column. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by 6. (M. Ms. Cat. 178.)
255. *Būstān*. Talik. Fol. 115. 17 lines on a page in double column. Dated A.H. 1014. Size, $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (Le S. Cat. 30.)
256. *Būstān*. Nastalik. Fol. 147. 15 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 2000. Size, $8\frac{3}{4}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$. (Le S. Cat. 31.)
257. *Būstān*. Parts of the Poem. Talik. Fol. 27. 9 lines on a page in double column. Dated A.H. 976. Size, 9 by $6\frac{1}{2}$. (Le S. Cat. 32.)
258. *Gulīstān*. By Sa'dī. Talik. Fol. 128. Beautifully illuminated and illustrated with paintings. 12 lines on a page. Size, $12\frac{1}{2}$ by 8. (M. Ms. Cat. 233A.)
259. *Gulīstān*. Nastalik. Fol. 180. 9 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1187. Size $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 233.)
260. *Kulliyāt i Sa'dī*. Complete Works of Sa'dī, with Preface by 'Alī ben Aḥmad ben Abū Bakr. Talik. Fol. 375. 17 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 895. Size, 7 by $4\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 213.)
261. *Kulliyāt i Sa'dī*. Talik. Fol. 318. 17 lines in the centre of the page and part of the writing on the margins. Illuminated. Size, $11\frac{1}{2}$ by 7. (Le S. Cat. 28.)

262. *Kulliyât i Sa'dî*. Talik. Fol. 363. 19 lines on a page and writing on the margin. Dated A.H. 1013. Size, 10 by 6. (Le S. Cat. 29.)
263. *Risâlat Shaikh Sa'dî*. Preface to the Works of Sa'dî. By 'Alî ben Aḥmad ben Abū Bakr. And first five and part of the sixth treatise of Sa'dî. Nastalik. Fol. 50. 15 lines on a page. Size, 8 by 5. (M. Ms. Cat. 242.)
264. *Pand Nāmah*. By Sa'dî. Talik. Fol. 12. 12 lines on a page in double column. And *Ghazals* by Maḥmūd written on the margins. Size, 10½ by 6½. (M. Ms. Cat. 198.)
265. *Dirân i Ḥāfiẓ*. The Odes of Shams ud-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī. With Preface by Muḥammad Gulandām. Talik. Fol. 205. 15 lines on a page. Size, 14 by 8½. (M. Ms. Cat. 168.)
266. *Dirân i Ḥāfiẓ*. With Preface by Gulandām. Talik. Fol. 193. 12 lines on a page in double column. Illuminated in gold and colour. Size, 10 by 6. (Le S. Cat. 21.)
267. *Dirân i Ḥāfiẓ*. Talik. Fol. 378. 9 lines on a page in double column. Finely illuminated in gold and colour. Size, 12 by 7. (Le S. Cat. 20.)
268. *Dirân i Ḥāfiẓ*. Talik. Fol. 175. 15 lines on a page in double column. Dated A.H. 1151. Size, 9 by 5. (Le S. Cat. 22.)
269. *Dirân i Ḥāfiẓ*. Talik. Fol. 192. 14 lines on a page in double column. Illustrated. Size, 9½ by 6. (Le S. Cat. 23.)
270. *Dirân i Ḥāfiẓ*. Naakh. Fol. 68. 19 lines on a page in double column. Size, 8½ by 6½. (Le S. Cat. 24.)
271. *Dirân i Ḥāfiẓ*. Talik. Fol. 132. 17 lines on a page in double column. Dated A.H. 872. Size, 8½ by 5. (Le S. Cat. 25.)
272. *Dirân i Ḥāfiẓ*. Talik. Fol. 240. 12 lines on a page in double column. Dated A.H. 1046. Illuminated. Size, 4½ by 2½. (M. Ms. Cat. 218.)

273. *Divān i Ḥafiz*. Talik. Fol. 198. 15 lines on a page in double column. Size, $4\frac{1}{2}$ by 3. (M. Ms. Cat. 219.)
274. *Divān i Ḥafiz*. With Preface by Gulandām. Talik. Fol. 183. 11 lines on a page in double column. Size, 8 by 5. (M. Ms. Cat. 197.)
275. *Divān i Ḥafiz u Būstān i Sa'di*. Odes of Ḥafiz and Preface, with the Būstān written on the margins. Nastalik. Fol. 163. Size, $10\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 184.)
276. *Haft Aurang i Jāmi*. The seven principle Poems of Mir ud-Dīn 'Abd ur-Rahmān Jāmi. Talik. Fol. 244. 25 lines on a page in four columns. Size, 12 by $7\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 169.)
277. *Divān i Jāmi*. Odes of Jāmi. Talik. Fol. 406. 17 lines on a page in double column. Size, $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 195.)
278. *Sabhat ul-Abrār*. A religious Poem by Jāmi. Talik. Fol. 137. 11 lines on a page in double column. Size, $7\frac{1}{2}$ by 5. (M. Ms. Cat. 196.)
279. *Sabhat ul-Abrār*. Talik. Fol. 93. 14 lines on a page in double column. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 196A.)
280. *Yūsuf u Zulaikha*. Poem by Jāmi. Talik. Fol. 150. 15 lines on a page in double column. Imperfect. Size, $9\frac{1}{2}$ by 6. (Le S. Cat. 19)
281. *Khamsah i Amīr Khusrau*. Five Poems. By Khusrau Dihavi. Nastalik. Fol. 211. 21 lines on a page in double column and on margins. Size, 9 by 5. (M. Ms. Cat. 193.)
282. *Ashkiyah i Amīr Khusrau*. Erotic Poems. By Khusrau. Talik. Fol. 135. 17 lines on a page in double column. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 194.)
283. *Divān i 'Urfi*. Poetical Works. By 'Urfi Shirāzi. Talik. Fol. 243. 21 lines on a page. Size, 8 by 5. (Le S. Cat. 35.)
284. *Kaṣā'id i 'Urfi*. Poems. By 'Urfi. Talik. Fol. 245.

- 15 lines on a page in double column. Size, $9\frac{3}{4}$ by 5. (Le S. Cat. 34.)
285. *Divān i Sā'ib*. Poetical Works. By Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Alī, poetically named Sā'ib. Talik. Fol. 210. 16 lines on a page in double column. Size, 9 by 5. (Le S. Cat. 27.)
286. *Divān i Mīrzā Faṣīhī*. Poetical Works. By Faṣīhī Haravī. Shikastah. Fol. 58. 10 lines on a page in double column. Size, $12\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$. (Le S. Cat. 36.)
287. *Divān i Kalīm*. Poetical Works. By Abū Tālib Hamadānī, poetically called Kalīm. Talik. Fol. 125. 17 lines on a page in double column and on margins. Size, $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{3}{4}$. (Le S. Cat. 39.)
288. *Divān i Muẓaffar*. Poetical Works. By Muẓaffar. Nastalik. Fol. 72. 15 lines on a page in double column. Size, $10\frac{1}{2}$ by 7. (Le S. Cat. 41.)
289. *Kaṣā'id i Faṭḥ 'Alī Khān*. Poems. By Faṭḥ 'Alī Khān Kāshī. Talik. Fol. 50. 11 lines on a page in double column. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (Le S. Cat. 38.)
290. *An Eulogy on 'Alī*. Written by 'Abd ur-Rashīd. Talik. Fol. 12. 8 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1061. Illuminated in gold and colours. Size, $10\frac{3}{4}$ by 6. (Le S. Cat. 33.)
291. *Maṣnavī i Jalāl ud-Dīn*. Masnavi. By Jalāl ud-Dīn Muḥammad Rūmī. Talik. Fol. 411. 17 lines on a page and on margins. Dated A.H. 1094. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by 5. (M. Ms. Cat. 202.)
292. *Maṣnavī i Jalāl ud-Dīn*. Nastalik. Fol. 535. 17 lines on a page in four columns. Dated A.H. 1120. Size, 10 by $8\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 181.)
293. (1) *Maṣnavī i Jalāl ud-Dīn Mūlvī Rūmī*. Naskh. Fol. 297. 25 lines on a page in four columns. Illuminated. (2) *Nān u Halvā*. A Masnavi on the Ascetic Life. By Bahā'i;—Bahā ud-Dīn 'Amilī. Naskh. Fol. 5. 25 lines on a page. Size $10\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 180.)
294. *Intikhāb Maṣnavī i Mūlvī Ma'narī Muḥammad Jalāl ud-Dīn*. Extracts from the Masnavi of Jalāl ud-Dīn Rūmī.

- Talik. Fol. 29. 13 lines in double column on a page. Dated A.H. 1255. Size $6\frac{1}{2}$ by 4.
295. *Tuḥfat ul-'Irākain*. A Poetical Description of the two 'Irāks. By Afzal ud-Dīn Khākānī. Talik. Fol. 102. 16 lines on a page in double column. Size, $8\frac{1}{4}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 182.)
296. *Tuḥfat ul-'Irākain*. Talik. Fol. 118. 13 lines on a page in double column, with marginal notes. Dated A.H. 1210. Size, $8\frac{1}{4}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 209.)
297. *Kulliyāt i Khākānī*. Poems. By Afzal ud-Dīn Khākānī. Comprising the Kaṣidahs, the Muḳaṭṭa'āt, and the Dīvān. Talik. Fol. 416. 17 lines on a page. Finely illuminated. Size, 14 by 9. (M. Ms. Cat. 167.)
298. *Divān i Mīr Rāzī ud-Dīn*. Odes. By Mīr Rāzī ud-Dīn. Talik. Fol. 64. 12 lines on a page in double column. Dated A.H. 1080. Size, $6\frac{3}{4}$ by $4\frac{1}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 215.)
299. *Divān i Ni'mat Ullah*. Odes. By Amīr Nūr ud-Dīn Ni'mat Ullah. Talik. Fol. 611. 15 lines on a page and on margins. Illuminated. Incomplete. Size, 11 by 7. (M. Ms. Cat. 211A.)
300. *Shāh Nāmāh i Shāh Ismā'il*. A Poetical History of Shāh Ismā'il Ṣafavī. By Mīrzā Kāsim, surnamed Kāsimī. Talik. Fol. 141. 15 lines on a page in double column. Imperfect at the beginning. Size, $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{3}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 204.)
301. *Humāi Humāyūn*. The Loves of Humāi and Humāyūn. By Khwājū Kirmānī. Talik. Fol. 153. 14 lines on a page in double column. Copied in Paris, A.D. 1830. Illustrated with paintings. Size, $10\frac{1}{4}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. 205.)
302. *Hamāi Humāyūn*. Nastalik. Fol. 147. 12 lines on a page in double column. Size, $8\frac{3}{4}$ by 5. (Le S. Cat. 26.)
303. *Mīhr u Mushtarī*. A Masnavi. By Muḥammad 'Aṣṣar Tabrīzī. Talik. Fol. 187. 13 lines on a page in double column. Dated A.H. 959. Size, $8\frac{3}{4}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 206.)

304. *Mihr u Mushtari*. Talik. Fol. 219. 12 lines on a page in double column. Illustrated and illuminated. Size, $7\frac{3}{4}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$. (Le S. Cat. 40.)
305. *Timūr Nāmah u Ismā'il Nāmah*. Poetical history of Timūr and that of Ismā'il. By Hātifi. The latter written on the margins. Talik. Fol. 162. 15 lines in double column on a page. Size, $10\frac{1}{2}$ by 6. (M. Ms. Cat. 208.)
306. *Divān i Najīb ud-Din*. Poems. By Najīb ud-Din. Talik. Fol. 120. 14 lines on a page in double column. Imperfect. Size, 8 by $4\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 199.)
307. *Divān i Mirzā Aḥsan*. Poems. By Mirzā Aḥsan. Talik. Fol. 80. 15 lines on a page in double column. Size, $8\frac{3}{4}$ by $4\frac{3}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 200.)
308. *Divān i Mirzā Sayyid Muḥammad*. Poems. Talik. Fol. 174. 12 lines on a page in double column. Imperfect at the end. Size, $10\frac{3}{4}$ by 7. (M. Ms. Cat. 173.)
309. *Divān i Nāṣir 'Alī*. Poems. By Nāṣir 'Alī. Talik. Fol. 84. 15 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1194. Size, $7\frac{3}{4}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 201.)
310. *Kitāb Maṣnaviyāt i Zafar Khān*. Masnavis. By Zafar Khān ben Abūl Ḥasan. Talik. Autograph of the Author. Fol. 120. 15 lines on a page in double column. Illuminated and illustrated with paintings. Dated A.H. 1073. Size, $10\frac{1}{4}$ by 6. (M. Ms. Cat. 203.)
311. *Ḥamlah i Haidari*. A Poetical account of the Life of Muḥammad and the first Khalifs. By Mirzā Muḥammad Raffī, surnamed Bāzil. Nastalik. Fol. 406. 20 lines on a page in four columns. Finely illuminated and illustrated with paintings. Size, $10\frac{3}{4}$ by 8. (M. Ms. Cat. 179.)
312. *Ḥamlah i Haidari*. Nastalik. Fol. 338. 24 lines on a page in four columns. Size, $10\frac{3}{4}$ by 8. (M. Ms. Cat. 179A.)
313. *Nal Daman*. A Poem on Nala and Damayanti of

- the Mahābhārata. By Shaikh Abūl-Faiẓ, surnamed Faiẓī. Talik. Fol. 140. 15 lines on a page in double column. Size, $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 207.)
314. *Divān i Riyāzi*. Odes. By Riyāzi. Talik. Fol. 52. Size, $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 216.)
315. *Minu Khirad*. A Poem. By Marzabān Rāvānī. Nastalik. Fol. 121. 13 lines on a page in double column. Size, 10 by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (Le G. Cat. 43.)
316. *MSS. of Persian and Arabic Poetry, including the Gul u Naurūz by Jalāl Tabīb*. Naskh. Fol. 143. 15 lines on a page. Size, 8 by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (Le G. Cat. 44.)
317. *Kitāb Mafatih ul-A'jās fi Sharḥ Gulshan i Rās*. A commentary on the Gulshan i Rās. Shikastah. Fol. 222. 19 lines on a page. Illuminated. Dated A.H. 1096. Size, $7\frac{1}{2}$ by 4. (Le G. Cat. 45.)
318. *Kitāb Marzabān Nāmāh*. A Book of Apologues. By Marzabān ben Shirvīn. Translated by S'ad ul-Varāminī. Nastalik. Fol. 153. 17 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1086. Size, $11\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 224.)
319. *Kitāb i Vākī'at az barāi Imām Husain*. The Lamentations of the Shiāhs. By Miskin and Makbil. Nastalik. Fol. 156. 8 lines on a page. Size $7\frac{1}{2}$ by 6. (M. Ms. Cat. 183.)
320. *Majmū'ah Sha'rā*. A collection of Poems by various authors. Shafia. Fol. 233. Illuminated. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 210.)
321. *A Miscellaneous Collection of Poetry*. Talik. Fol. 75. 20 lines on a page. Size, 9 by $7\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 185.)
322. *A Collection of Poems by Various Authors*. Nastalik and Shikastah. Fol. 178. Size, $10\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 211.)
323. *A Collection of Poems, Letters, etc., by Various Writers*. Shikastah and Shafia. Fol. 169. Size, 8 by 5. (M. Ms. Cat. 212.)
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326. *Anvār i Suhaiṭi*. Persian version of Kalilah and Dimnah. By Husain ben 'Alī ul Va'iz Kāshifi. Latter portion of the work. Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 158. 15 lines on a page. Imperfect at the beginning. Size, 9¼ by 7¼. (M. Ms. Cat. 231.)
327. *Anvār i Suhaiṭi*. Nastalik. Fol. 408. 14 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 926. Size, 9½ by 5½. (Le G. Cat. 48.)
328. *Anvār i Suhaiṭi*. Nastalik. Fol. 369. 17 lines on a page. Size, 11¼ by 7¼. (M. Ms. Cat. 222.)
329. *Kalilah u Dimnah*. Translated from the Arabic. By Abūl Ma'ālī Naṣr Ullah. Nastalik. Fol. 135. 17 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1237. Size, 12¾ by 8½. (M. Ms. Cat. 221.)
330. *'Iyār i Dānish*. A Version of Kalilah and Dimnah. By Abūl-Faḥl ben Mubārak, called 'Allāmi. Nastalik. Fol. 223. 15 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1209. Size, 8¾ by 4¾. (M. Ms. Cat. 223.)
331. *'Iyār i Dānish*. Nastalik. Fol. 416. 15 lines on a page. Dated 1203. Size, 11 by 6½. (M. Ms. Cat. 223A.)
332. *Abvāb ul Jinān*. A Collection of Moral Tales and Maxims. Nastalik. Fol. 256. 21 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1079. Size, 9¾ by 5. (M. Ms. Cat. 240.)
333. *Tāriḫ i Iskandar zu Karnīn*. Story of Alexander the Great. Nastalik. Fol. 386. 20 lines on a page. Size, 13½ by 8½. (M. Ms. Cat. 253.)
334. *Jāmi' ul-Hikāyat*. A Collection of Tales. Shikastah Amiz. 23 lines on a page. Vol. I. Fol. 137. (M. Ms. Cat. 255.)
335. *Jāmi' ul Hikāyat*. Vol. II. Fol. 246. (M. Ms. Cat. 256.)
336. *Jāmi' ul Hikāyat*. Vol. III. Fol. 217. (M. Ms. Cat. 257.)

337. *Jāmi' ul Hikāyat*. Vol. IV. Fol. 195. Size, 11 by 6 $\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 258.)
338. *Hasār u yak Shab*. A Portion of the One Thousand and One Nights. Translated from the Arabic. Nastalik. Fol. 119. 13 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1217. Size, 9 by 6 $\frac{1}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 259.)
339. *Mufarriḥ ul-Kulūb*. A Persian translation of the Hitopadesa. Nastalik. Fol. 96. 13 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1217. Size, 9 by 5. (M. Ms. Cat. 259.)
340. *Kiṣṣah Dilraba*. A Tale. By Mukhtar Khānī. Nastalik. Fol. 80. 13 lines on a page. Illustrated with paintings. Size, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 4 $\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 263.)
341. *Jāmi' ul-Hikāyat*. A Collection of Tales. Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 140. 14 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1221. Size, 7 by 5. (M. Ms. Cat. 269.)
342. *A Collection of Stories, etc.* Turki. Shikastah. Fol. 84. Size, 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 7 $\frac{1}{2}$. (Le G. Cat. 51.)
343. *A Common-place Book*. Historical fragments, Tales, Poetry, Sayings, and Letters. Shafia and Shikastah. Fol. 340. Size, 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 5. (M. Ms. Cat. 270.)
344. *Bayāz*. A Common-place Book. Extracts in Prose and Verse. Shikastah. Fol. 198. Size, 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 9. (M. Ms. Cat. 271.)
345. (1) *A Concise History of Hindustān, from the birth of Aurangzīb to the time of Muḥammad Shāh*. Shikastah. Fol. 20. 15 lines on a page. Size 10 by 5 $\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 100.)
- (2) *An Arizdasht to the Emperor Aurangzīb*. Fol. 5. 13 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1121. (M. Ms. Cat. 131.)
- (3) *Dibāchah Shāh Nāmah i Firdausī*. Preface to the Shāh Nāmah. Fol. 27. 14 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1210. Size, 10 by 5 $\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 131.)
346. *Riḳ'at i Jāmi*. Epistles of Jāmi. Fol. 54. 17 lines on a page. Size, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 5. (M. Ms. Cat. 244.)
347. *Laṭīfah i Faiḏī*. Letters of Faiḏī. Nastalik. Fol. 134. 18 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1099. Imperfect at the beginning and end. Size, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 6 $\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 226.)

348. (1) *Risāl Vaṣūl*. A Tract on the Muḥammadan Faith. Shikastah. Fol. 7. 16 lines on a page.
 (2) *Inshā i Harkarn*. Fol. 37. 16 lines on a page.
 (3) *Tuhfāt i Sulṭaniyah*. Formulæ of Letters, etc. By Hasan ben Gūl Muḥammad. Nastalik. Fol. 35. 15 lines on a page. Size, 9 by 5½. (M. Ms. Cat. 250.)
349. *Tracts*. (1) *A Collection of Medical Recipes*. Shikastah. Fol. 13. 17 lines on a page.
 (2) *De Coitu*. Shikastah. Fol. 18. 20 lines on a page.
 (3) *An Arabic and Persian Vocabulary in Verse*. Talik. Fol. 10. 11 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1095.
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 (5) *The Counsels of Nushirvān the Just*. Shikastah. Fol. 3. 15 lines on a page.
 (6) *A Vocabulary of Arabic and Persian Words*. Shikastah. Fol. 4. Size, 8½ by 4½. (M. Ms. Cat. 268.)
350. (1) *Kitāb Munājāt Hazrat Khwājah 'Abd Ullah Anṣārī*. A Collection of Prayers. Talik. Fol. 16. 9 lines on a page. Illuminated. Dated. A.H. 966.
 (2) *Divān i Khusrau*. Talik. Fol. 28. Size, 9¼ by 6. (M. Ms. Cat. 264.)
351. (1) *A concise Account of the coming of Nādir Shāh to Shāhjahānabād*. Nastalik. Fol. 13. 13 lines on a page. Size, 12½ by 7½.
 (2) *An Account of the Inscriptions, etc. on the Mosques and other buildings at Shāhjahānabād*. By Sangīn Beg, son of 'Alī Akbar Beg. Nastalik and Naskh. Fol. 73. 11 lines on a page. Size, 12¾ by 7½.
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HINDUSTANI.

1. (1) *An Account of the Religion of the Sād sect.* By Bhawānī Das. Shikastah. Fol. 52. 13 lines on a page.
- (2) *The Pothi of the Sāds in the Brij Bhaka or Thenth Hindī dialect.* Fol. 128. 11 and 13 lines on a page. Size, $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{3}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 277.)
2. *Shigurf Nāmah i Vilāyat.* Travels of Mirza 'Itisam ud-Dīn in Europe. Naskh. Fol. 150. 17 and 16 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1226 and A.D. 1811. Size, $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$. (Le S. Cat. 77.)
3. *Risālah Kā'nāt.* A treatise on Natural History and Geography. By Khalil 'Alī Khān Ashk. Nastalik. Fol. 33. 9 lines on a page. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 278.)
4. *Rauzat ush-Shuhadā.* Paraphrase of Kāshifis work of the same name. Nastalik. Fol. 187. 15 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1186. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by 6. (M. Ms. Cat. 280.)
5. *A Poetical Account of the Wars between Tipū Sultān and the Mahrattas.* Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 68. 11 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1225. Size, 9 by 6. (M. Ms. Cat. 282.)
6. *Ganj i Khūbi.* Translation of the Persian Akhlāk i Muhsinī. By Mir Amman. Nastalik. Fol. 175. 15 lines on a page. In the author's handwriting. Size, 11 by $8\frac{1}{4}$. (Le S. Cat. 79.)
7. *Kulliyāt i Sauda.* Poetical Works. By Muḥammad Rafī called Sauda. Nastalik. Fol. 485. 15 lines on a page. Size, $10\frac{1}{2}$ by 7. (Le S. Cat. 78.)
8. *Gulshan i 'Ishk.* A Deccani Poem. By Naṣratī. Nastalik. Fol. 279. 11 lines on a page in double column. Dated A.H. 1164. Size, $9\frac{1}{2}$ by 7. (M. Ms. Cat. 281.)

9. *Majma' ul-Intikhāb*. Selections of Hindustani poetry. With preface and epilogue in Persian, and an Index of Poets and of their poetical names. Written by Shaikh Karam 'Ali. 17 lines on a page. Dated A.H. Size,
10. *Gulshan i Hind*. A Chrestomathy of Urdu Poetry. Arranged alphabetically. By Mirza 'Ali Lutf. Talik. Fol. 195. 17 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1255. Size, 12 by 7.
11. *Chahār Darwīsh*. Tale of the Four Darwishes. Nastalik. Fol. 157. 13 lines on a page. Size, 10 by 6 $\frac{3}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 283.)
12. *Chahār Darwīsh*. Nastalik. Fol. 156. 15 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1241 and A.D. 1826. Imperfect at the beginning. Size, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 6 $\frac{1}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 284.)
13. *Gulsār Chīn*. The Story of Rizvān, Prince of China. Nastalik. Fol. 123. 9 lines on a page. Size, 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 5 $\frac{3}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 285.)

TURKISH.

1. (1) *Vaṣīyyet*. An Exposition of the Sunni Creed and of Religious and Moral Obligations. By Muḥammed ben Pīr 'Alī, Birgili. Neskh. Fol. 43. 13 lines on a page.
- (2) *A Tract on Religious Faith, Doctrine, etc.* By Rūmī Efendī. Fol. 3. 13 lines on a page.
- (3) *A Tract on Religious Purity and Faith*. By Kāzī Zādeh Efendī. Fol. 3. 13 lines on a page. Size, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 6 $\frac{1}{4}$.
2. *Vaṣīyyet i Birgili*. Neskh. Fol. 93. 9 lines on a page. Size, 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 3 $\frac{1}{4}$.
3. *Fetāvā i 'Aḥ Efendī*. Legal Responsions, with Arabic marginal notes. By 'Alī Efendī. Talik. Fol. 247. 23 lines on a page. Illuminated. Dated A.H. 1104. Size, 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ by 5 $\frac{1}{2}$.

4. *Kitāb i 'Ilm i Nāfi'*. A Christian Treatise. Neskh. Fol. 13. 13 lines on a page. Size, 8 by 5 $\frac{1}{4}$.
5. *Tārīkh i Nishānji Efendi*. A Compendium of General History. By Muḥammed Nishānji. Neskh. Fol. 107. 19 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 984. Size, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 6.
6. *Sa'adet Nāmeḥ*. Stories of Muḥammed and his family. A Translation of the Persian Rauzat ush-Shuhadā of Kāshifī. Talik. Fol. 216. 18 lines on a page. Size, 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ by 7 $\frac{1}{2}$.
7. *Terjumeh i Futūḥ ush-Shām*. Vāḳidi's History of the early Muslim Conquests. Translated by Muḥammed ben Yūsuf Cherkesi. Neskh. Fol. 363. 21 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1106. Size, 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 5 $\frac{1}{4}$.
8. *Tārīkh i Rāshid*. History of the Ottoman Empire. By Muḥammed Rāshid Efendī. Vol. I. Rika. Fol. 446. 29 lines on a page. Size, 12 by 7.
9. *Tārīkh i Rāshid*. Vols. II. and III. Neskh. Fol. 375. 33 lines on a page. Size, 11 by 6 $\frac{1}{2}$.
10. (1) *Tārīkh i Subḥi*. History of the Ottoman Empire. By Subḥi Muḥammed. In two Vols. with Prefaces and Index. Neskh. Fol. 329. 21 lines on a page.
- (2) *Tārīkh i 'Izzi*. Neskh. Fol. 203. 31 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1166. Size, 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 6 $\frac{1}{2}$.
11. *Tārīkh i 'Izzi*. History of the Turkish Empire. By Suleiman 'Izzi. Talik. Fol. 427. 19 lines on a page. Size, 12 by 6 $\frac{1}{2}$.
12. *Tārīkh i Na'imā*. Annals of the Ottoman Empire. By Na'imā. Neskh. Fol. 360. 33 lines on a page. Size, 11 by 7.
13. *History of the Reigns of the first twelve Ottoman Sultans*. By Şolak Zādeḥ Muḥammed Hemdemī. Neskh. Fol. 506. 19 lines on a page. Size, 13 by 8 $\frac{1}{2}$.
14. *Tāj ut-Tevārīkh*. Part of the History, containing the Lives of the first Seven Sultans. By Sa'd ud-Din ben Hasan Jān, commonly called Khojah Efendī. Neskh. Fol. 264. 23 lines on a page. Size, 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 7 $\frac{1}{2}$.



15. *Tāj ut-Tevārikh*. Nastalik. Fol. 503. 29 lines on a page. Illuminated. Size, $10\frac{1}{4}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 272.)
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INDEX—WORKS.

ARABIC.

- Ālf Lailah wa Lailah, 44.
- Al-Ajarrumiyah, 38.
- D'aāwi Aklidas m'a ul-Istibānāt, 33.
- Elementi della Lingua Araba, 37.
- Grammar, Arabic, Treatises on, 38, 39.
- Ḥayāt al-Kalūb, 31.

- Idrīs, Sultan of Burnū, Expedition of, 29.
 al-Iklil, 32.
 al-Istibṣār fī mā Ikhtalaf min al-Akhhbār, 19.
 Jāmi' al-Tawārikh, 26, 27.
 al-Kāfiyah, 39.
 Kalilah wa Dimnah, Sha'r 'Arabi, 43.
 al-Kānūn fī al-Ṭibb, 36.
 Kharīdat al-'Ajā'ib, 30.
 Kitāb as-Sūlat wu al-Jiwābat i al-Imām ar-Razī, 20.
 Ḳorān, 1 to 12.
 Ḳorān, Extracts from, 13 to 15.
 Ḳorān, Commentaries on, 16 and 17.
 Mi'at 'Āmil, 38.
 Mukhtaṣar i Khalil, Commentary on, 23.
 Muntakhab al-Lughāt, 41.
 Poems, 42, 47.
 Prophets, Martyrs, etc., History of, 25.
 Rashid ad-Dīn's History, part of, with Persian Translation, 27.
 Rashidiyah Sharḥ Sharīfa 'ilm al-Manāzrat wa al-Adāb, 46.
 Sharā'i' al-Islām, 21.
 ash-Sharā'a al-Aḥkām, 21.
 Sharḥ i Hikmat al-'Ayin, 45.
 Sharḥ al-Jaghminī, 34.
 ar-Rauḍat min al-Kāfi, 18.
 Sharḥ al-Kāfi, 22.
 Tahrir al-Ḳawā'd al-Mintaqiyat i ar-Rāzī, Marginal Gloss, 35.
 Theological Tract, 47.
 Tuḥfat al-Mujāhidīn, 28.

PERSIAN.

- Abvāb ul-Jinān, 332.
 Aḥsan ut-Tawārikh, 149, 150.

Aḥwāl Rājahāi Maisūr u Nagar, 86.

'Ā'in i Akbarī, 121.

'Ajā'ib ul-Ṭabaḳāt, 179.

'Ajā'ib ul-Makhlūkāt, 178.

Akbar Nāmah, 114 to 121.

Akhlāk Jalālī, 192.

Akhlāk i Muḥsinī, 186, 187.

Akhlāk i Nāṣiri, 188 to 191.

'Ālam Āraī 'Abbāsī, 140 to 145.

'Alamgīr Nāmah, 131 to 135.

'Alī. A poem in Eulogy of, 290.

Āmad Nāmah, 224.

'Amal i Ṣāliḥ, 130.

Anvār i Suhailī, 326 to 328.

'Arā'sh Ābkār, 10, 11.

An Arizdasht to Aurangzib, 345.

'Ashḳiyah i Amīr Khusrau, 282.

Badā'r' ul-Inshā, 231, 232.

Basātīn us-Salāṭīn, 77.

Bayāz, 343, 344.

Bij Ganit, 194.

Bukhāra, an account of Holy and Learned Men of, 159.

Burbān i Kāṭī', 214, 215.

Būstān, 251 to 257, 275.

Chess, Treatise on, 211.

Commonplace books of Poetry, 325, 343, 344.

Counsels of Nushīrvān the Just, 349.

Dabistān, 12.

Dībāchah Shah Nāmah i Firdausī, 345.

Divān i Hāfiẓ, 265 to 275.

Divān i Jāmī, 277.

Divān i Kalim, 287.

Divān i Khusrau, 350.

Divān i Mīr Rāzi ud-Dīn, 298.

Divān i Mīrzā Ahsan, 307.

- Dīvān i Mirzā Faṣīhī, 286.
 Dīvān i Mirzā Sayyid Muḥammad, 308.
 Dīvān i Muẓaffar, 288.
 Dīvān i Najib ud-Dīn, 306.
 Dīvān i Naṣir 'Alī, 309.
 Dīvān i Ni'mat-Ullah, 299.
 Dīvān i Riyāzī, 314.
 Dīvān i Sā'ib, 285.
 Dīvān i Urfī, 283.
- Farhang, 218, 219.
 Farhang i Jahāngīrī, 217.
 Farhang i Rashīdī, 216.
 Favā'id i Ṣafaviyyah, 146.
 Fihrist i Katab Kitābkhāna Sirkār, 235.
 Fihrist i Kitabhā, 236.
 Futūḥ A'sam, 21.
- Gul u Naurūz, 316.
 Gulistān, 259 to 262.
 Gulistān, Arabic Sentences in, 223.
 Gulshan i Ibrāhīmī, 61 to 65.
- Ḥabīb us-Siyar, 46 to 54.
 Ḥadīkat ul-'Ālam, 81.
 Haft Aurang i Jāmī, 276.
 Ḥaḳīkat i Binā u 'Urūj Daulat i Rājahāi Sitārah, 69.
 Ḥaḳīkat i Bina u 'Urūj i Firḳah i Sikhān, 69.
 Ḥaḳīkat i Rājahāi Mutafarrikah i Hindūstān, 69.
 Ḥaḳīkat i Rājahāi Ūjjain, 69.
 Ḥamlah i Ḥaidarī, 311, 312.
 Hastīnapūr, Account of Early Rājahs of, 69.
 Hazār u yak Shab, 338.
 Hidāyah Fārsī, 6.
 History of Hindustān from Aurangzib to Muḥammad Shāh,
 345.
 Horticulture, Treatise on, 212.
 Ḥujjat ul-Hind, 7.

Ḥukm Nāmah i Tipū Sultān, 167.

Humāi Humāyūn, 301, 302.

‘Ibrat Nāmah, 109.

Ikbāl Nāmah Jahāngīrī, 125.

‘Imād us-Sa‘ādat, 91.

Inscriptions on Mosques and Buildings at Shāhjahānabād, 351.

Inscriptions from Mosques and other Buildings, 174.

Inshā i Harkarn, 225, 226, 348.

Inshā i Latīf, 227.

Inshā i Mirza Mahdī Khān, 228.

Intikhāb i Akhbār i Navāb Vazīr ul-Mamālik Bahādūr
u Intikhāb i Akhbār i Durbār Mu‘alla u Aṭraf, 92.

Intikhāb i Akhbār i Durbār i Navāb Vazīr ul-Mamālik Āṣaf
ud-Daulah Bahādūr, 93.

Intikhāb Maḡnavi i Mulvī Ma‘navī Muḥammad Jalāl
ud-Din, 294.

Iskandar Nāmah, 249, 250.

‘Iyār i Dānish, 330, 331.

Jahāngīr Nāmah, 114, 122, 123.

Jāmi‘ i ‘Abbāsī, 8.

Jāmi‘ ul-Hikāyat, 334 to 337, 341, 342.

Jāmi‘ ul-Kavānin, 233.

Jūg Bāshisht, 16.

Kalīlah u Dimnah, 329.

Ḳaṣā‘id i Faṭḥ ‘Alī Khān, 289.

Ḳaṣā‘id i ‘Urfī, 284.

Ḳaṣīdah dar Marāḥ Navāb Governor-General Bahādūr, 324.

Khamsah i Amīr Khusrāu, 281.

Khamsah i Nizāmī, 246, 247.

Khizānah i ‘Āmirah, 166.

Khulāṣat ul-Akbār, 45.

Khulāṣat ut-Tavārikh, 66, to 68.

Khusrāu u Shīrin 244, 245.

Khutūṭ i Sivājī, 71.

Ḳiṣṣa Dilrabā, 340.

Kitāb Intazām i Hiyat, 185.
 Kitāb Mafatiḥ ul-A'jāz fi Sharḥ Gulshan i Rāz, 317.
 Kitāb Maṣnaviyāt Zafar Khān, 310.
 Kitāb Mirzabān Nāmaha 318.
 Kitāb al-Mu'jam fi Aṣār Mulūk ul-'Ajam, 139.
 Kitāb Munājāt Ḥaẓrat Khwājah 'Abd Allah Anṣārī, 350.
 Kitāb i Vākī'at uz barāi Imām Ḥusain, 319.
 Korān, Notes on, 1, 2, 3, 4.
 Kulliyāt i Khākānī, 297.
 Kulliyāt i Sa'dī, 260 to 262.

Laṭīfah i Faizī, 347.
 Lavāmi' ul-Ishrāk, 192.
 Letter from Shāh 'Alam to the King of England, 69.
 Copies of Letters, Accounts, etc., 173.
 Letter Writing, Treatise on, 237.

Ma'āsir i 'Alamgīrī, 136.
 Ma'āsir ul-Umarā, 104 to 108.
 Ma'āsir i Sultāniyah, 151, 152.
 Mādḥūrāo Pēshvā, Account of, 69.
 Mahābhārat, 14, 15.
 Majma' ul-Ansāb, 28.
 Majma' ul-Inshā, 230.
 Majmal ul-Ḥikmat, 184.
 Majmū'ah Sha'ra, 320 to 323.
 Makātabāt i 'Allāmī, 229.
 Makhzan ul-Adviyat, 198 to 202.
 Makhzan Afghānī, 72.
 Makhzan ul-Asrār, 248.
 Malfūzāt i Timūrī, 96.
 Manākib ul-Murtazavī, 20.
 Masir i Ṭalibī, 177.
 Maṣnavī i Jalāl ud-Dīn Rūmī, 291 to 293.
 Maṭlā us-Sa'dain u Majmā ul-Baḥrain, 99.
 Māvārā un-Nahr, History of Sultans of, 161.
 Mihr u Mushtarī, 303, 304.
 Military Accounts, a Book, 172.

- Minu Khirad, 315.
 Mir'āt i Āftāb Numā, 58.
 Mir'at i Aḥmadī, 82 to 85.
 Mir'at ul-'Ālam, 57.
 Mir'āt i Daulat 'Abbāsī, 90.
 M'ūaliyāt Dārā Shikūhī, 195 to 197.
 Mufarriḥ ul-Kulūb, 339.
 Mulakkhkaṣ, 129.
 Muntakhab ul-Lubāb, 102, 103.
 Muntakhab al-Lughat Duncani, 220.
 Muntakhab i Tavārīkh i Bahri, 78.

 Nagāristān, 55.
 Nal Daman, 313.
 Nān u Ḥalvā, 293.
 Nasab Nāmāh i Afāghinah u Kaiḥiyat i Ḥukūmat Ānḥā, 74.
 Naubahār i 'Ajām, 221.
 Nishān i Ḥaidarī u Khurūj u Nuzūl i Daulat i Tīpū Sulṭān,
 87.
 Nuzhat ul-Arvāḥ, 10, 11.
 Nuzhat ul-Kulūb, 182, 183.

 Pādshāh Nāmāh, 126 to 128.
 Pand Nāmāh, 264.
 Panj Ganj, 246, 247.
 Prayers, 4.
 Pushtu Language, Dictionary of, 222.

 Rauzat al-Aḥbāb fī Siyar un-Nabī u ul-Āl u ul-Aṣḥāb,
 18, 19.
 Rauzat us-Safā, 29 to 44.
 Religious Ceremonies and Duties, 5.
 Riḳ'aāt i Jāmī, 346.
 Risāl Vaṣūl, 348.
 Risālah i Ansāb Afāghinah, 75.
 Risālah i Ḥasaniyyah, 13.
 Risālah i Mister Wilford, 176.
 Risālah Muḥṭavī bar Rasūm i Kadkhadāi, 169, 170.

- Rasālah i Tadābir Shāh u Vazīr, 155.
 Risālat Ilm Mūsikī, 210.
 Risālat dar bayān Aṭā'mah, 213.
 Risālat Jihād, 208.
 Risālat Mākūl u Mashrūb, 205.
 Risālat Shaikh Sa'dī, 263.
 Risālat Tadbīr ul-Harb, 209.
 Riyāz ul-Firdaus, 138.
- Sabhat ul-Abrār, 278, 279.
 Ṣaḥīfā Shāhī, 234.
 Shāh Jahān, Description of the Tomb of, 175.
 Shāh Jahān Nāmah, 129.
 Shāhjahānabād, Description of Public Buildings and Copies of Inscriptions at, 181.
 Shāhjahānabād, Account of the coming of Nādir Shāh to, 351.
 Shāhjahānabād, Account of the Inscriptions on the Mosques and other Buildings, 351.
 Shāh Nāmah, 238 to 243.
 Shāh Nāmah i Shāh Ismā'il, 300.
 Sharaf Nāmah, 158.
 Sharḥ Maṣnavī, 9.
 Sikhs, a Short History of, 74.
 Siyar i Hazrat Kalīm ur-Raḥman Mūsī, 17.
 Siyar ul-Muta'akhhirīn, 110 to 113.
 Sufi Doctrines in the Divān of Ḥāfiz, Terms relating to, 223.
- Ṭabakāt i Akbarshāhī, 59.
 Ṭabakāt i Nāshirī, 25.
 Ta'bīr i Khavāb, 207.
 Ta'bīr Nāmah, 206.
 Tafsīr, 1, 2.
 Tārīkh i Banākitī, 26, 27.
 Tārīkh i Firishtah, 61 to 65.
 Tārīkh i Ḥaqqī, 60.
 Tārīkh i Hasht Bahist, 156.

- Tārīkh i Iṣfahān 180.
 Tārīkh i Iskandar zu Karnīn, 333.
 Tārīkh i Khāfi Khān, 102, 103.
 Tārīkh i Jahān Ārā, 153, 154.
 Tārīkh i Jahāngīr Nāmāh Salīmī, 114, 122, 123.
 Tārīkh i Mahārājah Ranjīt Singh, 89.
 Tārīkh i Manṣūrī, 93a.
 Tārīkh i Muḥammadi, 149, 150.
 Tārīkh Mukhtaṣar dar Vaqā'a fath i Kastāntīniyah, 157.
 Tārīkh i Nādirī, 147, 148.
 Tārīkh Nāmāh, 162.
 Tārīkh i Nasab Nāmāh i Aḥmad Shāh Durrāni, 73.
 Tārīkh i Nizām 'Alī Khān u Nāṣir Jung, 79.
 Tārīkh i Pādshāhān i 'Ajam, 137.
 Tārīkh i Sind, 70.
 Tārīkh i Sultān Muḥammad Ḳutbshāhī, 80.
 Tārīkh i Ṭabari, 22, 23, 24.
 Tavārīkh i Narshakhī, 159.
 Tazkirah i Aḥwāl i Salāṭīn i Bijāpūr, 76.
 Tazkirah Aṣār i Sung Mazār, 204.
 Tazkirah i Muḳīm Khānī, 160.
 Tazkirat i Daulat Shāhī, 163 to 165.
 Tazkirat us-Salāṭīn i Chaghatā, 100, 101.
 Tazkirat ush-Shu'ara, 163 to 165.
 Tīmūr Nāmāh u Ismā'il Nāmāh, 305.
 Tipū Sultān, Regulations of his Treasury, 168.
 ——— Description of Seals, Flags, Standards, Incriptions, etc., used by, 171.
 Tipū Sultan, Register of Accounts of Military Expenditure of, 88.
 Tracts, various, 349.
 Tuḥfat ul-'Irāqain, 295, 296.
 Tuḥfat ul-Mūminīn, 203.
 Tuḥfat ul-Sultāniyah, 348.
 Tūzak i Jahāngīrī, 124.
 Tūzak i Tīmūrī, 97, 98.
 Yūsuf u Zulaikha, 280.

Zafar Nāmah, 94, 95.

Zara't Nāmah, 193.

Zubd ut-Tarikh, or Zubdat ut-Tavārikh, 56.

HINDUSTANI.

Chahār Darwish, 11, 12.

Ganj i Khūbī, 6.

Gulshan i Hind, 10.

Gulshan i 'Ishq, 8.

Gulzār Chīn, 13.

Kulliyāt i Sauda, 7.

Majma' ul-Intikhāb, 9.

Rauzat ul-Shuhada, 4.

Risālah Kā'nāt, 3.

Sāds, Religion of, 1.

Shigurf Nāmah i Vilāyat, 2.

Tipū Sulṭān and the Mahrattas, War between, 5.

TURKISH—WORKS.

Charms, etc., A Book of, 26.

Divān i 'Azizī, 34.

Divān i Bākī, 35.

Divān i Emrī, 33.

Divān i Khayālī, 36.

Divān i Muḥammedī, 31.

Divān i Neylī, 38.

Divān i Sirrī má Divān i Nāẓim, 37.

Fetāvā i 'Alī Efendī, 3.

Food, Tract on articles of, 43.

Genjineh i Rāz, 32.

Gulshen i Efkār, 41.

Humāyūn Nāmeḥ, 42.

'Ibret Nāmeḥ, 30.

Intikhāb i Shāh Nāmeḥ, 29.

'Ishrāt Nāmeḥ, 30.

Kitāb i 'Ilm i Nāfi, 4.

Kitāb i Uṣūl, 39.

Mizān ul-Ḥaḡḡ fī Ikhtyār il-Aḡḡḡ, 43.

Munshē'āt i Nābi Efendī, 25.

Nevādir ul-Emṣāl, 27.

Ottoman Sultans, History of the reign of the first twelve, 13.

Ottomans and Venetians, Account of a Fight between, 18.

Religious Tracts, 1.

Sa'ādet Nāmeḥ, 6.

es-Seba' us-Seyyār, 19.

Sefāret Nāmeḥ i Resmī Efendī, 24.

Seyāḡat Nāmeḥ i Evliyā Chelebī, 22, 23.

Sherḡ i Būstān, 28.

Shu'arā, 40.

Tāj ut-Tevāriḡh, 14, 15.

Tāriḡh i 'Izzī, 10, 11.

Tāriḡh i Miṣr i Faḡḡ Sultān Selīm Khān, 17.

Tāriḡh i Na'imā, 12.

Tāriḡh i Nishānji Efendī, 5.

Tāriḡh i Rāshid, 8, 9.

Tāriḡh i Subḡī, 10.

Terjumeḡh i Futūḡ ush-Shām, 7.

Tevāriḡh i Sultān Suleimān Khān, 16.

Tezkerit ush-Shu'arā, 20, 21.

Vaṣiyyet i Birgili, 1, 2.

INDEX—AUTHORS.

ARABIC.

- 'Abd ar-Rashīd at-Tattawī, 41.
 Abū 'Amrū 'Uthmān, 39.
 Avicenna, 36.
- al-Fāriḍ, Ibn, 42.
- Grassi, Guiseppo, 37.
- Ḥafṣ 'Umar ibn al-Wardī, 30.
 al-Hamadānī, Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan, 32.
- Ibn Ajarrūm, Abū 'Abd Allah Muḥammad, as-Ṣanhājī, 38.
 Ibn Ḥājib, 39.
 Ibn Sīnā, Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusain ibn 'Abd Allah, 36.
- al-Jaghminī, Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad, 34.
 al-Jurjānī, Abū Bakr 'Abd al-Kāhir, 38.
- al-Kazwīnī, 45.
 Khalīl ibn Ishāq al-Mālikī, Shaikh, 24.
 al-Kharshī, Muḥammad, 23.
- Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf as-Sanūsī al-Ḥasanī, 48.
- Rashīd ad-Dīn ibn 'Imād ad-Daulah Abūl-Khair ibn
 Muwāfik ad-Daulah, 26, 27.
 ar-Rāzī, Imām, 20.
 ar-Rāzī, Kutb ad-Dīn Maḥmūd, 35.
- Sayid al-Ḥakīm as-Samarḳandī, 46.
 Sharaf ad-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar ibn 'Alī, 42.
 ash-Sharif Jurjānī, 35.
- at-Tabrīzī, Muhammad Ṣāliḥ, 22.
 at-Tūsī, Muhammad ibn al-Ḥasan, 19.

al-Wardī, 30.

Zaīn ad-Dīn al-Ma'barī, Shaikh, 28.

PERSIAN.

'Abbās Khān Sarvānī, 75.

'Abd Ullah Anṣārī, 350.

'Abd Ullah ben Hājī Muḥammad Mazāndarānī, 204.

'Abd ul-Ḥaḳḳ ben Saif ud-Dīn Dihlavī, called Ḥaḳḳī, 60.

'Abd ul-Ḥamīd Lāhaurī, 126, 127, 128.

'Abd al-Ḥayy Khān called Ṣamṣām ul-Mulk, 108.

'Abd un-Nabī, Kāzī, 78.

'Abd ur-Rashīd, 290.

'Abd ur-Rashīd ben 'Abd ul-Ghafūr Tatavī, 216.

'Abd ur-Razzāk ben Jalāl ad-Dīn Ishaḳ as-Samarḳandī,
Kamāl ud-Dīn, 99.

'Abd ur-Razzāk Najaf Kulī, 151, 152.

Abūl-Faḳl Ḥusain ut-Taflatī, 206.

Abūl-Faḳl ben Mubārak, surnamed 'Allāmī 114 to 121, 229,
306, 307.

Abūl Ḥasan ben Ibrahīm Kazvīnī, 146.

Abūl Ḳāsim ben Razī ud-Dīn ul-Musavi, called Mir
'Ālam, 81.

Abūl Ma'ālī Naṣr Ullah, 329.

Abū Ṭālib ben Muḥammad Iṣfahānī, 177.

Abū 'Umar 'Uṣmān ben Muḥammad ul-Minhāj ben Sirāj
ul-Jūzjānī, 25.

Aḥsan, Mirzā, 307.

'Alī ben Aḥmad ben Abū Bakr, 260, 263.

'Alī Muḥammad Khān, 82 to 85.

'Allāmī, 116 to 123, 229, 306, 307.

'Aṣṣār Tabrīzī, Muḥammad, 303, 304.

Aṭā Ullah Rashīdī ben Aḥmad Nādir, 194.

Āzād Ḥusani Vāsiti Balgrāmī, Ghulām 'Alī, 164 to 166.

Bahā ud-Dīn Muḥammad 'Āmilī, 8.

Bakht Māl, 74.

- Bakhtāvar Khān, Muḥammad, 57.
 ul-Baʿamī, Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad, 22, 23, 24.
 ul-Banākitī, Abū Sulaimān Dāʿūd, 26, 27.
 Bāzil, Muḥammad Rafīʿ, 311, 312.
 Burhān, Muḥammad Ḥusain, 214, 215.
- Daulat Rāi, Lālah, 90.
 Daulat Shāh ben ʿAlā ud-Daulah ul-Bakhtīshāh ul-Ghāzi
 us-Samarḳandī, 163.
 Davānī, Jalāl ud-Dīn, 192.
- Faiẓī, Shaikh Abūl-Faiẓ, 313, 347.
 Faṣīhī Haravī, 286.
 Faṭḥ ʿAlī Khān Kāshī, 289.
 Faṭḥ Ullah Naīb Bahā ud-Dīn, 1, 2.
 Faẓl Ullah ben ʿAbd Ullah ul-Kazvīnī, 139.
 Firdausī Tūsī, Abūl-Ḳāsim, 238 to 243.
 Firishtah, Muḥammad Ḳāsim Hindūshāh Astrābādī, 61 to 65.
- ul-Ghaffārī, Aḥmad ben Muḥammad, 55.
 Ghulām ʿAlī, 104 to 108, 164, 165, 166.
 Ghulām ʿAlī Khān Naḳavī, 91.
 Ghulam Ḥusain Khān Ṭabāṭabāʿī, Mīr, 110 to 113.
 Gulandām, Muḥammad, 265, 266, 274, 275.
- Ḥāfiẓ Shirāzi, Shams ud-Dīn Muḥammad, 265 to 275.
 Ḥaḳḳī, 60.
 Ḥamd Ullah ul-Kazvīnī, 182, 183.
 Harkarn, son of Mathurādas Multāni, 225, 226, 348.
 Ḥasan ben Gūl Muḥammad, 348.
 Ḥātifi, 305.
 Ḥusain ʿAlī Khān Kirmāni, Mīr, 87.
 Ḥusain ben Muḥammad ul-ʿAlavī, 180.
 Ḥusain Vāʿiz Kāshifī, 186, 187, 234, 237, 238.
 ul-Ḥusaini, Ḥusain ben ʿĀlim, 10, 11.
- Ibn Sayyid us-Sind Muḥammad Ḥādī ul-Afilī ul-Ḥalavī
 Muḥammad Ḥusain, 198 to 202.
 Ibrāhīm ben Walī Ullah Astrābādī, 13.

'Tbrat, 109.

Idris ben Ḥusām ud-Dīn Bidlīsī, 156.

Imām ud-Dīn Ḥusainī, 73.

'Ināyat Khān, Muḥammad Ṭāhir, 129.

Iskandar Munshi, 140 to 145.

Jahāngīr Shāh, Nūr ud-Dīn, 114, 123, 124.

Jalāl ud-Dīn Davānī, 192.

Jalāl ud-Dīn Muḥammad Rūmī, 291 to 294.

Jalāl Ṭabīb, 316.

Jamāl ud-Dīn 'Aṭa Ullah ben Faḍl Ullah ush-Shīrāzī
un-Nīshābūrī, 18, 19.

Jamāl ud-Dīn Ḥusain Injū, 217.

Jāmī, Nūr ud-Dīn 'Abd ur-Raḥman, 276 to 280, 346.

Kalim, Abū Ṭālib Hamadānī, 287.

Kamāl ben Jalāl, 56.

Kamāl ud-Dīn 'Abd ur Razzāk ben Jalāl ud-Dīn Ishaq
us-Samarqandī, 99.

Kāmvār Khān, 100, 101.

Kashfī, Mīr Muḥammad Ṣālih, 20.

ul-Kāshifī, Husain Vā'iz, 186, 187, 234, 326 to 328.

Ḳāsimī, Mīrzā Ḳāsim, 300.

Ḳazvinī, 178.

Kbāfī Khān, Mīr Muḥammad Hāshim, 102, 103.

Khāḳānī, Afzal ud-Dīn, 295 to 297.

Khalīfah Shāh Muḥammad, 233.

Khusrau Dihlavī, 281, 282, 350.

Khwājū Kirmānī, 301, 302.

Khwānd Amīr, 45 to 54.

Laṭīf, 227.

Mahdī Khān, Muḥammad Mahdī Astrābādī, 147, 148

Mahdī Khān, Mīrza, 228.

Maḥmūd, 264.

Makbil, 320.

Marzabān ben Shirvīn, 318.

Marzabān Rāvanī, 315.

- Mihrābī, Ibn 'Umar, 7.
 Minhāj ben Sirāj Jūzjānī, 25.
 Mir 'Ālam, 81.
 Mir Khwānd, Muḥammad ben Khāwand Shāh ben Maḥmūd,
 22 to 44.
 Miskin, 320.
 Mūbad Shāh, 12.
 Mughāl Beg, 176.
 Muḥammad Amīn ben Abūl-Ḥasan Kaḏvīnī, 126.
 Muḥammad ben Aḥmad Mustaufī Haravī, 21.
 Muḥammad ben 'Alī ben Muḥammad, 28.
 Muḥammad ben 'Umar, 159.
 Muḥammad Faḏl, of Lahore, 212.
 Muḥammad Hādī, surnamed Kāmṡār Khān, 100, 101, 124.
 Muḥammad Ḥusain ben Khalaf ut-Tabrīzī, called Burhān,
 214, 215.
 Muḥammad Ibrāhīm uz-Zubairī, 77.
 Muḥammad Kaḏīm Ḥusainī, Sayyid, called 'Ibrat, 109.
 Muḥammad Kāzim ben Muḥammad Amīn Munshī, 131 to 135.
 Muḥammad Maḥdī ush-Shīrvānī ul-Ansārī, 157.
 Muḥammad M'aḡum, 70.
 Muḥammad, Mir, 9.
 Muḥammad Mirak ben Maḡ'ūd ul-Ḥusainī, 138.
 Muḥammad Mūmin Ḥusainī, 203.
 Muḥammad Rafī', surnamed Bāzil, 311, 312.
 Muḥammad Ṣādiḡ Bahbahānī, 220.
 Muḥammad Ṣādiḡ Marvazī, 153, 154.
 Muḥammad Ṣāliḡ Kanbū, 130.
 Muḥammad Ṣāliḡ Kashifī, Mir, 20.
 Muḥammad Ṭāhir ben Abūl-Kāḏīm, 179.
 Muḥammad Taḡī us-Sāru'ī, 149, 150.
 Muḥammad Yūsuf Munshī ben Khājah Baḡā, 160.
 Muḡsin Fānī, 12.
 M'uin ud-Dīn Haratī, 17.
 Mukhtar Khānī, 340.
 Musta'idd Khān, Muḥammad Sāḡī, 136.
 Mu'tamad Khān, Muḥammad Sharīf, 125.
 Muḡaffar, 288.

- Najib ud-Dīn, 306.
 Nāmī, 70.
 Nāṣir 'Alī, 309.
 Nāṣir ud-Dīn Muḥammad ut-Ṭūsī, 188 to 191.
 Naṣr Ullah ben Muḥammad ul-Kirmānī, 5.
 Nāzīr Sīdī Dārāb 'Alī Khān, 93A.
 Ni'mat Ullah, Amīr Nūr ud-Dīn, 299.
 Ni'mat Ullah ben Ḥabīb Ullah, 72.
 Nizām ud-Dīn Aḥmad ben Muḥammad Muḥim ul-Haravī, 59.
 Nizāmi Ganjavī, Nizām ud-Dīn Muḥammad Ilyās ben Yūsuf,
 244 to 250.
 Nūr ud-Dīn Muḥammad 'Abd Ullah Hakīm, 195 to 197.
 Nūshīrvān, 349.

 Pogson, Major, 185.

 Rāzī ud-Dīn, Mīr, 298.
 Riyāzī, 314.

 S'ad ul-Varāmīnī, 318.
 Sa'dī Shīrāzī, Musharrif ud-Dīn, 251, to 264, 275.
 Sā'ib, Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Alī, 285.
 Ṣamsām ud-Daulah Shāhnavāz Khān Khwāfī Aurangābādī,
 104 to 108.
 Sanjān, or Sujan Rāī Munshī, 66 to 68.
 Sangīn Beg, son of 'Alī Akbar Beg, 351.
 us-Sāru'ī, 149, 150.
 Sayyid 'Alī Naḳī Khān, 237.
 Sayyid Muḥammad, 308.
 Sayyid Muḥammad ut-Tabātabāī ul-Iṣfahānī, 74.
 Shāhnavāz Khān, 104 to 108.
 Shāhnavāz Khān Hāshīmī Banbānī Dihlavī, 'Abd ur-Raḥmān,
 58.
 Sharaf ben Shams ud-Dīn, 158.
 Sharaf ud-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, 94, 95.
 Sūhan La'l, Munshī, 89.

 Ṭālib ul-Ḥusainī, Abū, 96.

'Urfi Shirāzī, 283, 284.

Yūsuf ben Muḥammad, called Yūsufi, 231.

Zafar Khān ben Abūl Ḥasan, 310.

HINDUSTANI.

'Alī Luṭf, Mīrza, 10.

Amman, Mīr, 6.

Bhawānī Das, 1.

'Itisam ud-Dīn, Mīrza, 2.

Karam' Alī, Shaikh, 9.

Khalil 'Alī Khān Ashk, 3.

Muḥammad Rafī, 7.

Naṣratī, 8.

Sauda, 7.

TURKISH.

'Abd ul-Laṭīf, 20.

Aḥmed ben Zenbel, 17.

'Alī Chelebī, 42.

'Alī Efendī, 3.

'Azizi, 34.

Bākī, 'Abd ul-, 35.

Birgili, 1, 2.

Emrī, Emr Ullāh, 33.

Evliyā Chelebī, 22.

Ḥāji Khalīfah, 43.

'Izzī, Suleimān, 10, 11.

Kātib, Chelebī, 43.

Khayālī, 36.

Khojah Efendî, 14, 15.

Ḳinalî Zâdeh, 21.

Latîfî, 20.

Muḥammed Nishânjî, 5.

Muḥammed ben Pîr 'Alî, 1, 2.

Muḥammed Rashîd Efendî, 8, 9.

Muḥammed ben Yûsuf Cherkesî, 7.

Nâbî Efendî, 25.

Nâ'imâ, 12.

Nâzîm, 37.

Neylî, 38.

Rashîd Efendî, Muhammed, 8, 9.

Resmî Efendî, Hâjî Aḥmed, 24.

Rûmî Efendî, 1.

S'ad ud-Dîn ben Ḥasan Jân, 14, 15.

Seyyid Muḥammed Rizâ, 19.

Shem'î, Mustâfa, 28.

Sirrî, 37.

Solâḳ Zâdeh Muḥammed Hemdemî, 13.

Subhî Muḥammed, 10.

Suheilî, 17.

Suleimân 'Izzî, 10, 11.

Yahya Beg, 32.

Yahya Efendî, 39.

Zâdeh Efendî, Ḳâzî, 1.

LIST OF
THE TIBETAN MSS. AND PRINTED BOOKS

IN THE

LIBRARY OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,

BY

H. WENZEL, PH.D.

MANUSCRIPTS.

- (I.) Damamūsho (*sic!*) ལྔའུན་པུན་མཚན་པུན་བཟོ་བཟོ་མཚོ་མཚོ་ [Mdo xxviii. 1, Feer, p. 283], fol. 300, line 7. Miniatures of Çākya-rāja, Maitreya, Çuddhodana, Māyā (?), and, on last leaf, *Guru señ-ge · sgra · sgrogs* and *Gcug · gtor rnam · par rgyal ma*. 22 by 7½. (Presented by Hodgson, 1833.)
- (II.) 26 by 8½. Fol. 315 (desunt 68–126 incl.), line 8. Begins: Arya daça dig andhakara bhiddhansananama mahayāna sutra¹ (*sic!*), ‘in Tibetan.’ The ‘venerable treatise of the great vehicle called the entire chacing of the darkness of the ten regions.’ (See Mdo xxii. 3, Feer, p. 272.) Vol. marked ར་ (ra, *i.e.* 25). Fol. 9. Arya meitraya prasthāna nama mahayana sutra (*sic.*), Tib.: the entry (?) of Maitreya.
- (III.) 26 by 8½. Lines 8.
- (1) Sign ཅ (ña=?) , fol. 2–6, begin and end incomplete, no title.
 - (2) Sign ཅ (ña=4), fol. 81–150, begin and end incomplete, no title. On fol. 100^b begins a ‘sixth book.’ Fol. 185–204 (on 204, 11 book).
 - (3) Sign ཅ (cha=6), fol. 33–166 (fol. 37^b, book 4; 40, ‘fourth chapter, the showing of examples’).
 - (4) Sign ཅ (r=25), fol. 68–126.

¹ The Sanscrit titles are given exactly as found in the Tibetan transliteration.

(IV.) 22½ by 8¼. Lines 8. Silk labels with embroidered 'Book 1,' etc. (Hodgson). Çatasahasrika prajñāpāramitā, title in gold on blue under silk.

Vol. 1. (ྐ) fol. 283.	Vol. 10. (མ) fol. 327.
„ 2. (ྑ) „ 320.	„ 11. (ྒ) „ 296.
„ 3. (ྒ) „ 276.	„ 12. (ྒྷ) „ 334.
„ 4. (ྔ) „ 324.	„ 13. (ྔ) „ 303.
„ 5. (ྕ) „ 300.	„ 14. (ྕ) deest.
„ 6. (ྖ) } desunt.	„ 15. (ྖ) „ 340.
„ 7. (ྗ) }	„ 16. (ྗ) „ 316.
„ 8. (྘) „ 250.	„ 17. (྘) „ 317.
„ 9. (ྙ) deest.	

(V.) Line 5. Fragments, negligently written on coarse paper.

- (1) Sign ྐ (2). Fol. 25, 30–33, 41.
- (2) Sign ྑ (14). Fol. 3, 20 (?), 23–30, 32, 34.
- (3) Sign ྒ (17). Fol. 6–12. Firm writing.
- (4) Subhabusmatamgha, *Gser od dam · pai sna rgai gruns*. Fol. 14, lines 6 (desunt 4, 11), signed W (24), and, from fol. 7 on, I. (25).
- (5) Çatasahasrikā prajñā pāramita. Fol. 2.
- (6) Fol. 1. End leaf, number 10, lines 2.
- (7) Vajracchedikā. Fol. 1.
- (8) Vajracchedikā. Title white in black. 1 fol., and 16 stray leaves from different works.

(VI.) 15½ by 4. 5 lines (3 black and 2 red, interchanging). Fol. 3–7, 9–11, 13–15, 17, 18, 20, 22–28, 30–47 (end). Vajracchidikā—ink in places very much faded.

(VII.) Ārya bhadracarya pranidhānarāja · phags · pa bzan · po spyod · pa smou · lam · gyi rgyal · po [Phalchen 45, Feer, p. 212]. Fol. 9, lines 6. 15½ by 4½.

- (VIII.) Sarvadurgati pariṣodhani tejo rāja ya (*sic!*) tathāgata arahate samyag-sambuddhasya kalpa namo [Rgyud ix, 1, 2, Feer, p. 306]. 8¼ by 3½. Lines 5 (3 silver, two gold, alternately) on blue. Fol. 1-4, 6-10, 12-26, 28-33, 36-88, 91, 92, 95-128, 130-152, 155-185 (end).
- (IX.) Ārya vajracchedikā prajñāparamita ghuna dhora sutra (*sic!*). *Rdo rje geod · pai phan yon bṣad · pai · mdo* (*i.e.* 'Sūtra explaining the usefulness of the Vajracchedikā'). Fol. 12. 20¼ by 7¾. Lines 8.
- (X.) *Sdig · pa thams · chad bṣags · pai · mdo* ('Sūtra of the confession of sins'). 20¼ by 7. Fol. 5, line 8.
- (XI.) Ārya pradha jñana nama mahāyana sutra (*sic!*). *phags pa nda · ga ye · ces zhes · bya · va theg · pa chen · poi mdo* ('Sūtra on the knowledge of death'). Fol. 3. 19½ by 6. Lines 5. Signed *Ga* (iii).
- (XII.) Ārya mañjuṣrī nama saṅgiti. Fol. 20. 17 by 6. Line 6 (*phags pa jam · dpal · gyi mḥan yañ · dag · par brjod · pa*).
- (XIII.) *Byañ · chub ltuñ · va bṣags · pa* ('The Bodhi (satvas) confession of their faults.') This on front and at end, on fol. 5. On fol 1^b. Trikaṅka sutri (*sic!*). *Puñ · po gum · pai mdo* (*sic!*) (Sūtra of the three Skandhas.) Fol. 5. 19½ by 6. Lines 6.
- (XIV.) *Gḍug · tor nag · mo* ('The black turban' or rather 'She with the bl. t.'). On fol. 1^b. *Dema hebhi maheṣara* (*sic!*). *Lha · mo · rol · par byed · pa* ('The play of the goddess?') Signed *Cha* (vi.) Fol. 3 (incomplete). 19 by 5¾. Lines 5.
- (XV.) Bhagavati ushṇisha vijaya nama dharani. Fol. 3 (incomplete). Sign *Ja* (=vii.) 19½ by 6. Lines 5.
- (XVI.) 19 by 7¼. Lines 7. Fol. 83-91, 94, 100 (P200), 117, 123-132 (the same fol. numbered 132 and 133), 169, 186-194, 201, 202, 208-211, 213-234 (incomplete). Signed *Ka* (i.) On fol. 89^a. *Klu · bum dkar · po* of which a German translation by Schiefner was published in the St. Petersburg Academy ('Das weisse Nāga Hunderttausend.') It is preceded here apparently by another work on the *Bon* religion.

- (XVIb.) Four stray leaves, whereof two belong together. 17½ by 3.
- (XVII.) *Rje bla · mai gsol · debs dga · ldan lha rgya · ma* ('The Rev. Lama's prayer, (called?) Steelyard of the Tushita gods.') Fol. 3. 13 by 3½.
- (XVIII.) *Mkha_gro bcu skor · gyi mo dpe snañ gsal ñi · mai dkyil khor* ('Circle of the sun, illustrating the ten divisions of Dākinī's'). 9¾ by 2¾. Fol. 32 (stitched at small side, and written straight on like European book). Lines 6.

Cursive.

All the following MSS. are written in Cursive; mostly of the 'stiff' kind :

- (XIX.) 16½ by 4½. Fol. 30. In dark green cloth cover.
- (1) *Lha · bsañs bar chad kun sel gser skyem dan bcas · pa* ('That with the gold drink, dissolving all impediments withstanding (?) the gods'). Lines 7. On Fol. 15, 16. Magical diagrams (a hand, circle, square, human body, scales, scene of adoration, etc.), with explanation (in running hand). Fol. 17, 18, 19a. Badly written flying cursive.
- (2) Fol. 29, 30a. Coarsely written cursive.
- (XX.) 18 by 3. Lines 7 and 8. *Bde mchog mkha_groi sñam rdud las . . lhancig skyes · mai* Sign in margin *Ya* (xxvi.). Fol. 11 (incomplete).
- (XXI.) Running hand. 17½ by 3½. Fol. 4. Lines 7. *di na Nāro poi upade çao.* ('Herein is (contained) Nāro's counsel.') See Print xiv.
- (XXII.) 17¾ by 3. Lines 8. Title (in Dbucan): *Ti lo gzhuñ chuñgi_grel · pa mkhas · pa dga byed mthoñ · va don grub shes bya · va.*
- Two miniature portraits. Margin signed *Om*. Fol. 1, 2, 4-12 (incomplete).
- (XXIII.) 18½ by 3. Lines 7. *Sñan · rgyud — rkaiñ · gi sa bcad ma rig mun sel shib . mo bkod pa shes · bya · va.* Fol. 5 (incomplete).

- (XXIV.) $18\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{1}{4}$. Lines 7. Begins: *Rta nag rcan dgod*, etc. Fol. 3 (incomplete).
- (XXV.) $17\frac{2}{3}$ by 3 (and little smaller).
- (1) *Bla · ma dgoñs · pa dus pa las — — — thus sgrubs gsal byod thugs · kyi nor · bui bsgrub · pa dan las sbyor*. Fol. 1 (incomplete).
 - (2) *Rdo · rje rnam · par jom · pa zhes bya · va*. Fol. 1 (incomplete).
 - (3) Incomplete; without title. Lines 7. Fol. 10, 11, 13–24.
 - (4) *Opal ze-ces · kyi mgon · po phyag bzhi pai chog sgrigs*. Fol. 13 (incomplete).
 - (5) Incomplete. Fol. 9–13 (end). Lines 7.
 - (6) Incomplete. Fol. 2–5. Sign, *Ja* (=vii). Coarse writing.
 - (7) *Gzhad · pa*. Fol. 2 (incomplete).
 - (8) Incomplete. Fol. 3–4 (end). Lines 8.
 - (9) Incomplete. Fol. 22–24 (end). Lines 7.
 - (10) *Bla · ma mchod · pai lhan thabs dwañ mchog*. Fol. 3 (incomplete). Lines 5.
 - (11) Title pasted over (!). Margin signed *Chos dwañ*. Fol. 4–27 (incomplete). Lines 6.
 - (12) Two leaves, coarse writing. Signed, *Cha* (v.) 2, 3 (incomplete).
 - (13) 26 stray leaves from different works.
 - (14) $12\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$. *Bzlog · pha lam gyis zhal gdams*. Fol. 3.
 - (15) Two leaves apparently of same work. Lines 9. 13 by $2\frac{2}{3}$.
 - (16) Fol. 1, 3–5. $12\frac{1}{4}$ by 3. Lines 7.
jam · dpal nog · poi - r.
 - (17) Two leaves. $7\frac{2}{3}$ by $2\frac{1}{4}$.
khör · gyi phag · yon, etc.
- (XXVI.) *Lhan gcig skyes sbyor · gyi khrid · yig* ('Instruction (how to) conform with the (divinity) born together (with oneself)'?). $19\frac{1}{4}$ by $3\frac{1}{4}$. Fol. 1–14. Line 7.
- (XXVII.) Running cursive. Beginning wanting. Fol. 7–14 (end). $15\frac{1}{2}$ by 3. Lines 7.

- (XXVIII). Fol. 6 and end leaf of some work. 19 by 3.
Lines 7.
- (XXIX). Fol. 2-6 of some work. Incomplete. $7\frac{1}{4}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$.

PRINTS.

- (I.) (1) Vajracchedikā [Çerphyin xxi. 5, Feer, p. 201].
Fol. 35. Lines 6. Coloured likeness of Çākyaṃuni,
Dīpaṅkara, Maitreya and the arhat Subhūti. 16 copies.
(2) Same. Another copy. Likenesses not coloured.
(3) = (2). (4) same. (5) s. (6) s. (7) s. (8) s. (9) s.
(10) s. (11) s. (12) s. (13) s. (14) s. (15) s.
(16) s.
- (Ib.) Same. 14 copies.
- (II.) Vajracchedikā. Fol. 33. Lines 6. Likenesses of
Çāriputra, Çākyaṃuni, Maudgalyāyana. 17 copies
and some stray leaves of same edition (2, 23-28).
[No. 6.]
- (III.) Id. 11 copies and stray leaves. [No. 5.]
- (IV.) Id. 2 copies. $16\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$. Fol. 35. Lines 6.
desunt, in copy 1: 26, 29, 32: in copy 2: 12.
Duplicates fol. 6 (twice) 8, 11.
- (V.) Id. $16\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$. Fol. 35. Line 6. Likenesses
as i. 2.
- (VI.) Legendary biography of Padmasambhava of Udyāna
(*U-rgyan ghu-ru* (sic!). *Padma byuñ gnas · kyi*
skyes · rabs rnam · par · thar · pa rgyas · par bkod · pa
padma bkai thañ · yig). 20 by 4. Fol. 252. Lines 6.
Of this work there is an incomplete manuscript in
the British Museum (15,522).
- (VII.) 'Coherent exposition of perpetual offering' (?)
(*Rgyun · gtor khrigs · su bkod · pa*). A ritual. $19\frac{1}{2}$
by $3\frac{1}{2}$. Fol. 17 (dust 16). Lines 7.
- (VIII.) *Ārya · aparimita-āyurjñāna · nāma mahāyana sūtra*
(*Kanjur, Rgyud xiv. 30; Feer, p. 329*). $13\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$.
Fol. 25. Lines 5. Extremely well printed on stout
European paper (watermark).

- (IX.) A great number (about 600) copies of leaf 53 of some work. Lines 7. 18 by $4\frac{1}{2}$, and two end leaves of different works with roughly coloured likenesses.
- (IXb.) Great number of leaf 22 of Vajracchidikā and some more of the leaf 53 of ix.
- (X.) Fragments of different works, disorderly put together, beginning of many leaves cut off, so that signs and numbers have disappeared. But the following may be recognised as being each the parts of one work, all about $10\frac{1}{2}$ by 4. Lines 6. Mostly ritual.
- (1) *Chos spyod* (i.e. Dharma-caritā?) in margin. Fol. 9, 10, 12, 14, 16-20, 24-29, 31-37, 39-42, 44-53, 80-86.
 - (2) Same title in margin, but *ka* (=1) before. Fol. 16, 27, 31, 32, 35, 36, 40, 46, 50, 51 (twice), 59 (twice), 65, 75, 79, 84, 98 (twice), 99.
 - (3) Same title as 1; but apparently different (edition?). Fol. 16, 17.
 - (4) *Gsañ dkyil* ('Circle of mystery'; perhaps Guhya-maṇḍala) on margin; two different (editions?). Fol. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, and 3, 6-10.
 - (5) *Ka* (=i), *Gshuñ lam* ('The main road?'). Fol. 8, 12, 17, 18, 23, 26-32, 43, 45, 63, 102, 108, 109 (end).
 - (6) *Bya · rgyud don · gsal*. Fol. 11, 12, 13, 20, 21, 192, 194, 197, 213, 215, 217, 218, 280, 307, 310 (twice), 311, 314, 315 (twice), 316, 317 (twice), 318, 320 (twice), 321, 340 (?), 370 (?).
 - (7) *Ca* (=iv.) *Evam*. Fol. 4, 26, 43, 120-124, 168-170, 172, 212-215.
 - (8) *Gsañ rnam* ('Classes of mystery?'). Fol. 3, 5, 12-39 (38 twice), 41, 42, 43.
 - (9) *Lam gcò* ('The excellent way'). Fol. 17, 21, 23, 24, 26, 28, 30, 33, 34, 37, 42, 47, 48, 52, 54, 55.
 - (10) *Gsañ mñon* ('The evident secret'). Fol. 9, 13, 14, 17, 19.
 - (11) *Gzhi gsum* ('The three fundamental causes'). Fol. 13, 24, 26, 27, 28, 37.
 - (12) *Gzhi gsum gsal byed* ('Explanation of the three fundamental causes'). Fol. 10, 12, 13.

- (13) *Bde mñon* ('Evident happiness'). Fol. 5, 6, 8, 9 (?), 12, 13, 18, 19, 20-24.
- (14) *Skyabs gro* ('Çaraṇagamanam'). Fol. 3, 5, 7, 11-18.
- (15) *Las chog* ('Rite of work'). Fol. 21, 22, 30, 32, 34.
- (16) *Kha* (=II.) *Gsañ bskyed* ('Birth of mystery'). Fol. 4, 5, 50, 51, 52.
- (17) *Bde dkyil* ('Circle of happiness'). Fol. 28, 33-36, and one with number cut off.
- (18) *Brgya bzhi* ('Hundred and four'). Fol. 3, 4, 5, 7.
- (19) *jigs · byed bskyed rim* ('Method of producing the fearful' viz. 'divinities'). Fol. 27, 30.
- (20) *Ka* (=I.). Fol. 10, 12, 28, 38 (twice).
- (21) *Thor · bu* ('Separate' (sc. work)). Fol. 45, 46.
- (22) *dul · va* ('Vinaya'). Fol. 3 (twice).
- (23) *Ka* (=I.) *Geod dkar gyed*. Fol. 13, 14, 15, 16.
- (24) Single leaves of the following: *Rnam thar* ('Legend') *Ka* (I.), fol. 48; *Lam rim gsol debs* ('Prayer for the way of perfection'), fol. 3; *Çila*, fol. 3.; *Ka* (I.), *Bla khrid* ('Guidance above), fol. 3; *Ma* (=XVI.) *Sman · bla* ('The supreme physician,' i.e. god of medicine), fol. 4; *Ca* (V.) *Sgrub thabs* ('Method of coercion' i.e. Sādhana), fol. 20; *Thig · le bcu drug* ('The sixteen spots'), fol. 16; *Bde lam* ('Way of happiness') fol. 5; *Gser zhun* ('Gold Melting'), fol. 6.; *jigs · dkyil* ('Circle of fear'), fol. 5; *Grans çel*, fol. 38; *Sna çhogs* ('Various') *Ja* (=VII.), fol. 22; *Tha* (=XIV.) *Lam* ('Path'), fol. 8; *Ca* (V.) *Oñ*, fol. 2; *Dpal khor · lo sdom · pai zhi · vai sbyin · sreg gi cho · gai rim pa gsal var bkod pa* ('Ritual of the burnt offering of the glorious wheel'), fol. 1; *Bla · mai bka · drin dran · pai gsol debs* ('Prayer remembering the Guru's kindness'), fol. 1, 3, (end); *Snags khañ bla brgyud*, fol. 3 (end).
- (25) 30 leaves whose beginnings are cut off, so that it was not to be seen to what work they belonged.
- (26) Unknown! fol. 6-13, 16, 17, 36-70, 88-98, 107, 108, 109, 118. Lines 7. Prayers and dhāraṇis.



- (XI.) Vajracchedikā. 13½ by 4. Lines 6. Fol. 4-44, 46-49 (end).
- (XII.) *Bla · mai gsol, debs sbyin rlabs myur jug* ('The Guru's prayer: Quick entrance to blessing'). 14½ by 3½. Fol. 6 (complete). Lines 4.
- (XIII.) Dohakoṣanāma mahā nutra upadeṣa, first leaf¹ and first leaf of another work, printing blurred and unrecognisable; together with four leaves of mystical diagrams (of human figures) and calculations. Also two large sheets (20 by 19 and 15 by 19) with magic circles. Diagrams and the rest manuscript.
- (XIV.) About 300 leaves of various works, among which are apparently 110 belonging to the same volume. Among them are also the following leaves belonging to works enumerated in x. *Ca Ewam* (see x. 7), fol. 206-209, 218; *Gsañ mñon* (x. 10), fol. 12, 15, 16; *Bya rgyud don gsal* (x. 6), fol. 21, 303, 308, 309, 310, 312; *Bde lam* (x. 24), fol. 6, 7, 10-15; *Ka Gzhuñ lam* (x. 5), fol. 106; *Ka chos spyod* (x. 2), fol. 35; *Lam · gèò* (x. 9), fol. 15, 18; *Las chog* (x. 15), fol. 26, 27; *Kha Gsañ bskyed* (x. 16), fol. 10; *Bde mñon* (x. 15), fol. 15; *Dpal gsañ va · dus · pai dkyil khor gyi cho · ga ñag don gyi rim par bsgrigs · pa* (being the full title of x. 4), fol. 1, 2; *Gsañ rnam* (x. 8), fol. 2; *Skyabs gro* (x. 14), fol. 10. Further, *Bcom ldan das · ma phags · ma gdugs dkar cān gyi sgrub thabs mchog · tu grub pai sñin · po* ('Method to coerce the Bhagavāni, the Noble Holder of the white umbrella, called Essence of Excellent Coercion'), fol. 1 (incomplete); *Ta* (=ix.) *Dkar chag* ('Index,') fol. 1 (complete), end leaf of a work (24), blurred printing; *Nāro lugs · kyī bde · mchog bcu · gsum gyi khor · loī · dsiñ (? khrid)* ('The bringing of the thirteen Çambaras in Nāro's (a celebrated Blama) manner,') fol. 9 (incomplete); *Maitri · pai phyag ·*

¹ This being apparently the first leaf of the Vol. mentioned last in xiv, I have reunited them.

rgya chen · po tshig bsdus · pa, on end leaf ('The great Mudrā (mystical gesture) of Maitreya, condensed,') fol. 2-13 (end). On fol. 12*b* the Skr. title; Mahāmutra sañcamitha (!); fol. 11*a*, *Adhi sidhisama*, Tib. *Lta · va mdor bsdus · pa* ('The views (opinions of Nāro) collected'); fol. 9*a*, Mahā mutra (*sic!*) upadeṣa, etc.

- (XV.) 18 by 3½. Lines 6. Fol. 371. 1. *Chos skyoñ vai rgyal · po bsoñ · btsan · rgam · poi bkah · bum · las smad · kyī cha zhal gdams · kyī bskor*. Fol. 1-319. 'From the collected works of the Defender of the Faith, King Srongtsangampo': The Circle of Instructions?'¹ Fol. 320 begins: 2. *Chos skyoñ vai rgyal po bsoñ btsan rgam poi zhal · gdams · phags · pa nam · mkhai rgyal · poi mñon · rlogs sogs phran · ga*.
- (XVI.) 1. *Rdo rje rgyal · mtshan · gyi yoñs · su bsoñ · va* (*i.e.* Vajradhvaja-pariñāma). [Phal chen 30, Feer p. 211.] 20¾ by 8¼. Fol. 3. Line 7.
2. *Ārya vipule praveṣa mahā sūtrana* (*sic!*). *phags · pa yañs · pai groñ · khyer · du jug · pa* [Rgyud xi, 4; Feer p. 311.] Fol. 9.
- (XVII.) 1. *Āryaṣaḍigandhakāra vidhvansana* (see MS. ii.) 20 by 6½. Line 7. Fol. 1, 5-9, 12, 13 (incomplete).
- (XVIII.) One leaf. 12½ by 3. In margin *Ka* (i.) Line 6. Prayer (10 strophes).

¹ Being short speeches of advice from the king to his subjects on different occasions, beginning with his two queens (the Nepalese and the Chinese princesses); preceded by a short explanation, which Avalokiteśvara gives to the king, of the meaning and power of the *Om mañi padme hum*, which latter is repeated in each section. (The six syllables are said to belong each to one of the six divisions of animated beings (*gati*)).



ART. XI.—*Life and Labours of Mr. Edward Rehatsek.* By
F. F. ARBUTHNOT, M.R.A.S.

A SHORT notice of this most industrious and intelligent Orientalist has already appeared in the obituary notices of the *Journal* of January, 1892. But as my deceased friend had devoted the whole of his life to the cultivation and propagation of Oriental knowledge and Oriental literature, it was considered desirable to place on record a more detailed account of his varied labours in this particular field of thought and culture.

Of Mr. Rehatsek's early life very little is known. It is said that his father was a Forest Inspector on the estate of Princess Odescalchi, in Hungary, and that he was born on one of the estates at Illack on the 3rd July, 1819. He was educated at Buda-Pesth, studied at the University there, and took the degree of Master of Civil Engineering. Leaving Hungary at the end of 1842, he spent a few months in Paris, then four years in the United States of America, and in 1847 sailed to India from New Orleans *via* Liverpool and the Cape of Good Hope. Arriving in Bombay on the 5th of December, 1847, he settled down in India, and remained in that country for the rest of his life, dying in Bombay on Friday, the 11th of December, 1891, aged 72.

I have some idea that on Mr. Rehatsek's first arrival he was employed in the Public Works Department, in which, however, he did not remain long. He then continued his studies of Oriental languages and literature, and sometimes accompanied Dr. Bhau Daji, the well-known Bombay scholar and antiquary, in his travels of research over various parts of India. Later on, being a competent mathematician and a distinguished Latin scholar, he was

employed as Professor of Mathematics and of Latin in the Wilson College, Bombay, which office he held till 1871.

Being acquainted with some twelve languages, he also taught private pupils, and gave lessons in Latin, Persian, Arabic, and French. He further translated a number of Persian and Arabic works, read many papers before learned Societies, and wrote many articles for Indian Reviews and Journals generally, the details of which will be given presently.

For twelve years up to 1881 Mr. Rehatsek was Examiner at the Bombay University in Latin, Persian, and Arabic, and for one year in French also, but such was his independence that he gave up these duties as soon as the application system was introduced. In 1873 he was made a Fellow of the said University and was twice the Wilson Philological Lecturer there on the Hebrew and Semitic languages. In 1874 he was elected an honorary member of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in recognition of his Oriental learning, and also became an honorary member of some learned European and American Societies interested in Oriental research. All these honours were unsought for, and as a general rule, it may be said, that he never asked for anything during his whole career.

Mr. Rehatsek was unmarried, and a man of regular habits, living the life of an ascetic and recluse. He was his own master and his own servant, for servant he kept none, thereby showing the truth of the Sanskrit saying, "Ascetics are their own servants." He abstained from wine and spirits altogether, and tried also to do without animal food, but he found, as he told me himself, that this weakened him so much that he was obliged to revert to it, though he took it very sparingly. His usual food consisted of bread, milk, tea, coffee, rice, and plantains. At the door of his house there was a box into which the baker put a loaf of bread every morning, and the milkman filled with milk a jug that was placed there. His other necessities he purchased himself in the bazaar, and he prepared all his own food, using a spirit lamp to boil the water for

his tea and coffee, as he told me that it was more economical than a fire. Doing without servants, he said, was a great source of peace, comfort, and repose, and he certainly adopted Schopenhauer's ideas that the two great principles in life were to live, if possible, without pain and without ennui.

The only real property that Mr. Rehatsek possessed was a small house situated in Khetwady, Bombay, and which he had purchased. His furniture was of the poorest kind, and so very scanty that one wondered how it was sufficient for his wants. His library consisted of Arabic, Persian, English, German, Latin, and French works, and with these he worked all day, going out every morning and evening for a walk, and latterly I believe on a tricycle, to the sea-side. His manuscripts and translations were all written in a very small, but very legible, hand, and he had several cases full of them.

Most of the above has been taken from an obituary notice of Mr. Rehatsek which appeared [13th December, 1891] in "Native Opinion," an anglo-vernacular bi-weekly journal published in Bombay, and to which the deceased had been a constant contributor since 1871. So devoted was he to his work that on Wednesday, the 9th of December, while on his death-bed, he had prepared his usual article. When the editor of the paper called upon him, the poor old man, too feeble to speak, pointed to his desk, where lay, just completed, the last contribution that came from his pen.

From his latest letters to me it was evident that his health was failing, and that he had not been well for some time. In his last illness he was attended by Dr. Kunte, Dr. Deshmookh, and Dr. John de Cunha. It culminated in cystitis, and he died on Friday morning, the 11th of December, 1891, at about 6.30 a.m. attended upon by his friends, all of whom were either natives of India or Portuguese. Having expressed an earnest desire to be cremated according to the Hindu fashion, the ceremony was performed the same evening. His body, covered with

garlands of flowers, and accompanied by his friends, was carried to the sea-shore, and placed there on the usual pile of wood, was soon converted into ashes. It is said that this was the first European ever cremated in Bombay, or perhaps, indeed, in India.

Though Mr. Rehatsek had reduced the necessaries of life to a minimum, it was from his habits and tastes that he did so, and not from actual necessity. The Duke of Wellington used to say that habit was not only second nature, but ten times nature; well, Mr. Rehatsek was so accustomed to his style of living that he preferred it to any other, and it grew upon him, like every so-called virtue, or so-called vice, grows upon other people. Anyhow he seems to have saved some thirty thousand rupees, which he left for the education of the poor boys in the primary schools of Bombay, without any distinction of caste, colour, or creed. The interest of this sum [the principal being invested in Government securities] is to be awarded in money prizes to the most deserving pupils of these schools. His house is either to be sold and the proceeds added to the above fund, or to be lent for scholastic purposes free of charge, as his executors may decide. His books, manuscripts, and translations he bequeathed to the Native General Library, Bombay.

It now remains to place on record the literary work of Mr. Rehatsek during the many years he spent in India. As this is somewhat scattered, I have collected, as far as I have been able to do so, the names of the works that he translated, and of the articles that he wrote, and the subjoined list, though long, is not devoid of interest.

- (1) His contributions to the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* between 1874 and 1882 are as follows, twenty-six in all:

Vol. X.

Twelve Sabæan Inscriptions.

Explanations and Facsimiles of eight Arabic Talismanic Medicine cups.

Facsimiles of Muhammadan coins.

The Evil Eye, Amulets, Recipes, Exorcisation, etc.

Vol. XI.

The subjugation of Persia by the Moslems and the extinction of the Sasanian dynasty.

The labours of the Arab astronomers and their instruments, with the description of an astrolabe in the Mulla Firuz Library, Bombay.

Vol. XII.

Some beliefs and usages among the Pre-islamitic Arabs, with notes on their Polytheism, Judaism, and Christianity, and the Mythic period of their history.

Contact of the Jews with the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians, from the division of the Hebrew Monarchy into two kingdoms till the entrance of Alexander the Great into Jerusalem, and a view of Jewish Civilization.

The Bâw and Gaobarah Sephabuds along the Southern Caspian Shores.

Vol. XIII.

Christianity in the Persian dominions from its beginning till the fall of the Sasanian dynasty.

Christianity among the Mongols till their expulsion from China in 1368, comprising the Eastern Grand Khāns or Emperors with the Western or Persian Khāns.

Brief notice of two Arabic MSS. on the history of Yemen.

Vol. XIV.

A Punja of yellow brass in the Museum of the B.B.R.A.S. drawn and described.

Early Moslem accounts of the Hindu religions.

A few analogies in the Thousand and One Nights and in Latin authors.

Some parallel proverbs in English, Arabic, and Persian.

The use of wine among the ancient Arabs.

On the Arabic alphabet and early writings [with a table of alphabets].

Magic.

Notes on some old arms and instruments of war chiefly among the Arabs.

The history of the Wahhabis in Arabia and in India.

The doctrines of Metempsychosis and Incarnation among nine heretic Muhammadan sects.

Vol. XV.

Picture and description of Borak.

The Alexander myth of the Persians.

Specimens of Pre-Islamitic Arabic poetry selected and translated from the Hamasah.

Emporia, chiefly ports of Arab and Indian international commerce before the Christian era.

(2) His contributions to *The Calcutta Review* between 1879 and 1891 consisted of twenty-one articles as follows :

Vol. 68.

Oriental humour illustrated by Anecdotes.

Vol. 70.

Gastronomical anecdotes of the earlier Khalifs.

Oriental Folk Lore. Part I.

Vol. 71.

Oriental Folk Lore. Part II.

Oriental Folk Lore. Part III.

Vol. 72.

Oriental Folk Lore. Part IV.

The Holy Inquisition at Goa.

Vol. 73.

The life of Jesus according to the Korān and Moslem tradition.

Historical sketch of Portuguese India, with a list of the Viceroy's till 1881.

Vol. 74.

How the Portuguese obtained a footing in the island of Diu.

Vol. 75.

Mandelslo and Thevenot, their travels in India.
The Monastic and Secular Clergy of Portuguese India.

Vol. 76.

Carvalho, Count of Oyeiras, better known as Marquis of Pombal.

Adamole's notes on a journey from Perm to Tashkend.
Part I.

Vol. 77.

Adamole's notes on a journey from Perm to Tashkend.
Part II.

Capello and Ivens, their exploration in Africa, 1877-1880.

Vol. 78.

The vicissitudes of the city of Baghdad from its foundation till our times.

"La nuova Italia ed i Vecchi Zelanti" of the Ex-Jesuit Curci.

Vol. 79.

Contacts of China with foreign nations from the earliest till the present times.

Vol. 81.

The pre-historic man of caves and lake dwellings.

Vol. 82.

Missionaries at the Moghul Courts; in Southern and in Portuguese India during the reign of the Emperor Akbar and after it.

Vol. 85.

The Relations of Islam to Christianity, and of Christianity to Civilization.

Vol. 87.

Military career of the Prophet Muhammad, which began A.H. 2, and ended with his death A.H. 11.

Vols. 91 and 92.

The beginnings of Dutch Commerce in India. Parts I. and II.

Vol. 93.

Journey of Padre Manuel Godinho, S.J., from India to Portugal in the year 1663 by way of Mesopotamia.

(3) Between the years 1872 and 1886 Mr. Rehatsek supplied the following articles to *The Indian Antiquary*, not including short letters and explanations addressed to the same journal:—

1872.

Facsimile of a Persian Map of the World with an English translation.

1873.

An embassy to Khatā or China, A.D. 1419, translated from the Persian.

Also twelve other minor contributions in the shape of reviews and translations of small pieces from the Persian.

1874.

The Establishment of the Royal City of Hirat and its dependencies, translated from the Persian.

Also nine other minor contributions and translations.

1875.

Biography of Jellal-ud din Rūmi, the great Persian poet and mystic.

Also six minor contributions.

1876.

The Twelve Imams.

1877.

A notice of Garcin de Tassy's "La langage et la litterature Hindoustanies" en 1876, and a translation of the first part of Professor A. Weber's paper on the Krishnajaumāshtamī or Krishna's birth festival.

1878.

A notice of Garcin de Tassy's Work mentioned above for 1887.

1881.

Notes and Queries.

1882.

Three Inscriptions from Raichor.

1883.

An Aden Epitaph in Arabic translated.

1884.

Did the Arabs really burn the Alexandrian Library?

1885.

Sabæan Inscriptions on an Incense-burner.

Russian Icons.

1886.

The Last Years of Shah Shuja'a, with an Appendix on the Affairs of Hirat. Translated from the Tārikh Sultāni of Sultān Muhammad Khan Barukzai. This is a very interesting article, and describes events from an Afghan standpoint, but with considerable impartiality.

1887 and 1888.

A letter of the Emperor Akbar asking for the Christian Scriptures.

The Reign of Ahmed Shah Durani. Translated from the Tārikh Sultāni quoted above.

A Notice of the Zafarnama-i-Ranjit Singh, or Book of the Conquests of Ranjit Singh, by Kanhayya Lāl Sahib, Executive Engineer, Lahore.

1890 and 1891.

A Notice of the Gulābnama, or Biography of Gulāb Singh, Mahārājah of Kashmir, A.D. 1875, by Kirpārām, Diwān of Mahārājah Ranbir Singh.

(4) The papers sent to *The Bombay Anthropological Society* were as follows :

On Religious Injunctions and Personal Vows with respect to Sexual Abstinence.

Veneration for the Dead in China.

Statistics of Suicides in the City of Bombay since 1886.

A Descriptive Alphabetical List of Twenty Occult Sciences of the Moslems.

On Hindu Civilization in the far East as represented by Architectural Monuments and Inscriptions, with a Map.

Superstitions of the Goa People from Portuguese sources.

(5) Between 1880 and 1882 Mr. Rehatsek sent the following interesting papers to *The Journal of the National Indian Association* :—

Bombay One Hundred and Fifteen Years Ago. This account of Bombay and of Surat in 1764, by the father of the historian Niebuhr, was translated and printed in the above Journal of 1880 in five parts.

The Begums of Bhopāl, also in five parts, in the Journal of 1881.

The Diamond Fields of India, embracing five groups, viz., Cuddapah, Nandial, Ellore, Sambhulpur, and Pama, translated from Ritter's *Erdkunde von Asien*, and published in the Journal of 1882.

(6) An article by Mr. Rehatsek on the subject of Oriental Armour, with a plate illustrating it ; his original design, having been very faithfully reproduced in chromo-lithography, was published in *The Journal of the German Oriental Society* in 1882.

- (7) Mr. Rehatsek's translations from the Arabic of the Book of the King's Son and the Ascetic, with a short preface by Professor T. W. Rhys Davids, was published in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* in January, 1890. About this translation Mr. Rehatsek wrote to me on the 4th June, 1889, as follows :—

“The text which I have translated from the Arabic is *unique*, there being [as far as is known] no other MS. of it in existence, except the one given by Dr. Blau to the German Oriental Society, and printed by Dr. Hommel. The original source being undoubtedly Sanskrit or Pāli, I thought I was doing a service to those who might, by their knowledge of these two languages and their literature, be able to trace the true source and determine the real age of the composition of the Book of the King's Son and the Ascetic.

“It requires an extensive knowledge of Sanskrit and Pāli literature to enter into this subject properly, and I, not possessing it, have been able to make only very small foot-notes, although even these may be of some use. By making a full translation of this precious Arabic text, which it would be a great pity to mutilate or abridge in any way [as cutting off the opportunity of comparison with Sanskrit or Pāli works], I have drawn the attention of, and given the best text to, Sanskrit and Pāli scholars for investigating this subject here in India, and for pointing out many more relations between Buddhism and Christianity than I was able to do myself.”

- (8) Mr. Rehatsek sent the following papers to His Majesty the King of Sweden and Norway, at the time of the eighth Oriental Congress held at Stockholm in 1889.

1. Indian Fables in Moslem Literature.
2. The Women of the Shahnamah.
3. Seven interesting episodes from the conquest of Syria, the events narrated beginning A.D. 634–35. Translated from the Arabic of the *Futuh-ush-shūm* by Al-Wakidi.

4. The Indian Mahdi and his successors. Translated from a unique but reliable and faultless Persian MS.

5. Processional cross taken at Magdala from the cathedral by the British Troops in 1868; this is a drawing with translations of the inscriptions.

6. A photograph taken from a large silver dish representing the adventures of the whole life of the God Rama [a deified hero] in compartments in concentric circles.

(9) On the 28th of August, 1891, Mr. Rehatsek wrote "Having been asked for a paper to be read in Dr. Leitner's Congress of Orientalists in the beginning of September, I sent a MS., "The Pre-Islamic History of Yemen and Hirah till the time of Muhammad." It does not appear to have been read at the Congress.

(10) For the Kama Shashtra Society Mr. Rehatsek prepared unexpurgated translations of Jāmi's Behāristān or Abode of Spring, and of Sa'di's Gulistān or Rose Garden. These were printed for private subscribers only in 1887 and 1888 respectively.

(11) For the Oriental Translation Fund New Series he translated the following works :—

The Negaristān or Picture Gallery by Muin-uddin Jawini, A.D. 1334.

Biography of our Lord Muhammad, the Apostle of Allah, according to the tradition of Ibn Hishām, obtained from Ibn Isrāk.

The whole of the first two Parts of Mirkhond's "Rauzat-us-safa."

Of these the first Part of Mirkhond's General History has been printed and published in two volumes in 1891 and 1892. The second part will fill three volumes, which will, it is hoped, be brought out in 1893 and 1894.

(12) For the use of the Hakluyt Society Mr. Rehatsek translated from the Italian from the voyages of Pietro

della Valle his letters from India, the first of which is dated Surat, 23rd March, 1623. These are, I believe, still with the above Society, and will probably form part of a volume containing the whole of the journeys of that versatile and talented traveller.

- (13) The following translations were also made by Mr. Rehatsek at various times. Those marked by an asterisk have been printed.

From the Persian.

*Amusing Stories.

*Fortune and Misfortune.

Both of these are extracts from the *Shamsah-va-Quhquhah*, a Persian story book of 557 large quarto pages, written by Mirza Berkhordār Turkmān. They were printed in Bombay in 1870 and 1871.

Hospitality, or Etiquette of Eating and Drinking.

A Tract on the Observances of Women and the Harem.

A short Manuscript on "Physiognomies," described in the Catalogue raisonné of the Mulla Firuz Library, p. 199, No. 48.

The *Tutināmah*, or Parrot Book, by Kadiri.

From the Arabic.

Twenty-four Anecdotes, Stories, and Fables picked out and translated from the *Naphut ul Yaman* [breeze or breath of Yemen].

Thirty-five Stories from the *Merzuban-namah*.

Six Stories from the celebrated Arabic work *Al-Mustatraf*, or the Gleaner or Collector.

Some Stories from the *Sihrl-oyoon*, or Magic of the Eyes.

Some Extracts from the *Siraj-ul-mulūk*, or Lamp of Kings, a well-known work composed A.D. 1126.

A Translation of a portion of the Arabic work "*Tuhfat-ikhvan ussafa*," under the title of "The discussion between Man and Animal before the King of the Jinns." This

celebrated work, written in the eighth century of our era by the society called "The Brethren of Purity" of Bosrah, is well known, and a curious notice of it was given in Vol. XVII. of the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society by A. Sprenger. No English translation of the "Tuhfat" has yet been produced, but the original Arabic text of the discussion between man and animal was printed at Leipzig in 1879.

A Treatise on Falconry with an Appendix on other Birds, Poultry, and Bees.

*Some Arabic and Persian Inscriptions from Mosques, Tombs, and Ancient Buildings for the Archæological Survey of Western India.

From the Italian.

A Mission to the Grand Moghul.

From the French.

The Indian Travels of M. de Thevenot in 1665.

Voyage of Mandelslo from Persia to India in 1638-39.

The Amours of Camoens and of Catherine D'Ataïde, by Madame Gautier, 1827.

(14) The following productions of Mr. Rehatsek may be classed under the head of "Miscellaneous." Those marked with an asterisk have been printed.

*An Essay on the Reciprocal Influence of European and Muhammedan Civilization. This gained the prize, given by Sir Charles Trevelyan when Finance Minister in India, for the best essay on the above subject, in 1865. Printed in 1877.

*Catalogue raisonné of the Arabic, Hindustani, Persian, and Turkish Manuscripts in the Mulla Firuz Library at Bombay, with full descriptions of them, 1873. This is both useful and interesting, and is known to European Orientalists as a valuable book of reference. It contains also a list of Pehlevi and Zend works added to it by

another hand. I have presented an extra copy of this work to the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Anthology, containing notice of two hundred and fifty Persian poets, with specimens of their composition and English translation of the same. Also the titles of the principal historical and epistolographical works written in Persian.

The Invasion of India by Timur 1398-99, and by Nadir Shah 1738-39, traced on a map with six written folios.

The Canals of the Euphrates and the Tigris, being a description of ancient canals, vestiges of which are still to be traced, with map.

Export of Girls for Marriage to Portuguese India during the end of the sixteenth century.

Early Portuguese travellers to the East from Portuguese sources.

The Present Constitution of the Government of Portuguese India.

The Beginnings of Indo-Portuguese Journalism.

Cosmogony according to the Korān and Moslem Tradition.

Could Muhammed read and write.

Horses and Camels among the Arabs.

The Emperor Akbar's Repudiation of Islam.

- (15) At the time of his death Mr. Rehatsek was engaged in preparing for the *Indian Antiquary* a notice on a work containing Ranjit Singh's Diary kept for nearly forty years by one of his Pundits in Persian, and in translating for the Oriental Translation Fund New Series the third Part of Mirkhond's "Rauzat-us-safa," so that the old man may be said to have truly died in harness.

2nd May, 1892.



CORRESPONDENCE.

[The following is the letter referred to on pages 1 and 36 of our Journal for 1892]:—

Dec. 12, 1891.

DEAR PROFESSOR DAVIDS,—As regards the occurrence of Buddhist sects in inscriptions, I would call your attention to the following documents and names, in addition to those mentioned in your article : (1) *Mahāsaghiyas* Karle, No. 20, Arch. Rep. W.I. iv. 112, *Savasaka* i.e. *Sauvarshikā*,¹ *op. cit.* p. 113, Karle No. 21, *Bhadāyaniya* Kaṇheri, No. 4 (Arch. Rep. W.I. vol. v. p. 75) and *ibidem*, p. 85, Kaṇheri, No. 27; *Chetikas*, Arch. Rep. South I. vol. i. p. 100 (see also p. 85), *Chetiavadaka* *ibid.* p. 102, No. 13; *Āchāryāṇām Sarvrāstīcādinam* (parigrahe) in a Kādambavana or Kāmari inscr. to be published in Ep. Indica, vol. ii. Mathurā Inscrs. third series, No. 42; *āchāryāṇām Mahāsākānam*, Ep. Indica, vol. i. p. 240–41. Possibly the term *Mahāvanasāliya*, which occurs repeatedly in the Amrāvati inscs. as an epithet of teachers, may refer to a Buddhist school. There are also Buddhist schools mentioned on the *Vardak* vase (see Dowson's article) and on Dr. Bhagvānlāl's Lion-Pillar, at least, according to my readings, but you will have perhaps Bh.'s article on the latter. In the inscs. of the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C., i.e. in those at Sanchi and Barhut, about 400 Nos., no schools are mentioned, whence I infer that the schools had no great importance. I send you my article on the Sanchi inscs., which will appear in the

¹ These are either the same as, or closely allied to, the *Kassapikā*.—R. D.

Ep. Indica, vol. ii. Kindly return these proofs. With respect to Barhut, see Hultsch, vol. xl. of the *Zeitschrift dr D. Morg. Ges.* With best regards and the compliments of the season,—Yours sincerely,

G. BÜHLER.

KIMBUM (LUSAR),
1st March, 1892.

MY DEAR RHYS DAVIDS,—Having been detained in this part of Kan-mu for a few weeks, waiting to complete my preparations for my journey westward, I availed myself of the opportunity to visit the Salar, a Turkish people living on the Yellow River, S.E. of here some eighty miles.

Robert Shaw published some years ago in the *J.R.A.S.* some interesting notes about this people (he had met a couple of Salar in Kashgar, if I remember rightly). Prjevalsky mentions them, but confounds them with the Tibetans. Potanin passed through their villages, but I do not know what he learnt, as nothing of his work has been published (as far as I am aware).

The Salar traditions (their Ahars say they have no written records) state that in the third year Ming Hung-wu, three or four men, driven from Samarkand, (*sic*) arrived at the Yellow River, and founded the present Salar head village of Kätzu-kun. They had been driven from their country by internal discords. They were rapidly followed by others of their countrymen, and soon the eight *kun* (or thousands, for the Chinese *chim* has that meaning) were founded, and these Turkish settlements were henceforth known in this part of China as Salar pa-kun. The villages the people now occupy are probably 75 to 100 in number, and the population is estimated at 8,000 families at the lowest.

In the forty-sixth year Ch'ien-lung they rebelled under a Ahar called Ma Ming-ching. A narrative of this rebellion is found in Wei Yuan's *Sheng wu chi*.

For the last month I have been in daily intercourse with Salars, as a number of them had come to this place. I send you a short vocabulary, and have a much longer one, but have not now time to copy it. I have read it over to any number of the people, men, women, and children, and believe the phonetic transcription represents fairly well their pronunciation.

The Salar have in their language a number of words borrowed from Chinese, Mangol, and Tibetan. Some of these borrowed words are worth noting. It seems strange that they have no name for a mare, a stallion, or a gelding, but use the Chinese terms. The word for "language" they have borrowed from Tibetan; thus they say *Mohul Kū-chá*, "the Chinese language." So likewise their term for "flint and steel," *cháh-mah* is Tibetan. From the Mongols they have borrowed the word *aihá*, "wooden bowl," *shinaha*, "spoon," and from the Chinese a large number of terms of various classes.

I have taken a number of photographs of the Salar, both men and women, but as I have not developed them, I cannot send them to you now.

In my transcription of Salar words the accents only mark the emphasized syllables, those on which stress was laid.

I was rather surprised to find among the Tibetans (Fan-Tzü) living in the mountains along the Yellow River a large number of Bönbo. They have on the very summit of a mountain some forty miles west of Hsün hua T'ing, a lamasery (Sachung gamba), with some 100 or 200 lamas, and many more live with their wives and families in the little mountain villages. I stopped over-night in the house of one at Ssü-ké. He was very communicative, showed me his books, etc., but could tell me little about his creed. The Bönbo wear red gowns, and all their hair, but plait into it a huge tress of yek hair which is afterwards wound round the head. At the Shachung gamba they print books, and it would be well if some one visited the place, as they might have books of interest, although the two I have read of

theirs were a jumble of lamaist works and of undoubtedly recent date.

Trusting that I may be able to see you when I get out of this part of the world (probably sometime in the autumn of this year).—I remain, ever sincerely yours,

W. W. ROCKHILL.

	SALAR.		SALAR.
One	<i>Pir</i>	1st month	<i>Pir-indye</i>
Two	<i>Iské</i>	2nd month	<i>Isk-indyé</i>
Three	<i>Ush</i>	3rd month	<i>Ush-indyé</i>
Four	<i>Tüe</i>	4th month	<i>Tüétindyé</i>
Five	<i>Pesh</i>	To-day	<i>Pugun</i>
Six	<i>Alché</i>	To-morrow	<i>Été</i>
Seven	<i>Yété</i>	Day after to-	
Eight	<i>Sekése</i>	morrow	<i>Pasagon</i>
Nine	<i>Tokos</i>	Spring	<i>Loyé</i>
Ten	<i>Un</i>	Summer	<i>Yé</i>
Eleven	<i>Un-pir</i>	Autumn	Nobody knew a
Twelve	<i>Un-iské</i>		name for this
Thirteen	<i>Un-ush</i>		season. They
Twenty	<i>Igérmí</i>		called it 7th,
Thirty	<i>Utush</i>	Winter	8th, 9th months.
Forty	<i>Kéren</i>	Wind	<i>K'ish</i>
Fifty	<i>Ellé</i>	Rain	<i>Yel</i>
Sixty	<i>Hamish</i>	Snow	<i>Yarmur</i>
Seventy	<i>Yémush</i>	Mountain	<i>K'ar</i>
Eighty	<i>Siksän</i>	River	<i>T'ar</i>
Ninety	<i>Toksan</i>	Stone	<i>Uzen</i>
Hundred	<i>Pirens</i>	Sky	<i>Tash</i>
Thousand	<i>Pir-ming</i>	Earth	<i>Asman</i>
Myriad	<i>Pir-sanza</i>	Sun	<i>Yir</i>
Ten myriad	<i>Un sanza</i>	Moon	<i>Kun</i>
		Star	<i>Ai</i>
Year	<i>Il</i>	North	<i>Yuldus</i>
This year	<i>Pilé</i>	South	<i>Ashar</i>
Next year	<i>Eché sagon</i>	East	<i>Uriss</i>
			<i>Ch'vyi</i>

	SALAR.		SALAR.
West	<i>Isht'yi</i>	Beard	<i>Sahal</i>
Ground	<i>Ir</i>	Foot	<i>Enjé</i>
Water	<i>Su</i> (also <i>Oesu</i>)	Hat	<i>Sorok</i>
Man	<i>Erkish</i>	Furlined gown	<i>Iamak</i>
Woman	<i>Kadim</i>	Belt	<i>Bulh'a</i>
Boy	<i>Ao</i>	Trowsers	<i>Ishtan</i>
Little boy	<i>Balaksh</i>	Socks	<i>Ling-wa (Ch)</i>
Little girl	<i>Anna</i>	Boots	<i>E'tu</i>
Father	<i>A-pa</i> (families)	Sandals	<i>H'äi (Ch)</i>
Mother	{ <i>A-ma</i> " "	Sash	<i>Quens</i>
	{ <i>Ichia</i> " "	Button	<i>T'ügma (Tib ?)</i>
Brothers	<i>Aréné</i>	Gold	<i>Altum</i>
(elder brother ?)		Silver	<i>Kumusht</i>
(younger		Iron	<i>Témur</i>
brother)	<i>Éni</i>	Copper	<i>Tuguma</i>
Sisters	<i>Éhé sanyé</i>	Salt (white)	<i>T'uss</i>
Friend	<i>Nuhur seda</i>	Coarse salt	<i>Kuh t'uss</i>
Face	<i>Jambau</i>	Black	<i>Karás</i>
Head	<i>Pash</i>	White	<i>Ah'asen</i>
Nose	<i>Purni</i>	Blue	<i>Kuh</i>
Lips	<i>Akse</i>	Yellow (or red)	<i>Kenzil</i>
Eye	<i>Kuso</i>	Green	<i>Yashil</i>
Eyebrows	<i>Kulu</i>	Good	<i>Iskur</i>
Eyelashes	<i>Su-kulu</i>	Bad	<i>Ishimas</i>
Teeth	<i>T'ich</i>	Rich	<i>Parkish</i>
Ear	<i>Golak</i>	Poor	<i>Yarkish</i>
Hand	<i>Elle</i>	Good boy	<i>Balatsh iskur</i>
Finger	<i>Pirma</i>	I	<i>Men</i>
Thumb	<i>Pash-pirma</i>	Thee	<i>Sen</i>
Forefinger	<i>Irmum</i>	He	<i>Ush</i>
Second finger	<i>Otta</i>	To write	<i>Pitégän</i>
Third finger	<i>Mazum</i>	To drink	<i>Ish</i>
Little finger	<i>Séje</i>	To eat	<i>Ash</i>
Finger-nail	<i>Terna</i>	To ride	<i>Min</i>
Tongue	<i>Tili</i>		

This man is good

Kishi irshider.

That man is bad

Ukshi irshi émestér.

I beat him	<i>Men antugur.</i>
How old are you ?	<i>Sen myéché áseapar.</i>
Those three men	<i>Ush ishio</i>
Is the food ready ?	<i>Ashwa mé yurter.</i>
Have you eaten ?	<i>Pugim ash.</i>
I understand	<i>Pilé.</i>
I do not understand	<i>Pilmés.</i>

3. BIMBOHANA.

DEAR SIR,—Childers offers no etymology for Páli *bimbohana* 'pillow' or 'bolster.' Hemacandra (Deçî. vi. 98), cites *bimbovanaya* = ucchîrçaka. The Jaina-prâkrit equivalent is *bibboyaṇa* 'gaṇḍuka' (Spec der *Nāyādhammakahā*, f. 22.)

The former part of the compound '*bimb*' = Skt. *bimba*, offers no difficulty; but it is not, at first sight, easy to see what is the corresponding Sanskrit term to *ohana*. Bearing in mind such Prâkrit forms as *parihāna* = Skt. *paridhāna* (see H. D. vi. 4), we can have no objection to identify *ohana* with **odhāna* = Skt. *upadhāna* (Cf. Skt. *upasakta* with Pkt. *osatta* for change of *upa* to *o* through *uva*, *ua*).

So Páli *bimbohana* = **bimbodhana* = *bimbopadhāna*; while Prâkrit *bibboyaṇa* = *bimbovaṇa* = **bimbocahana* = **bimbovadhana* = *bimbopadhāna*.—Yours faithfully,

RICHARD MORRIS.

4. A NEW VARIETY OF THE SOUTHERN MAURYA ALPHABET.

Vienna, May 1, 1892.

SIR,—Prof. Bühler addressed the following letter to the *Academy* of the 28th May, 1892 :—

During some excavations which Mr. Rea, Archaeological Surveyor to the Madras Government, lately undertook in the already despoiled Stûpa of Bhattîprolu in the Kistna District, he has had the good fortune to discover some relic

caskets,¹ which bear nine votive inscriptions. Impressions of the latter were sent to me by Dr. Burgess; and, after a prolonged study, I have succeeded in making out their contents, and have arrived at the conclusion that these documents are written in a new variety of the Southern Maurya or Lât alphabet, the characteristics of which may be briefly stated as follows.

(1) Twenty-three letters of the Bhattiprolu inscriptions—viz., the initial vowels, *a, ā, u, o*, and the consonants *k, kh, chh, ñ, t, th, n, ṭ, ṭh, dh, n, p, ph, b, y, r, v, s* and *h*—agree exactly with those ordinarily used in the Edicts of Aśoka. The letter *g* has both the ordinary angular Maurya and the rare one with the rounded top, which occurs a few times in Aśoka inscriptions—*e.g.* in *magesu* (Pillar Edict vii. 2, 2)—but is used invariably in the later inscriptions. The unaspirated palatal tenuis *ch* has a tail, the vertical stroke being continued beneath the semicircle. The unaspirated lingual media, *d*, shows strokes slanting somewhat more strongly than in the abnormal *da* in *ambāvadikā* (Queen's Edict, Allahābād, 1. 3. The corresponding dental *d* exactly resembles the Maurya letter, but is turned round; the opening of the curve facing towards the right, as in the Devanāgarī *da*.

(2) Five letters are entirely abnormal: (a) *Gh* is expressed by the sign for *g*, with a small curve attached to the right side, which denotes the aspiration, the letter being formed according to the same principle as the Maurya *chha* from *cha*, *dha* from *da*, and *pha* from *pa*. It occurs only in personal names—*e.g.* *Satugho*, i.e. *Satrughna*, *Vaghacā*, i.e. *Vyāghrapād*. (b) *J* has the angular form, which occasionally—*e.g.* Girnār Rock Edicts ix. 1, in the word *rājā*—is used by Aśoka's scribes, and regularly in all later inscriptions, without the central horizontal bar. It therefore consists of a vertical stroke, with horizontal bars at the upper and lower ends. It occurs repeatedly in the words *majūsa* or *majusam*, in Sanskrit *mañjūshā*, a box or casket. (c) *M* is

¹ Described by Dr. J. Burgess in the *Academy* of last week (p. 497).



turned topsy-turvy, the circle standing above, and the two strokes, forming an open angle, below. It occurs in the last-mentioned word, and in well-known names like *Mâha*, i.e. *Mâgha*, *Samano*, i.e. *Sramana*. (d) *L* differs from the Maurya sign by the omission of the small horizontal bar to the left of the curve, and by the addition of a long slanting line, attached at an acute angle to the right of the vertical stroke. It thus somewhat resembles the Greek *Lambda* of the ancient Papyri. It occurs only in names—e.g. *Odalo*, *Kelo*, i.e. *Kaila*, *Pigalo*, i.e. *Pingala*. (e) The lingual sibilant *sh* is a development of the form in the Kâlâi version of Aśoka's Rock Edicts. The whole letter has been turned round, and the upper curve has been converted into a cross-bar. It thus looks exactly like the *kra* of the later inscriptions. It occurs in *tesham*, the Pali genitive of the pronoun *tad*, in the termination of the genitive singular of vowel-stems—e.g. in *Kurasha*, from *Kuro*, *Sivasha* from *Sivo*—in the word *shamugo*, i.e. *samudga*, a small box, and in names like *Samanadâsho*, i.e. *Sramanadâsa*.

3. There is further the lingual *l*, which does not occur in Aśoka's inscriptions. Its form resembles a Maurya *pa*, with a horizontal bar attached in the middle to the right of the vertical stroke; and it may be compared to the *sha* of the later inscriptions. It occurs in the word *phâl-igashamugam*, i.e. *sphâtikasamudga*, a casket made of crystal. The initial vowels, *i*, *l*, *ú*, *e*, and the consonants *jh*, *dh*, and *ś* do not occur. *Bh* may occur in two doubtful names, where I have noticed a sign resembling the Maurya *bha*, but turned the other way.

4. The notation of the medial and final vowels presents two remarkable peculiarities: (a) The short *a* is invariably marked by the horizontal stroke, which denotes long *â* in the Maurya alphabet, except when an Anusvâra follows; and the position of this stroke is much the same as that of the *â* stroke in the Maurya alphabet, i.e., it is usually attached to the top of the consonant, but to the middle of the vertical *n* and of *j*. Hence the *ja* of the Bhattiprolu alphabet is exactly like the angular form of the letter in

Aśoka's Edicts. The omission of the stroke before an Anusvāra is probably due to the fact that the native lists of *mātrikās*, or radical letters, invariably note the Anusvāra by *am*. Hence the Anusvāra came to be considered as equivalent to this syllable. (b) The long *ā* is marked by a horizontal stroke and a short vertical one hanging down from its end. In other respects, the notation of the medial and final vowels agrees mainly with that used in Aśoka's inscriptions. The *o* is, however, more commonly expressed by a bar, projecting to the right and to the left of the top of the consonants than by two separate strokes. The former notation occurs in Aśoka's inscriptions, sometimes, *e.g.* in *niḡohāni* (Pillar Edict vii. 2. 2), but rarely. In the syllables *ni* and *ni*, the vowel is attached to the middle of the vertical stroke, *e.g.* in *Kānttho*.

To judge from the general appearance of the letters, the Bhattiprolu inscriptions are probably only a few decades later than Aśoka's Edicts. If one places the Edicts on one side, and the Nānāghāt, Hathigumphā, and Bharhut Torana inscriptions, which all belong to the middle of the second century B.C., on the other side of the Bhattiprolu inscriptions, one can only come to the conclusion that the latter hold an intermediate position between the two sets, but are much more closely allied to the documents of the third century B.C. than to those of the second. On this evidence, which, as every epigraphist knows, *may* mislead under certain conditions, but which, though not absolutely safe, is for the present alone available, the Bhattiprolu inscriptions cannot be placed later than 200 B.C., and may even be a little older. If this estimate is correct, their characters prove (what, indeed, is also made probable by facts connected with Aśoka's Edicts) that during the third century B.C. several well-marked varieties of the Southern Maurya alphabet existed. For they contain a perfectly worked out system, which cannot have sprung up in a short time, but must have had a long history.

The importance of this result lies herein, that it removes one of the favourite arguments of those scholars who believe

the introduction of writing into India to have taken place during the rule of the Maurya dynasty, or shortly before its beginning. It has been stated repeatedly that one of the facts, proving the Aśoka Edicts to belong to the first attempts of the Hindus in the art of writing, is the absence of local varieties among the letters of versions incised at places between which lie distances of more than a thousand miles. This argument is based, as I have pointed out more than once, on imperfect observation; and it may be met also by the obvious objection, that Aśoka's Edicts were all issued from the same office, and that the importance naturally attributed to the writing of the royal clerks at Pātaliputra might be expected to influence the copyists in the provinces, and to induce them to imitate as closely as possible the shape of the letters used at headquarters. Nevertheless, if the Bhattiprolu inscriptions now show a system of writing which in some respects is radically different, and which may be reasonably supposed to be coeval with that in Aśoka's Edicts, they furnish a very great help to those who, like myself, believe the art of writing to have been practised in India for centuries before the accession of Chandragupta to the throne of Pātaliputra.

This is, so far as I can judge at present, the chief value of the new alphabet. I do not think that it teaches us much regarding the early history of the Southern Maurya characters, and the manner in which they were derived from their Semitic prototypes. There is only one form among the anomalous letters which, it seems to me, is in all probability more ancient than the corresponding Maurya character. This is the *m*, whose shape comes so close to the full form of the Kharoshtrī (*vulgo* Bactrian Pali) *ma*—which consists of a semi-circle with two short strokes, forming a right angle, attached to its lower left side—that I am inclined to assume the evidently allied Southern *ma* to have consisted originally of a semicircle or circle with two strokes below. Hence the Maurya form would be the later one, obtained by turning the older one topsy-turvy. The case of *gh*, as stated above, which has been formed by the extension of the

principle underlying the formation of *chha*, *dha* and *pha*, is more doubtful. For, the Southern Maurya *gha* looks, *prima facie*, like an independent character. Still, there is just a possibility that it may have been derived from an inverted *ga* with a round top, to which a curve was attached in order to denote the aspirations. And in favour of this view it may be urged that the Kharoshtrī *gha* has been derived by a similar contrivance from *ga*. Regarding the new *l*, I do not dare to offer any opinion.

But the remaining anomalies appear to be developments of the corresponding Maurya forms. The *j* with two horizontal bars is to all appearance the offspring of the angular form with three bars; and the central bar has only been removed in the syllables *ju*, *jû*, *je*, and so forth, in order to obtain a convenient means of marking the short *a* of *ja*. For, the Southern Maurya *jha*, which has been derived from an imperfectly formed or perhaps a very ancient *ja*, by the addition of a short upward stroke denoting the aspiration, shows that the central bar is an essential part of the letter. Again, the lingual sibilant *sh* is in all probability a cursive form, derived from the clumsy character which is used in the Kālsī version of the Rock Edicts. Finally, the most curious feature of this alphabet, the marking of the short *a*, seems to me, because it complicates matters, less ancient than the omission of this vowel. The Semitic original, from which the Southern Maurya alphabet was derived, had in all probability no signs for medial and final vowels. Hence, if we find in India one system of notation with five or, including the diphthongs *e* and *o*, with seven vowel signs and another with eight, the natural conclusion is that the second is the later one. This is all that I can offer at present in explanation of the origin of the very remarkable anomalies of the Bhattiprolu alphabet. I must, however, call attention to one other curious point: the fact that, so far as I know, not one of these anomalies has left any trace in the later Indian alphabets, the signs of which are all derived from the Southern Maurya characters.

The language of the Bhattiprolu inscriptions is a Prakrit

dialect, closely allied to the literary Pali. As regards their contents, the two longest, Nos. 3 and 8, which are incised on the circular lids or topstones of two relic caskets (Mr. Rea's second and third caskets), consists of strings of names. No. 3 enumerates the members of a *gothi*, i.e., *goshtthi*, probably a committee or Pañch, and No. 8 certain *negamā*, i.e., *naigamāh*, members of a guild. The remaining inscriptions record the names of the donors of the caskets, and, it would seem, of the artists who made them. I transcribe the three most interesting ones as specimens :—

No. 1, incised on the lower stone of the first casket.

Kurapituno cha Kuramā[t]u cha Kurasha cha Siva[sha] cha majūsam-panati phāligashamugam cha Budhasarirānamī nikhetu [|] Banavaputasha Kurasha shapitukasha majusa [| |]

“By the father of Kura, by the mother of Kura, by Kura and by Siva (*Siva, has been defrayed the expense of*) the preparation of a casket and a box of crystal in order to deposit some relics of Budha (*Buddha*). By Kura the son of Banava, associated with his father (*has been given*) the casket.”

No. 6, incised on the lower stone of the second casket.

Shāga[th]inigamaputānam rājapāmukhā[nam] Sha.i.sha puto Khubirako rājā Shthagothiyā pāmukho tesham annamā maj[ū]-s[am] phābigashamugo cha pāsānashamugo cha.

“By the sons of the Shāgathi *nigama* (*guild or town*) chief among whom is the king—king Khubiraka (*Kuberaka*) the son of Sha.i., is the chief of the Shīha (*Simha*) *gothi*—by these (*has been given*) another casket, a box of crystal and a box of stone.”

No. 9, incised on the lower stone of the third casket.

Arahadinānam gothiyā majūsa cha sha[m]ugo cha [|] tina kama yena Kubirako rājā am[k]i [| |]

“By the *gothi* of the venerable Arahadina (*Arhaddatta, has been given*) a casket and a box. The work (*is*) by him,

by whom king Kubiraka (*Kuberaka*) caused the carving to be done."

In conclusion, I must offer to Mr. Rea my best congratulations on the important discovery which he has made, and express the hope that future operations, which he may undertake in the same district, will furnish further specimens of this interesting new variety of the Southern Maurya alphabet, which we owe to his exertions.

G. BÜHLER.

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JOURNAL
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ART. XII.—*The Sabiri and the Saroguri.* By SIR HENRY
H. HOWORTH, Esq., K.C.I.E., M.P., M.R.A.S.

SOME time ago I ventured to print a monograph on the Avars in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*. I should now like to continue the story by analyzing the difficult ethnological and historical problems involved in discriminating the races which occupied the Steppes of South-eastern Europe before the arrival of the Avars. The question has exercised many inquirers, nor does it seem to me that a final and definite answer can be reached, but we can at all events secure a tentative solution of the problem.

Priscus, in a famous passage, has preserved for us an account of the immediate effect of the Avar domination, which I think deserves our close attention. He tells us how about the time when the Vandal Genseric was devastating Italy, *i.e.* about 456, the Avars fell upon the Sabiri, who expelled the Saroguri, the Urogi, and the Onoguri from their country, who thereupon sent envoys to the Roman Emperor (Priscus, *Excerpta*, Bonn edition, p. 158). Inasmuch as the Sabiri are next found in the Steppes east of the Don and about the Kuban, the meaning of this seems to be that the Sabiri were then driven across the Volga and pushed the other tribes before them, so that

they came in contact with the frontiers of the Empire on the lower Danube.

I first propose to limit myself to the Sabiri, and to collect what is known about them. From the statement of Priscus it would seem to follow that the Sabiri were the neighbours of the Avars in Asia. They are called *Σαβίροι* or *Σαβειροι* by Priscus and Saviri by Jornandes.

The name has a singular resemblance to Sibir, which gave its name to Siberia, and it is at all events curious to find that the early Arab geographers speak of Siberia as Ibir-Sibir or Abir-Sibir, and of the town of Sibir which gave its name to a small Khanate first conquered by the Cossack Jermak and afterwards to the Russian province of Siberia, which was situated not far from Tobolsk. When they were driven forward, the Sabiri apparently, as I have said, settled in the Kuban Steppes north of the Caspian, where we afterwards find them, and, as Vivien St.-Martin says, they probably then became the dominant tribe in the country afterwards occupied by the Nogais, giving their name to a league of the various Hunnic races of Sarmatia (V. St.-Martin, *Geog An.* vol. ii. 23). Procopius describes these wide plains as specially suited for the breeding of horses. There, he tells us, dwell nearly all the tribes called Huns. Their settlements extending to the Maeotis, whence they were wont to break through the Caspian gates and to invade the Persian and Roman borders. About the year 508 we are told that the fortress commanding the pass, *i.e.* probably the pass of Dariel, was in the hands of a Hun named Ambazuk, who was doubtless a Sabirian Hun. He was on friendly terms with the Emperor Anastasius, and having grown very old, offered to surrender it to him for a consideration. The offer was not accepted by the Emperor, who was a prudent person, and realized the difficulty of maintaining a Roman garrison there, and he accordingly thanked him and promised to consider the matter. Ambazuk shortly afterwards died, whereupon his sons were driven away and the place was occupied by the Persian ruler Kavad

(Procopius De Bell Pers. lib. i. ch. 10). Anastasius was praised for his prudence on this occasion ; but, as Lebeau says, a different opinion prevailed when, a few years later, the Huns broke through the pass and carried ravage into the empire. This famous raid was made in the year 516. Unfortunately I can only refer at second-hand to the Armenian authors who refer to it, namely, as quoted by St.-Martin and by Avdall. Vahan, the Mamikonian, who had ruled over Armenia as deputy of the Persian sovereign and as independent prince for thirty years, died in the year 510. His brother Vard, who had been constable, was appointed in his place with the approval of Kavad, the Persian King, but he only ruled for three years when he was removed in consequence of the complaints made against him, and a Persian named Burzan or Burghan was appointed marzban of Armenia. It was at this time that the Sabiri forcing the Caspian gates invaded Armenia. Burzan fled, abandoning the country to their fury, and the Prince of the Grusinians named Mijej alone opposed them. He attacked a body of them who had invaded the mountains of the district of Sasun (Sasun is situated in the Kurdish mountains east of the Tigris, and formed part of the Armenian province of Aghdsnik). He completely routed and drove them away, and marching his forces with those of some other Armenian chiefs, pursued the invaders and drove them out of Armenia. When this was reported to Kavad, he deposed Burzan and nominated Mijej in his place, and we are told how *inter alia* he restored the towns and villages which the invaders had destroyed (Lebeau, vol. vii. pp. 435-436 ; Avdall, pp. 329-330). The invaders are called simply Huns by the Armenian historians, but we know from the Byzantine writers that they were Sabiri. On leaving Armenia, we gather from the latter that they invaded Cappadocia, Galatia, and Pontus, which they laid waste. They penetrated as far as Euchaites and the frontiers of Lycaonia (Anastasius *passim*). It was on this occasion that Euphemius, patriarch of Constantinople, who had been deposed and exiled to Euchaites, fled from this place



and took refuge at Ancyra. His successor, who had also been exiled to the same town, retired for similar reasons to Gangra, where he soon after died (Lebeau, vol. vii. p. 433). Anastasius, in the MS. followed by Stritter, calls these Huns Samen, but in the corresponding passage of Cedrenus they are called Sabiri.

The next time we read of the Sabiri is in the year 522. They are not called Sabiri in the notice, but only Huns; but inasmuch as they were apparently living in the Kuban, it can hardly have been any other tribe. We read that war having broken out again between the Persians and Romans, the Emperor Justin sent envoys and gifts to Ziligdes (otherwise called Zilgbior or Ziagbiris and Zilgibio), who engaged by an oath to help the Romans; but Justin speedily discovered that he had made the same offer to the Persian ruler Kavad, whom he had furnished with a contingent of 20,000 men. Justin now informed Kavad of the double treachery of the Hunnic chief, adding, "Brothers as we are, had we not better remain at peace than become the toys of these dogs?" Having summoned the Hunnic leader, and discovered that Justin's account was true, Kavad put him to death, and afterwards slaughtered his men, who, unaware of their leader's death, were sleeping comfortably in their tents (Theophanes, etc.; Stritter, vol. i. pp. 602-3; Lebeau, vol. viii. pp. 28 and 29).

Seven years later, namely, in 528, we read that Justinian, being at war with the Persians, won over by presents and royal ornaments Boarex, called Boa by Malala, and Boazer in the *Historia Miscella* of Paul the Deacon. She was the widow of Balakh, or Malakh, chief of the Hunnic Sabiri. She marched with 100,000 of her men against two Hunnic chiefs who "lived in the interior parts," *i.e.* doubtless further north, and who were probably the leaders of the Utigurs and the Kotrigurs. Their names are given as Styrax and Gloues by some authors, while by Malala they are named Turagx and Glom. They had it seems been invited to his assistance by the Persian king Kavad, and were marching 20,000 strong. She fought with them, captured one of their kings,

namely, Styra, who was sent in chains to Constantinople; the other king was killed (Stritter, *op. cit.* vol. i. pp. 577 and 578; Lebeau, vol. viii. pp. 104-5).

The struggle between the Romans and Persians still continued, and in 530 there was fought a memorable battle near the town of Dara. The Romans were commanded by Belisarius and the Persians by Peroses, or Firoz: on the Roman side was a body of 600 Huns commanded by Sunika and Augan. Procopius calls these Huns, Massagetae. In another place Procopius speaks of two other Hunnic chiefs also commanding 600 horsemen, namely Simas and Askhan (see Procopius *De Bell Pers.* lib. i. ch. 13). These Huns fought very bravely, and, in fact, restored the battle after it had been lost; Sunika, as we read, fighting his way right up to and cutting down the Persian standard bearer. Meanwhile Kavad, the Persian ruler, had sent another army into Armenia, consisting chiefly of Perso-Armenians and Sunites, *i.e.* Suans, to whom we are told were joined 3000 Sabiri (Procopius, i. 15). This army was twice badly defeated. Thus did the two great empires, by their strife, afford their barbarous allies ample room for the display of their treachery and disinterestedness in allying themselves with either side. Well might the Persian king complain of the continued aggressiveness of the Romans—their violation of treaties, and their building a threatening fortress at Dara, and attempting to erect another at Murdoneh. He complained further that he had continuously to employ two armies, one to oppose the Romans, and the other to oppose the northern barbarians, and declared that if the Romans wanted peace, they must contribute towards guarding the Caspian gates or they must demolish Dara (Procopius, i. 16). The struggle between the two empires consequently continued, and the ill success of his arms seems to have brought on an attack of paralysis, from which Kavad, the Persian ruler, died in the year 531. His death led to the raising of the siege of Martyropolis by the Persians and to fresh negotiations for peace. Meanwhile the Sabiri, who had promised to send aid to the Persians in their attack

upon Malatiya, or Martyropolis, arrived there and, not finding their Persian friends, they proceeded to invade and lay waste the second Cilicia and Comagene (Malala, part ii. p. 213). According to the Syriac chronicle of Edessa, published by Assemani, they ravaged the environs of Aleppo (see *Ass.* vol. i. p. 415). They advanced as far as four leagues from Antioch, and as they retired, laden with spoils, Dorotheus met them in the Armenian mountains, surprised them in several ambuscades, and recovered a large part of their booty (Malala, *loc. cit.* Lebeau, viii. 175).

Peace was made between the Romans and Persians in the year 531, which was finally ratified in the year 533, and thus did the long strife which had lasted for thirty years come to an end. We are told that Dagaris, who had been captured in Armenia, was now exchanged. He defeated the Huns in several encounters and drove them out of the provinces which they had laid waste (Procopius, i. ch. 22). The peace between the two empires offered no opportunities for the Sabiri to renew their incursions for some years, and it is not till the year 550 that we again read of them, and again read of them also as taking part in the struggles between the Romans and the Persians. Gabazes, king of Lazica, having been threatened by the Persians, sought succour from Justinian, who sent him a body of 8000 men, with whom he proceeded to lay siege to Petra, with him were also a body of Alans and Sabira who for the sum of 300 golden marks had undertaken not only to defend Lazica, but to lay waste Iberia (Procopius, *de Bell. Pers.* l. ii. ch. 29). The Huns named by Procopius as fighting on the side of Chosroes in this campaign were probably White Huns. Jornandes, who wrote his history of the Goths as Mommsen argues in the year 551 and before the invasion of the Avars, has the following not very definite notice of the Sabiri:—"Hunni quasi fortissimorum gentium fecundissimus cespes bifariam populorum rabiem pullularunt. Nam alii Altziagiri alii Saviri nuncupantur, qui tamen sedes habent divisas," (*Geticia*, ch. v. ed. Mommsen, page 63).

In the same year when this is supposed to have been written, viz. in 551, the Sabiri are again named as taking part in the struggle between the Romans and the Persians. We read that the Romans then had in their service many Sabiri who were a Hunnic race, and were ruled by several chieftains, some of whom were in alliance with the Romans, and others with the Persians, and were kept in a good humour by continual largess. Justinian having need of their services at this time sent them some money, but the person who took it was not able to convey it to the Caucasus since the Persians intercepted the route. When he reached the camp of the Romans, who were besieging Petra, he sent word to the Sabiri to go and meet him. They accordingly sent three of their chiefs with some soldiers, who, seeing that the Romans were despairing of breaking down the walls of the place, invented or constructed a new battering engine of a kind hitherto unknown both to Romans and Persians. This was not built of upright longitudinal and transverse beams, but of wicker work covered with hides, and in the midst they suspended a beam with an iron head and it was so light that it did not need to be dragged along, but the forty men who were underneath could carry it about with them. Several of these machines were built by the Sabiri. Petra was duly taken (Procopius de Bell. Goth. iv. 11). Meanwhile the Roman commander failed to follow up his victory, and we read how the Persians, under Mermeroes, marched to attack them and laid siege to Archeopolis. In this war we are told that a body of 12,000 Sabirians were among the auxiliary troops in the service of the Persians (*id.* 13). Having heard of the new machines which the Sabiri had made for the Romans, Mermeroes in turn had similar ones made by the Sabiri in his service (*id.* 14). The Persians were foiled however in their attack, and the result was a truce of five years coupled with the payment of a considerable sum by the Romans. Chosroes, the Persian king, was not very punctilious, however, in his observance of treaties. He employed the money he received from the

Romans to pay a considerable contingent of Sabiri, whom he sent with some Huns, doubtless White Huns are meant, and elephants to the help of Mermeroes. The result of the treachery was not, however, successful. Many of his men were cut in pieces, and inter alios, the chief of the Sabiri was killed. A struggle took place for the body of the Barbarian (*id.* 17).

The next we read of the Sabiri is in the year 554, when two thousand of them commanded by Balmakh, Kutilzis, and Ildiger are named as in the service of the Romans. They were posted near Archæopolis when Nakoragan, the successor of Mermeroes as commander of the Persians, ordered 3000 Dilemites, or people of Dilem, to attack them. They set out intending to surprise the Sabiri at night, but were misled by a Colchian, who had offered to guide them, and who meanwhile escaped and gave warning to the Sabiri. They accordingly arose and planted themselves in ambush. While the Dilemites entered their camp and used their lances and swords to probe the beds where their enemies were supposed to be, the latter broke out of their ambush and put 800 to the sword, and captured many of them. The commander of Archæopolis, at daybreak, having heard a noise and learnt its cause, joined his forces to those of the Sabiri and continued the slaughter so that barely 1000 of the Dilemites escaped (Agathias, iii. 8). The Romans having rewarded the Sabiri for their services, we are told that they now joined the Persians. Agathias says of the Sabiri that they were numerous and powerful, accustomed to war and pillage, and were pleased to enter the service of foreigners when there was hope of pillage, and they thus changed sides frequently, fighting now for the Romans and now for the Persians. In the war of the year 555, 500 of them were encamped some distance from the main army and kept guard badly and lived with but lax discipline. Maxentius and Theodore despatched 300 cavalry, who, we are told, easily jumped the low wall enclosing the Sabirian camp and speedily killed all the Sabiri save forty, who escaped to a wood. We are

told they were under the impression that the force opposed to them was much larger than it proved to be (*id.* iv. 3).

We have now reached the time when the domination of the Sabiri, north of the Caucasus, gave place to that of the Avars or Psued-Avars whose invasion occurred in the year 558.

The Sabiri, among other tribes, succumbed to this invasion. A portion of them, doubtless, marched westwards as we shall presently see under the banners of the Avars, while another portion were apparently driven into Albania, *i.e.* Arran, and we, in fact, read in the pages of Menander how in the year 575, when the Romans and the Persians were again at war, the Roman frontier commanders made incursions into Albania and took hostages from the Sabiri and other tribes of the Caucasus, whom they sent to Constantinople. The Albanians (or perhaps Alans as Menander's text here has it) and the Sabiri seeing their children in the hands of the Romans determined to submit to the empire. These envoys were well received by Justin. Abeir, the chief of these tribes, whose name is apparently a form of Avar, was absent from home at this time, and on his return, without regard to the hostages, he persuaded the greater part of the Sabiri and the Albanians to again submit to the Persian King (Menander, *loc. cit.* 119; Lebeau, x. 131, etc.). When the Roman commanders learnt of this defection, they made a fresh invasion of Albania, and to make use of them in future they transported them with their families beyond the Kur, and therefore within the Roman frontier. Justin was dissatisfied with the conduct of his generals on this occasion, and insisted that the Sabiri and Albanians should be put to the sword (*id.* 158 and 159). In the year 579 Menander speaks of a body of Persian troops being placed on guard against the Saracens, the Sabiri, etc. (*id.* Bonn, ed. 408). This is the last notice I can find of the Sabiri in the Caucasus.

It is not impossible that their blood is still present among the so-called Avars and the Khuasak of these mountains.

From the notices already given, it will be seen that the

Sabiri dominated the steppes north of the Caucasus for about a century, from the year 456 to 556. They did not, apparently, occupy the country to the north of the Mæotis, or on the lower Don, but were, so far as the notices can be followed and trusted, limited to the Kuban steppes and the country to the north. A town Suvar in the later district of Great Bulgaria is probably an evidence of them.

Let us now revert again to the famous passage which was quoted at the beginning of the paper from Priscus. As we have seen, he tells us that the Sabiri pushed forward the Saroguri, the Urogi, and the Onoguri. Who then were these tribes? *Eo nomine* they then occur for the first time.

Urogi is probably a corruption of Ugori, and we have in these three names the particle Ugor present, which suggests some commentary. With other inquirers I was once disposed to treat the word as a form of Uhry or Ughri, by which the Ugrian or Hunnic tribes of the Urals, especially the Voguls, are known, but this view I no longer hold; the whole history of these tribes points to their having been a nomadic race of horsemen, and not mere fisherfolk and hunters, and I now believe they were of Turkish and not Ugrian blood. The name Ugor I believe now is to be correlated rather with the Turkish name Uighur than with Uhry, and in Saroguri this name is qualified with the particles Sar, meaning Yellow or White; Saroguri thus means White Uighurs. Onoguri apparently means the Nine Uighurs.

In regard to the Urogi, or Ugori, I do not propose to say anything more. The name occurs nowhere else in this isolated and unqualified form, and its mention on this occasion is probably due to some misapprehension, since it is apparently merely the generic name, of which the other two are specific forms. In regard to the Onoguri, I propose to deal with them on another occasion, when we may possibly try and elucidate the beginnings of Bulgarian history. At present we will limit ourselves to the Saroguri. As I have said, I take their name to be simply Sar Uighurs,

or White Uighurs, and it is a curious fact that the Kalmuks still call the Turks, who nomadize in the steppes of Northern Tibet, Sar Uighurs.

We find the Saroguri mentioned more than once with the Akatziri; thus Priscus tells us that all who could not resist the Avars fled, thus the Saroguri, in search of new homes, came to the Hunnic Akatziri, and, having fought many battles with them, sent an embassy to the Romans.

In 469 we find the Saroguri making an invasion of Persia in conjunction with the Akatziri.

In my view the Saroguri and Akatziri were merely sections of one race which had got separated. Akatziri means White Katziri or White Khazars. In a paper which I read before the St. Petersburg Congress of Orientalists I collected the evidence which makes it almost certain that the Khazars were Turks, and as I believe Uighurian Turks. Akatziri and Saroguri are therefore virtually synonyms. The Akatziri had occupied the district of the lower Volga for some time before the incursion of the Avars, and are numbered among the subjects of Attila. The Saroguri were in my view another section of the same race who lived beyond the Volga and dominated the so-called Kirghiz Steppes. When the Avars began their aggressions the Saroguri were displaced. One section came westwards across the Volga, and the other in my view invaded Persia and its borders, and are otherwise known as White Huns. White Uighurs, White Khazars, and White Huns being really synonyms. I hope to devote another paper to the White Huns.

As we have seen, the Saroguri, on being driven from their homes, came westwards, and sent envoys to the Romans. They settled, as I believe, in the Steppes of Southern Russia, displacing or incorporating their previous inhabitants, and from this time we find these steppes occupied by two tribes, whose names prove them to have been Uighurs by race, and who I take to have been merely two sections into which the Saroguri divided themselves. They were known as Kutrigurs and Utigurs.

I will first say a few words about the forms in which these names occur. Procopius, who first mentions them, speaks of the Kuturgurs, Agathias calls them Kotriguroi, and Menander Koutriguroi (ed. Paris, 310) and Kutriguroi (*id.* 344, 385-6). Theophylactus calls them Kotzageroi, Theophanes Kotragi, and Anastasius Koutrages. Jornandes has the form Cutziagiri.

Zeuss argues that the *t* in the form used by Theophylactus and Jornandes is the aspirate of the lingual as *dz=dh* in German names; thus Scandza for Scandia. Under any circumstances the Kuturgur of Procopius has a redundant *r*, and whether the first particle of the name be Kotri or Kutzi it seems clear that the second part of it is *igur*, or *ogor*, corresponding to the second part in the form Utigur.

Turning to the latter tribe, Procopius, as we have seen, calls them Uturgurs, Agathias calls them Utiguroi, Menander Utiguroi, with variants in different MSS. of Uguri (*op. cit.* 284), and Uttiguroi (*id.* 399).

Agathias professes to complete the work of Procopius, whom he quotes in his preface. In regard to the Huns he tells us they were distinguished by the names Kotrigurs and Utigurs, Ultizurs and Burgundi, etc., derived, he says probably, from the places where they lived (*loc. cit.* v. ch. 3). In regard to the two latter tribes he says he knew nothing of them, whether they still existed or lived in some distant country. He tells us they were famous by their military exploits until the time of Leo. His remark would make it appear that he drew his information about them from some other source, and I am disposed to think that Burgundi is a mistake for Bulgar, caused by some confusion in his mind between the two tribes respectively so named, the Burgundians having been of course a Teutonic tribe. The Ultizuri or Ultirizuri, as he elsewhere writes it, seem to me to be an alteration of the Altziageri of Jornandes, whom we have already discussed. As named by Agathias, the Burgundi and Ultizuri, I therefore take to be of absolutely no value; they are mere book-names more or less corrupted, and, like Procopius,

he knows only the Utigurs and Kutrigurs in the Russian steppes.

Procopius is the first writer who mentions these tribes. He says the Zekki (probably Circassians are meant) occupied the coast of the Euxine. Beyond them was the district of the Sagidæ (probably an Alanic tribe). Beyond them were various Hunnic peoples. The district beyond was called Eulysia. The people dwelling there and about the Mæotis and as far as the Tanais (*i.e.* the Don) were those who were anciently called Cimmerii, but were then called Uturguri. Further north dwelt the very numerous race of the Antae (Procopius, *Bell. Goth.* iv. 1, 2 and 3). In another place he tells us how the Huns in this district once obeyed a King who had two sons, Uturgur and Kuturgur, who, on their father's death divided the kingdom, and their people took their names from them, some calling themselves Uturgurs and others Kuturgurs. They dwelt in the Steppes and had no intercourse with other peoples, nor did they cross the marshes, nor indeed did they think they could be crossed. It so happened, to follow the legend, that some youths who were hunting a stag followed it into the water, and as it went across they also reached the other side. On their return they reported they had found a ford. Their countrymen thereupon crossed over in force and attacked the Goths who lived there; killed many of them and dispersed the rest (*id.* v. 1 and 2). These Goths were the so-called Gothi Tetraxitæ, who afterwards formed a small community in the mountainous parts of the south of the Crimea. It would seem that Procopius refers to the time when they occupied the whole of the peninsula and were dispossessed of a portion of it by the Huns.

Their country now became the prey of the Huns, and we are told the Kuturgurs settled with their wives and children, and says Procopius there they live now, and although they have at various times received presents from the Emperor they nevertheless do not desist from crossing the Ister and attacking his provinces, being

thus at the same time allies and enemies of the Romans (*id.* v. 3).

At this time we must understand that the lower Don or the Sea of Azof roughly separated the two tribes we are describing, the Kuturgurs or Kutrigurs lived in the Steppes to west, including the northern part of Krim and the Nogai Steppes, while the Uturgurs or Utigurs lived east and south-east of the Don and along the eastern borders of the Sea of Azof as far as the Kuban, being bounded on the south by the Sabiri. It would seem that both tribes united in the invasion of the Crimea, but that only the Kutrigurs settled there, the Utigurs returning home again. As they were returning, a large number of Goths fully armed, who apparently occupied the peninsula of Phanagoria, prepared to resist, but thinking better of it the two tribes made peace and afterwards lived at amity. The Utigurs continued, says Procopius, to live in their ancestral home without molesting the Romans, since they were too far off to have the power of fighting them even if they had the will. Their neighbours were the Abasgoi (the modern Abkhazians) (*id.* iv. 3). They were probably the Huns with whom Opsites, the King of the Abasgians, took refuge when defeated by the Romans (*id.* ix. 3).

The Huns, says Procopius, possessed all the country from the Bosphorus as far as the town of Cherson. At the latter place were two towns, Cepi and Phanaguris, both of which had been captured recently and destroyed by the barbarians. All the country from Cherson to the mouth of the Danube, a distance of ten days' journey, was occupied by the barbarians. The barbarians of these notices perhaps were the Gepidæ.

About the year 550, when there was a truce between the Lombards and the Gepidæ, who occupied Pannonia, the latter having determined to recommence hostilities, and being persuaded that the Romans would side with their enemies, sent an embassy to the Kutrigurs, who lived on this side of the Mæotis (*i.e.* north-west of the Mæotis and west of

the Don), to ask them to attack the Lombards. They accordingly sent a body of 12,000 men, commanded, according to Procopius, by Khinialkh, a leader of great repute in war. He is also called Zabergan (?=Sabir Khan). Khinialkh was probably his name. He is described as a leader of great repute, and his army arrived while the truce was still in force and had twelve months to run, and the Gepidæ, wanting to find their allies some work to occupy their time, persuaded them to cross the Danube and attack the Roman territory, which they ravaged far and wide (Procopius, *Hist. Goth.* ch. xviii.). What followed is described in greater detail by Agathias, who tells us the Danube was then frozen fast, and they passing it on the ice, and, crossing a wide stretch of country which was unpopulated, traversed Moesia and Scythia (*i.e.* the Dobruja) and entered Thrace. There Khinialkh or Zabergan divided his army into two bodies, one of which he sent to forage in Greece, where there were no garrisons, and sent the other into the Thracian Chersonese, which was well known for its fertility. The Chersonese was joined to the mainland by an isthmus, protected by a wall, and Zabergan fancied, if he could capture this, he would be master of the sea, and could secure ships with which to cross over into Asia (the transit being short), and that he could ruin Abydos. He accordingly despatched as many troops as he could spare towards the Isthmus, while he himself advanced with 7000 horses towards Constantinople, pillaged the towns and stripped the country of forage, ravaging far and wide, professing that his reason for the invasion was that his people, the Kutrigurs, had been treated differently to the Utigurs, whose chief had received many presents and honours from the Emperor (Agathias, book v. ch. 5). He presently withdrew, charged with an immense booty and an immense number of slaves, among whom were distinguished ladies, who were dragged along with great brutality. There were virgins who had devoted their life to piety, and whose chastity was sacrificed to the incontinence of the invaders, while several women who were *enceinte*, were similarly

dragged along, without any means of covering their children from the weather.

The Huns passed the great walls and approached the forts, some of which had fallen into decay from neglect, and knocked down others with the same care that masons destroy old buildings. There were no guards, no war engines, not even, says Agathias, dogs to guard the flocks. The invaders encamped near the town of Melantiades, which was only 150 stadia distant from the capital. The citizens were panic-stricken with fright, and from the Emperor downwards people were seized with pusillanimous terror, which is described in graphic phrases by Agathias (*id.* ch. 6). Belisarius, the old hero, who had retired from active service, was recalled to lead the army—an army of undisciplined weaklings. He addressed it in language of confidence, and a report of what he is supposed to have said is duly given by Agathias (*id.* ch. 7); and he seems to have inspired his men with some of his own spirit. Having heard from his spies that the enemy had detached 2000 men from their main body to attack the Romans, he accordingly posted 200 of his men, armed with shields and javelins, in ambush in a forest on two sides of a path along which the Huns had to advance, and planting his main body in front, he bade the peasants, etc., from the surrounding country follow the enemy, and make as great a noise as they could. His plans were well carried out. The Huns were thrown into confusion and pressed so much on each other that they could neither throw their lances nor extend the wings of their cavalry, and the small number of their opponents was disguised by the dust. The Huns, seeing themselves foiled, withdrew at a gallop. Four hundred of them were left on the ground. No Roman was killed; some only were wounded. Zabergan himself only escaped by the speed of his horse, and by the fact that the Roman cavalry was not strong enough to pursue. The Huns reached their camp in confusion, and, according to their custom, gashed their cheeks to show their grief. They abandoned their attack on Melantiades and withdrew some distance off (*id.* ch. 8).

Bélisarius, instead of pursuing, returned to Constantinople, apparently recalled by the jealousy of the Court. The Huns withdrew beyond the great walls, but finding they were not pursued, marched slowly. Meanwhile their other division attacked the Chersonese, and tried several times to storm the walls, but were vigorously met by the Romans, who were commanded by Germanus, the son of Dorotheus, who was young, vigorous, and a skilful soldier. The Huns, who had tried in vain to storm the defences of the Chersonese, now adopted other tactics. Agathias tells us how they collected large quantities of reeds with which they made hurdles, and from four of these they made boats to hold four men. The prows were pointed, so that they might be the more easily steered, and down each side were seats for the rowers. Of these they made 150, and launched them on the sea near the town of Enus. On these boats were altogether about 600 well-armed men. They stuffed straw into the holes when the reeds let water in, and began to row as well as they could in their fragile boats, and endeavoured to reach the turn of the wall, fancying their troubles would then be ended, since the rest of the Chersonese was only protected by the Hellespont. Germanus, when he heard of the very hazardous manœuvre of the enemy, was highly delighted. He mounted a number of well-armed soldiers and sailors on some twenty galleys, and told them to lie in wait behind a promontory, where they would not be observed. When the Huns had rowed past the wall, and began to draw near the other side, the Roman soldiers, in their boats, came out from their hiding-place and attacked them, upset some of their frail rafts of reeds, and cut the fastenings of others, and they were all either drowned or put to the sword (*id.* ch. 9). The Romans having landed again determined to press home their advantage at once, and proceeded to attack the enemy. In this struggle Germanus was wounded, and, the Romans being outnumbered, withdrew again, but the Huns had had enough. The loss of their improvised fleet, and perhaps the firm front shown by the Romans,

dispirited them, and they withdrew and went to rejoin Zabergan, who had also been defeated. The division which went towards Greece did nothing remarkable, and did not get beyond Thermopylæ, which was protected by a Roman garrison, whence they also retired. Zabergan declared, however, that he would not withdraw from the country until he had received a large sum of money such as the Romans formerly paid the Utigurs, and he threatened to put all the prisoners to death unless it was paid. The Emperor thereupon sent a considerable sum with which to ransom the prisoners. The Huns sent them back again, among them was Sergius, son of Bacchus, who had been treated with great indignity. The Huns now withdrew homewards, plundering on the way. The blackmail they levied was naturally very distasteful to the Romans, who were angry that instead of being cut in pieces they should have secured so much plunder. Justinian, according to Agathias, had a deep plot however in all this, and what subsequently happened cleared him in his subjects' eyes from much blame in having thus bought off the invaders (*id.* ch. 10).

He wrote a letter to Sandelkh, Sandikh, or Sandel, the chief of the Utigurs, inciting them to attack the homes of the then absent rival tribe. Agathias gives us what he professes to be the letter which Justinian wrote to this chief on this occasion. In it he said that if he (Sandilk) had heard of what the Kutrigurs had been doing, he could but express astonishment at his perfidy, and at the imprudence which had tied him to such an ally. The only way in which he could escape from his ambiguous position was to prove his former ignorance by now exacting vengeance. It was not purely to plunder that the Kutrigurs had invaded the Roman borders, but also to show the world how worthless were their allies, and to prove how superior their forces were to those of the Utigurs. This is why they had overrun all Thrace and carried off the money which was promised to and in-

tended for the Utigurs themselves, and the reason they had not been driven away and chastised was because the Romans wished to put their friendship to the test and also to test whether they were going to submit to being robbed of what was their own, namely, the presents they, the Romans, intended sending them. They had a special reason of their own, therefore, for vengeance, and ought to recover from the hands of the Kutrigurs the gift which was their due. If they were going to remain content with things as they were, they, the Romans, would in future pay the Kutrigurs what they had hitherto paid them, and abandon their alliance with the Utigurs, for their braver rivals. It would be more profitable and honourable to side with those who were victorious than with those who had been beaten. What followed is differently reported by the Byzantine writers.

Menander says Justinian sent Sandilkh several embassies, and tried by every means to induce him to fight Zabergan. He promised him, *inter alia*, that if he would attack the Kutrigurs, he would pay him the annual pension which Zabergan had hitherto received. Sandilkh replied that it would neither be right nor decent that he should exterminate his compatriots. For, he said, not only do they speak the same tongue and have the same customs as ourselves, but they are our relatives, although they obey other leaders. Nevertheless, as it is Justinian who orders this, we will carry off their horses, so that they shall no longer be able to ride, and no longer therefore able to do the Romans any harm. (Menander, ed. Bonn, 345). According to Procopius the Roman envoy pointed out that these Kutrigurs (of whom he, Sandilkh, was so careful), although they annually received large sums from Byzantium, did not desist from attacking the Roman frontiers. Nor did they let the Utigurs share in this bounty, nor did they share in the booty which they made when assailing the Roman borders. Sandilkh was at length moved by the Roman entreaties and presents, and agreed that he would attack the Kutrigurs. Agathias

says that the biting message of the Romans stirred Sandilkh's pride, and he at once proceeded to attack the enemy (*id.* lib. v. ch. 6). Having been joined by 2000 Goths (*i.e.* Gothi Tetraxitae, who, we have seen, were their allies), they crossed the Don, and had a very serious struggle with the Kutrigurs (that is with those who had remained at home), and eventually defeated them, and caused a great massacre, and returned home with their wives and children as prisoners (Procopius, Bell. Goth. ch. xviii.). This internecine feud among the enemies of the Empire is made a subject of congratulation by Procopius, and he tells us that many Roman captives, whom the Kutrigurs had formerly made, who numbered many thousands, managed to escape and returned home again (*id.* xix.).

Meanwhile Zabergan, as we have seen, with a body of 12,000 Kutrigurs, had crossed the Danube and was ravaging the country to the south. Justinian now sent Aratius to acquaint them of what had taken place in their own country, and to tempt them by a liberal largess to withdraw. They accordingly retired without doing any more harm, and without carrying off any captives, treating the inhabitants in fact, as the no doubt astonished historian tells us, as if they had been their friends, and it was agreed that if on their return they found it possible to remain, they were to do so; but if they found it impossible to settle down in their own country they were to return to Thrace, where the Emperor promised to find them quarters, and where they should undertake to keep out other barbarians (*id.* xix. 1 and 2).

Agathias says the Kutrigurs were attacked by the Utigurs while returning from Thrace, and deprived of the plunder which they had made. Those who escaped went home to collect their forces, and thus the two tribes began a long struggle, during which the empire was more or less free from their attacks. The Kutrigurs, it would seem from his account, were seriously punished in the war, and those who remained lost their liberty and took the name of the conquerors. When the news reached Constantinople of these events,

the Emperor was highly praised for his prudent conduct (Agathias, lib. v. ch. 6).

Procopius says that 2000 of the Kutrigurs who had been defeated by the Utigurs fled with their wives and children to Roman territory. They had among them a valiant chief named Simeon who had formerly served under Belisarius against the Vandals. These fugitives offered to serve in the Roman armies, and Justinian sent them into Thrace. This caused Sandilkh, the ruler of the Utigurs, to get into a great rage. He deemed it indecent that having driven the Kutrigurs from their lands to please the Romans, the latter should have given the latter settlements, and he sent his complaints by his envoys, to whom, says Procopius, he entrusted no letters, for the Huns had not the art of writing, and neither taught their children to read or write. These envoys reported his message to Justinian, and according to Procopius, it was in these words: "I heard a parable, when a child, which I will report to you. The wolf can change its fur, but not its disposition. Nature will not let it do so. This is what I, Sandilkh, have learnt from old men who discriminate the ways of men by those of beasts. I also know the lessons which I have learnt from my country life. The shepherds take young dogs and bring them up carefully, and when grown up, the dogs are gentle to the shepherds who have cared for them. The intention of the shepherds is that these dogs shall guard their sheep and protect them from the wolves. This is a universal law, I take it, for nowhere do dogs eat sheep and wolves guard them. It is equally a law, I take it, in your kingdom where some things occur strange and contrary to the ways of other men. If I am mistaken in my remarks, point it out to my envoys, so that I may learn something in my old age. If my story is true, is it not shameful that you should give shelter to the Kutrigurs in your midst when you could not tolerate them quietly when living so far from their frontiers? They will soon prove if they have affection and zeal for your service. You will always have



enemies since you treat them so kindly after they have been beaten, and you will have no friends to defend your territories and to protect them from pillage since they may expect to be worse treated than your foes. While we have to live in a sterile desert, the Kutigurs enjoy superfluity. They have the luxury of baths, while their garments are embroidered with gold and silver. They have carried off to their country a vast quantity of Romans upon whom they practised all the cruelty which a barbarous and pitiless disposition could invent. While we have run dangers in order to rescue their victims from slavery, you have repaid us ill. We suffer all the inconveniences to which nature has condemned our land, while the Kutrigurs divide among them the lands of those whom we have delivered by our courage from the yoke they had imposed on them." Such was the message of the envoys whom Justinian endeavoured to appease with words and presents, and sent home again (*id.* xix.).

A little later, the Lombard Ildigist, who had sought asylum at Constantinople, taking offence at not being treated with sufficient dignity, fled to Apros, in Thrace, where, being joined by some of his countrymen, he revolted. The Emperor ordered the different governors of Thrace and Illyria to oppose him. The first troops whom he encountered consisted of those Kutrigurs, to whom the Emperor had given a settlement in Thrace, but they were defeated and dispersed, and the rebels advanced upon Illyria (Procopius, *De Bell Goth.* xxvii. 2). In the fight between Narses and the Goth Totila, we are told that a contingent of Huns fought in the Roman ranks (*id.* xxxi.). These were probably Kutrigurs, and it is the last notice of them known to me. We now lose the guidance of Procopius, who died about this time.

In the year 557 a new horde of nomades, whose history I have elsewhere related, crossed the Volga, driven forward by the Turks, and we are told that on their approach the Sarselt, Onoguri (*i.e.* the Bulgarians), Sabiri, and other Hunnic tribes, were greatly disturbed, and gave them presents.

I take it that the larger part of these Hunnic tribes were incorporated in the Avar armies, and marched westwards with them. Not only so, but it would seem that, like the Onogurs or Bulgars, some of the other Huns became the dominant caste among certain Slavic peoples.

In common with other writers, I cannot avoid identifying the Sabiri with the race or caste which gave its name to the Serbians. I have elsewhere in a monograph on the Croats shown how probable it is that they also were led by a Hunnic caste, and it is an interesting fact that one of the early Croat chiefs was called Kotrag, which brings him into close relationship with the Kutriguri.

I hold the Sabiri, the Kutrigurs, and the Utigurs to have been very nearly related to one another, all of them having been Turks of the Uighur branch. Jornandes clearly treats the Sabiri and Kutrigurs as closely related. His words are: "Hinc jam Hunni . . . in bifariam populorum rabiem pullularunt. Nam alii Cutziagiri, alii Saviri nuncupantur," etc. One of the famous chiefs of the Kutrigurs who invaded the empire was named as we have seen Zabergan, which seems a corruption of Sabir Khan. In my view these tribes, before the Avar movement, occupied the old Khanate of Siberia, and the steppes East of the Volga, now the home of the small horde of the Kirghiz Kazaks, and this movement largely displaced and thrust them forward. When they crossed the Volga, they thrust a wedge in among the previous occupants of the Russian steppes, who consisted of the remains of the army of Attila. It is curious to note how potent a factor they became in the eyes of the Romans. As a proof of the considerable rôle played by the Huns at this time in Eastern eyes it may be mentioned that when the Byzantine faction of the Blues changed their dress, etc., they cut off all their hair in front, and allowed that behind to grow long, probably in tresses. "They call this," says Procopius, "the mode of the Huns." They began to wear much richer robes than their condition justified, the sleeves of

which were wide above and narrow below, so that when they raised their arms at the theatre the people might fancy their height corresponded to the bulk of their garments. Their jackets, their buskins, and their socks were also in the fashion of the Huns (Procopius, *Secret History*, vii. 1).

ART. XIII. — *Catalogue and Description of 27 Báb Manuscripts.* By E. G. BROWNE, M.A., M.R.A.S.

(Continued from page 499.)

BBF. 7.

تفسیر سورة العصر مع تسبیح فاطمه.

The Báb's Commentary on the Súratu'l-'Aşr, and the Tasbîh-i-Fâtima.

Ff. 99 (ff. 1^a-2^a, f. 17^b, ll. 7-12, f. 88^a, ff. 98^b-99^b blank); 13.5 × 9 centimetres, 14 lines to the page. Written in a clear *naskh* hand. Obtained at the same time and under the same circumstances as the last MS.

The occasion of the Báb's writing this Commentary is thus described in the *Tárikh-i-Jadíd* (BBF. 5, f. 106^a; Or. 2942, ff. 103^a-103^b):

و آنحضرت در منزل امام جمعه نزل اجلال فرمودند. جناب امام جمعه هم ظاهراً اظهار اخلاص مینمود و کمال احترام را بعمل می آورد و آنحضرت چهل روز در منزل ایشان تشریف داشتند و اغلب ناس از خاص و عام بزیارت ایشان مشرف میشدند و سؤالات مشکله مینمودند و بطریق سهولت جوابهای شافی کافی میشنیدند تا آنکه جمع کشیری مصدق امر ایشان شدند و جناب معتمد الدوله بدیدن آنحضرت شرفیابی حاصل نمود و آنحضرت نیز باز دید ایشان تشریف بردند. جناب امام جمعه از آنحضرت سؤال کرده بود که آیت حقیقت شما چیست فرمودند آیات و هر مطلبی را که بخواهم بدون فکر و سکون قلم در سه ساعت هزار بیت مینویسم

جواب داده بود شاید پیش از وقت در آن مطلب تفکر نموده باشید. فرمودند هرچه شما بخواهید من مینویسم. عرض کرد همچنانچه بجهت جناب آقا سید یحیی دارابی تفسیری بر سوره مبارکه کوثر نوشتید بجهت ایجابان نیز تفسیری بر سوره مبارکه والعصر بنویسید آنحضرت شروع بنوشتن فرمودند و در هر سه ساعت هزار بیت نوشتند. جناب امام جمعه یقین حاصل نمود که آن گونه قدرت من عند الله است و خارج از قوه بشر است *

“So His Holiness [the Báb] alighted at the house of the *Imám-Jum‘a* [of Isfahán], and abode there forty days, during which time the *Imám-Jum‘a* behaved towards him with every appearance of good-will and respect. Many persons, gentle and simple, enjoyed the honour of meeting him, and propounded to him hard questions, to which they received full and satisfactory answers easy to understand, so that many accepted his doctrine. His Excellency [Minúchihir Khán] the *Mu‘tamadu‘d-Dawla* also came to see him, and His Holiness [the Báb] returned the visit. The *Imám-Jum‘a* had demanded of him, ‘By what sign do you establish the truth of your claim?’ ‘By verses,’ answered he, ‘for without pause of the pen I can, in the space of three hours, write a thousand sentences on any subject that I please.’ ‘But,’ objected the *Imám-Jum‘a*, ‘you may have considered the matter previously.’ ‘I will write,’ replied he, ‘on any subject you please.’ ‘Then,’ said the *Imám-Jum‘a*, ‘write for me a Commentary on the *Súra* beginning *wa‘l-‘aşr*,¹ even as you wrote for *Aká Seyyid Yaḥyá* of *Dáráb* a Commentary on the *Súratu‘l-Kawthar*.² So His Holiness [the Báb] began to write, and in every three hours wrote a thousand sentences. Then the *Imám-Jum‘a* was convinced that such power was from God, being beyond the capacity of man.”

Allusion is made to this request of the *Imám-Jum‘a*

¹ *Qur‘án*, ciii.

² *Qur‘án*, cviii.

in the following passage of this *Commentary*, which occurs on ff. 4^b-5^b of the present MS. :

وَأَنَّ الْآنَ لَمَّا نَزَلَ الْأَمْرَ مِنْ جَنَابِ مُسْتَطَابِ ذِي الْحَسَبِ
الشَّامِخِ الرَّفِيعِ وَذِي الْعِزِّ الْبَازِغِ الْمُنِيعِ وَذِي النَّسَبِ الْعَالِيِّ الرَّفِيعِ
ذِي الْأَصْفَاتِ الْعَالِيَةِ وَالْإِخْلَاقِ الرَّضِيَّةِ الْحَسَنِيَّ سُلْطَانَ الْعُلَمَاءِ أَدَامَ اللَّهُ
ظَلَّ عَطُوفَتَهُ عَلَيَّ مِنْ سَكَنِ فِي ظِلَالِ رَحْمَتِهِ بَانَ أَنْفَسَرَ السُّورَةَ الْمُبَارَكَةَ
الَّتِي نَزَلَ اللَّهُ فِي الْقُرْآنِ هَذِهِ وَالْعَصْرَانَ الْإِنْسَانَ لَفِي خُسْرٍ إِلَّا الَّذِينَ
أَمَنُوا وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ وَتَوَاصَوْا بِالْحَقِّ وَتَوَاصَوْا بِالصَّبْرِ وَلَمَّا كَانَ
أَمْرُهُ الْمَطَاعِ وَحُكْمُهُ الْفَصْلِ فِي أَظْهَرَ ذَلِكَ الْبَيَانِ قَدْ اسْتَعْنَتَ عَنِ
اللَّهِ وَاتَّبَعْتَ أَمْرَهُ بِأَظْهَرَ مَا خَلَقَ اللَّهُ فِي الْكِيَانِ بِالْبُرُوزِ إِلَى الْعِيَانِ
لِيَتَمَيَّزَ بِشَرْحِ تِلْكَ السُّورَةِ الْمُبَارَكَةِ شَانَ مِنْ أَيْدٍ مِنْ فَضْلِ اللَّهِ فِي
ذَلِكَ الْمَقَامِ عَنِ دُونِهِ وَبَقِيَ ثَوَابٌ مِنْ عَرَفَ شَيْئًا مِنْهُ لِحَبَابِ
حَضْرَتِهِ إِلَى يَوْمِ الْمَأْتِ (f. 5^a). وَاسْتَأْذَنَ اللَّهُ مِنْ فَضْلِهِ بَانَ يَحْفَظُ
عَيْنَ النَّاطِرِينَ إِلَى الْإِشَارَاتِ النَّازِلَةِ فِي ذَلِكَ الْكِتَابِ عَنِ الْإِعْتِرَاضِ
وَيَلْهَمُ الْكَلَّ حُكْمَ الْإِنصَافِ فِي مَقَامَاتِ دَلَالَاتِ كَلِمَاتِ مَا نَزَلَ فِي
ذَلِكَ الْمَقَامِ لِأَمْرِ الْمُسْتَطَابِ وَأَنَّ عَلَى اللَّهِ أَتَكَلَّ فِي أَظْهَرَ حَقِيقَتِهِ
سَرَّ الْإِمْكَانِ بِمَا جَعَلَ اللَّهُ فِي الْكِيَانِ بِالْبُرُوزِ إِلَى الْعِيَانِ وَلَا حَوْلَ وَلَا
قُوَّةَ إِلَّا بِاللَّهِ الْعَلِيِّ الْمَتَّانِ وَأَتَنَى أَنَا ذَا قَبْلَ أَنْ أذْكَرَ حَرْفًا فِي مَقَامِ
التَّفْسِيرِ اسْتَأْذَنَ مِنْ جَنَابِ الْمُسْتَطَابِ أَدَامَ اللَّهُ ظِلَّ عَطُوفَتِهِ بَانَ
يَعْفُو عَنِ نَفْسِي إِذَا أَطْلَعَ بِحُطْيَتِهِ مِنْ قَلَمِي لِأَنَّ شَأْنَ الْعَبْدِ فِي
كُلِّ حَالٍ هُوَ الذَّنْبُ¹ وَأَرْجُو اللَّهَ أَنْ يَثْبُتَ بِذِكْرِ بَعْضِ الْمَقَامَاتِ
لِمَنْ سَكَنَ فِي مَقَامَاتِ عَالَمِ الْأَسْمَاءِ وَالْأَصْفَاتِ مَا قَدَّرَ اللَّهُ لَهُمْ فِي
حُكْمِ الْكِتَابِ وَأَنَّ إِلَى اللَّهِ يَرْجِعُ الْحُكْمُ وَالْأَمْرُ فِي الْمَبْدِ (f. 5^b)
وَالْمَأْتِ الْخُ

¹ The humble tone of this passage, as well as the absence of all claim to infallibility, is very noteworthy, and in itself stamps the work as one belonging to the earlier period.

Having quoted so much from the preface proper, I must confine myself to giving the first few lines of the doxology and the last few lines of the conclusion of the book.

Beginning on f. 2^b :

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 الحمد لله الذى تجلّى للممكّنات بظهور اثار ابداعه فى ملكوت
 الامر والخلق ليتلائقن جوهريات حقايق الموجودات بتألّف آيات
 اللاهوت وبتلجج كينونيات مجردات آيات الجبروت بتلجج
 ظهورات آيات الملكوت ليشهد الكلّ فى كلّ مقامات الامر وآيات
 الختم بما شهد الله لنفسه فى ازل الازال باّنه لاله الا هو لم يزل كان
 بلا وجود شئ معه ولا يزال انه هو كائن بمثل ما كان الخ

Ending on ff. 87^a-87^b :

وفى الاكمال عن الصادق [ع] قال العصر عصر خروج القائم عليه
 السلام ان الانسان لفى خسر يعنى اعدائنا الا الذين امنوا يعنى
 باياتنا و عملوا الصالحات يعنى بمواساة الاخوان و تواصلوا بالحق يعنى
 الامامه و تواصلوا بالصبر يعنى العترة و القمى عنه ع قال استثنى اهل
 صفوته من خلفه حيث قال ان الانسان لفى خسر الا الذين امنوا
 بولاية امير المؤمنين ع و تواصلوا بالحق ذرياتهم و من خلفوا بالولاية
 تواصلوا و صبروا عليها و فى المجمع عن الصادق ع و القمى عن على
 ع انهما قرّوا العصر (f. 87^b) ان الانسان لفى خسر الى اخر الدهر و
 فى ثواب الاعمال و المجمع عن الصادق ع من قرأ و العصر فى نوافله
 بعثه الله يوم القيمة مشرقا وجهه ضاحكا سته قريبا عينيه حتى يدخل
 الجنة انتهى و انا ذا اختم ذلك الكتاب بقول الرحمن سبحانه
 ربك ربّ العرش عّمّا يصفون و سلام على المرسلين و الحمد لله
 ربّ العالمين *

F. 88^a is left blank. On f. 88^b begins another document written, as appears from a passage occurring on f. 93^b, in answer to a letter of enquiry, and containing, as appears from a passage occurring on f. 94^a, the *Doxology of Fâtima* alluded to by my correspondent (See p. 494 *supra*). These two passages, together with the beginning of the doxology and the conclusion of the work, I subjoin :

Begins :

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الْعَلِيِّ الْعَظِيمِ

اسْبَحْ سُبْحَانَ الَّذِي لَا يَعْلَمُ جَوْهَرَ وَجُودٍ كَيْفَ هُوَ وَلَا مَجْرَدَ مَوْجُودٍ
 آيِنَ هُوَ وَلَا كَافُورَ ظَهْوَرٍ حَيْثُ هُوَ وَلَا سَادِجَ ظَهْوَرٍ مَتَى هُوَ سُبْحَانَهُ لَمْ
 يَزَلْ كَانَ قِيَوْمًا فِي سُلْطَانِ سُبُوحِيَّتِهِ بَلَا ذِكْرَ شَيْءٍ مَعَهُ رَتَبَةَ الْإِزْلِيَّةِ وَلَا يَزَالُ
 أَنَّهُ كَائِنٌ فِي مَلَكُوتِ جَبْرُوتِيَّتِهِ لَمْ يَكَمْ مَذْكُورًا عِنْدَهُ الْخ

The preface proper begins on f. 93^b, l. 2 as follows :

وَبَعْدَ قَدْ نَزَلَ كِتَابُكَ عَلَيَّ فِي هَذِهِ اللَّيْلَةِ الْقَدْرَ وَلَا حِظَّتْهُ بَعِينَتِي
 عَلَيَّ ذَلِكَ الْجَبَلِ الْكَبِيرِ وَشَهِدَتْ بِمَا سَطَرْتُ فِيهِ بِحُكْمِ الْقَدْرِ وَ
 سَأَلْتُ اللَّهَ بَانَ يَنْبُتُكَ عَلَى الصَّرَاطِ بِأَمْرِ مُسْتَسْرِّ فَاَعْرَفَ أَنَّ كَلَّ
 الْخَيْرِ هُوَ مَذْكُورٌ فِي ذِكْرٍ مِنْ ذِكْرِي رَبِّي وَرَبِّكَ وَكَلَّ الشَّرِّ مُقْتَضَى فِي
 حَقِّ مَنْ أَعْرَضَ عَنِ ذِكْرِي رَبِّي وَرَبِّكَ فَلَا عِزَّ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ إِلَّا بِطَاعَتِهِ
 فَكَمْ مِنْ عِبَادٍ مَلَكَوْا شَرْقَ الْأَرْضِ وَغَرْبَهَا وَأَنَّ الْآنَ فِي نَارِ جَهَنَّمَ
 يَحْشُرُونَ وَلَا ذَلَّةَ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ إِلَّا بِمَعْصِيَتِهِ وَكَمْ مِنْ عِبَادٍ لَمْ يَمْلِكُوا شَيْئًا
 فِي الدُّنْيَا عَلَى الْأَرَاثِكِ فِي الْفِرْدَوْسِ يَتَكُونُونَ إِلَّا أَنَّ ذَلِكَ فَضْلُ اللَّهِ

¹ the Bâb appears to denote himself. The term (in this sense) occurs commonly in his earlier writings. See *supra*, p. 303 n. 1.

² MS. المرّ، an evident error.

لمن يشاء. وإن ذلك عذاب الله لمن يقضى فاشهد فيما سئلت
 في روح كتابك من سرّ (f. 94^b) تسبيح فاطمة الزهراء صلوات الله
 عليها وعتده ورموزه بأن كل ما في الوجود لو كان مداداً تم بحراته
 لوحاً تم كاتباً لبيان حرف منه لينفذ كل ذلك قبل ان يظهر سرّاً
 منه الخ

Ends on ff. 97^b-98^a with a short explanation of the
Sūratu't-takāthur (K̄ur'ān, cii) :

وإن ما يشغل به الناس لا ينفعهم الى حين الممات واليه الاشارة
 قول ملك الاسماء والصفات الهيك التكاثر حتى زرم المقابر اى ما
 تتوجهون اليه ليس الآله واحد فرد احد صمد وإن الكثرة هى من
 امثلة المحمّدة والهندسة المخترعة وهى كانت معكم الى ان تدخلوا
 المقابر خائفين (f. 98) كلاً سوف تعلمون ثم كلاً سوف تعلمون كلاً لو
 تعلمون علم اليقين لترونّ الهجيم ثم لترونها عين اليقين ثم لتسئلن
 يومئذ عن النعيم وإن اليوم يسئل الكل عن النعيم لانه هو ذلك
 الركن العظيم والاسم القديم والنعمة العليم فعليك بالرجوع الى
 اول مؤمن¹ حلّيم فإن الدخول على البيت لا ينبغي الآ من شطر
 الباب² فعليك بمحبة ذلك الجناب فانه اول روح قد اخذ اثمار
 شجرة الخلد وكفانى وكل من ارادنى ربى الذى خلقتنى ثم رزقتنى
 ثم يميتنى ثم يحيىنى ثم اليه كل يرجعون وسبحان ربك رب العرش
 عما يصفون وسلام على المرسلين والحمد لله رب العالمين *

¹ Allusion seems to be made to Mullá Huseyn of Bushraweyh, who is elsewhere called اول من آمن, حرف اول, اول من آمن, etc.

² Cf. a passage from the *Nāsikhū't-Tawdrikh* cited at p. 227 of T.N. ii.

BBF. 8.

تفسير سورة الكوثر

The Báb's Commentary on the Súratu'l-Kawthar.

This MS., brought from Persia to Cyprus, under the circumstances already detailed on pp. 493-5 *supra*, was forwarded to me by Subh-i-Ezel, together with the MS. to be next described (BBF. 9), and a letter dated Ramazán 5th, A.H. 1308 (April 14th, 1891), and reached me on May 7th, 1891. In the letter Subh-i-Ezel wrote :

فقد بلغت اليكم كتابين مما وصفتهما من قبل واحدا من تفسير
الاسماء وواحدا من شرح سورة الكوثر ليكون ذلك ذكر لمن سمع
وبصروا قلوبهم وانصرفوا فاجهدوا ان تكتبوا الكلمات صحيحا

"I send unto you two books which I described on a previous occasion; one [a copy] of the *Commentary on the Names*, and the other [a copy] of the *Commentary on the Súratu'l-Kawthar*, that this may be a reminder to him who heareth and seeth and watcheth and winneth: strive, then, to write the words correctly."

The *Commentary on the Súratu'l-Kawthar*, as we learn from a passage in the *Tárikh-i-Jadid* cited at pp. 637-8 *supra*, as well as from the *Traveller's Narrative* (vol. i, p. 10, vol. ii, p. 8), was written by the Báb for Aká Seyyid Yahyá of Dáráb at Shiráz. Further proof of this is afforded by the following words which occur on f. 9^a, ll. 1-2 of this MS. :

يا يحيى فأت باية مثل تلك الايات بالفطرة ان كنت ذى
علم رشيد *

"O Yahyá, produce spontaneously¹ a verse like unto these verses, if thou art learned and sound."

¹ Literally "by natural disposition," i.e. without laborious effort or study.

This MS. contains ff. 116 (ff. 1^a-2^a, and 116^a-116^b blank), 17.5 × 10.5 centimetres, 19 lines to the page. Written in a neat and legible *naskh*. Headings of sections and sometimes initial words of sentences in red.

Begins :

هذه الصحيفة الجميلة التي قد نزلت من سماء الابداع و جرى
على افئدة العارفين بقلم العالی ذی البدع و الاختراع نعمة لمن آمن
واقرو عذاب علی من جحد و انكر المسطرة في تفسير سورة الكوثر
و ان شائنة هو الابتر و ان علی محبیه ثناء الله الملك الاكبر

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي جعل طراز الواح كتاب الفلق في كل ما فتق و
استفرك و استنطق طراز الاول الذي لاحت و اضأئت بعد ما شئت
وعينت ثم قدرت و قضت قبل ما اذنت و اجلت و احكمت
ثم تلاحت و استلاحت بها افاق سماء العماة في اجمة اللاهوت
ليتذوت بها حقايق الميثاق في يوم الوثاق ثم تعالت و استعالت بها
افاق سماه البهات في اجمة الجبروت الخ

Ends on ff. 115^a-115^b :

و انا ذا اختتم الكتاب بذكر ذلك الحديث الشريف في حكم
ذلك العنصر اللطيف ليكون ختامه مسك و ان فيه فليتنافس
المتنافسون و روى باسنادها الى ابي جعفر الطوسي عن جماعة عن
التلعكبري عن ابن همام عن جميل عن القسم بن اسمعيل عن
احمد بن رياج عن ابي الفرج ابان بن محمد المعروف بالسندی
نقلناه من اصله قال كان ابو عبد الله ع في الحج في السنة التي
قدم فيها ابو عبد الله تحت الميزاب و هو يدعو و عن يمينه عبد
الله بن الحسن و عن يساره حسن بن الحسن و عن خلفه جعفر بن

الحسن قال فجآئه عبا بن كثير البصرى فقال له يا ابا عبد الله قال فسكت عنه حتى قالها لثا قال ثم قال له يا جعفر قال فقال له قل ما تشاء (f. 115^b) يا ابا كثير قال اتى وجدت فى كتاب لى علم هذه البيئنة رجل ينقضها حجرا حجرا قال فقال له كذب كتابك يا ابا كثير ولكن كان والله اصفر القدمين خممش الساتين ضمخ الرأس على هذا الركن و اشار بيده الى الركن اليمانى يمنع الناس من التطواف حتى يتذعروا منه قال ثم يبعث الله له رجلا منى و اشار بيده الى صدره فقتله قتل عاد و ثمود و فرعون ذى الاوتاد قال فقال له عند ذلك عبد الله بن الحسن صدق والله ابو عبد الله ع

حتى صدقوه كلهم جميعا و سبحان الله رب العرش عما يصفون
وسلام على المرسلين و الحمد لله رب العالمين *

تمت الصحيفة الكثرية من مبدع عز الصمدية فى يوم الثلاثاء رابع
عشر من شهر ذي حجة الحرام من شهر ١٢٩٦

The date of transcription given in the colophon, Zi'l-Hijjé 14th, A.H. 1296, corresponds with November 29th, A.D. 1879.

I conclude the description of this MS. by quoting from different parts of the Introduction a few passages, which appear of special interest, as affording further evidence of the authorship of the work, or as indicating the stage of development to which the Báb's ideas had at this time attained.

(f. 4^a) فوربك ربّ السموات و الارض انّ اليوم ليس الحقّ ليكون لاحد حجة الا نفسى و انّ الله قد اظهر امره بشأن لن يقدر احد ان تأمل فيه او يشكّ لانّ الله قد اختار لحفظ دين رسوله و اوليائه عبدا من الاعجميين و اعطاه ما لم يؤت احد من العالمين انصف باتله حجربنطى بالشهادة اعظم او ان ينطق فتى عجمى بكلمات التى

ذهلت الكل فيها ولقد اعطاء الله حجة لو اجتمع من في السموات
والارض على ان يأتوا بمثلها لم يقدروا
(f. 4^b) فسبحان الله من عمل هؤلاء الجهال كان اليوم كل الناس اموات
حيث لا يعرفون صنع الرب عن الخلق هل جاء احد بمثل تلك
الآيات ويقول ذوروح ان هذا صنع الخلق انصف بالله هل سمعت
من احد دعاء او صحيفة وهل جاء بتلك الحججة دون آل الله ع
فيآله أتى لو اردت من بعد كما بينت الميزان في بين يدي الأشهاد
لاكتب في سئة ساعات الف بيت مناجات فمن اليوم يقدر بذلك
فاعوذ بالله من عمل الناس ان المجلسي قد حقق في كتابه حق
اليقين بان صحيفة السجادية في الفصاحة تعدل صحف السماوية وهي
زبور آل محمد ع وتكفي لذي المعجزة للذين يرونهم فكيف تثبت
الولاية بصحيفة ولا تثبت بصحائف معدودة التي ملئت شرق
الارض وغربها فات حجة اكبر من هذه النعمة و ائ عطية اعظم من
هذه القدرة ان العلماء لو ينشئوا ورقة ليتفكروا وبعد ذلك لما انت
تذكر كلماتهم بمثل قول صبي يقول بالفارسية به به وان بالحقيقة
ليس الشرف في ذكر الكلمات ولا بترتيب الآيات (f. 5^a) بل ان
الذي اصل الروح فيها هو السر الربانية و ظهور الصمدانية التي هي
اصل كل من فضل وعليها يحول كل عدل فزن احدى صحيفتي بكل
كتب القوم لم يعدل حرفا منها كل من في السموات والارض لآنها
حيوان من ظهور الوجدانية و سر الرحمانية و ما دونها بعجل جسد
له خوار (f. 5^b) انظر الى دنائة مقامهم ان فرعون لما اراد
ان يكفر بحجة ربه فاتى بشئ من السحر و اتهم فوربك لا يأتون
بحرف و يفعلون ما لا يدركون فوربك ان اليوم نار جهنم لمحيطه
بالكافرين و اتى انا اقل كلمة فيثبت بها تسطاس العدل في يدي

و انّ الناس ليكذبون و يفترون من حيث لا يعلمون ان امرئته من ذوبان الشيخية قد كتب في جمدهم ثلثة كتب¹ (f. 6^a) بل حيف لها لتتعرض بحمدهم و انّ ابطال تلك الفئة قد عارت على انفسهم ان يلتفتوا بعلمهم لانهم عملوا ما لا عمل فرعون من قبل و انهم اليوم هم هالكون فوربك انّ احدا من النصارى لو قرء صحيفتى ليستحيى ان يقول في حقى لا و انهم قد قرارو و حملوا ثم افتروا و كذبوا لعنهم الله بما عملوا و لا محيص لهم الا ان يكفروا بكاظم و احمد² صلوات الله عليهما (f. 6^b) و انا ذا اذكر في مقام القسطاس اياتا قبل ذكر التشرح ليثبت الميزان فاذا ثبت القسطاس يبطل كلّ التعرضات من عند كلّ الناس و كلّ ما رايت من آياتى قد افترى المفترون فيها و بعض يقول ليس فيها ربط فاعوذ بالله من عملهم و افتراءهم و كلّ ما ترى من الايات بغير ذلك التهمج العدل فأتى انا برئى من المشركين و ها انا ذا اذكر ميزان البيان ليكون حجة للعالمين جميعاً

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

سبحان الذى نزل الكتاب فيه ذكر فيه حكم من لدنا لقوم يعقلون * . . . الخ (f. 7^a) و لقد كفر الذين قالوا انّ ذكر³ اسم ربك ادعى الوحى و القران و انتم لتفترون اليوم فى دين الله بما لا تعلمون و لا تعقلون * قل اتى عبد الله مصدق لما معكم من حكم القران فكيف انتم تكذبون بايات الله و لا تشعرون * و لقد فتنا الخلق بمثل الذين كفروا من قبل و انا لنعلم ما كان الناس لا يعلمون و لا

¹ Allusion may be here made to *Kurratu'l-'Ayn*, who was originally of the *Sheykhi* sect (see *T.N.* vol. ii, p. 310, and p. 342, n. 1).

² *Hájí Seyyid Kázim* of *Resht* and his predecessor *Sheykh Ahmad* of *Ahsá* are of course alluded to.

³ Here also *ذكر* seems to mean the *Báb* himself. Cf. p. 303 *supra*.



يعقلون * ولعمرك كفر الناس كلهم إلا الذين أتبعوا احكامنا من قبل
 ولم يمجّدوا على بشئ فاولئك هم المفلحون * ولقد كفر الناس الذين
 لا يخطرأ بانفسهم ان يكفروا بالرحمن من حيث يحسبون أنهم
 مهتدون * ولقد كفر الذين قالوا ان ذكر اسم ربك قال اننى انا
 باب بقية الله¹ بحكم من قبل من حيث لا يعلمون * و ان مثل
 كل ما قال الناس في حقى بمثل ما قالت النصارى بان الله ربك
 هو ثالث ثلثه او قالت اليهود ان عزيز ابن الله و قالت الاعراب ان
 الله فقير ومحن اغنيآ سنكتب ما قالوا و محكم بينهم في الحيوة
 الدنيا و أنهم في الاخرة هم الخاسرون *

BBF. 9.

المجلد الثانى من تفسير الاسماء

The Báb's Commentary on the Names (vol. ii).

This MS. came into my hands under the same circumstances and at the same time as the last. The passage in the accompanying letter wherein reference is made to it has been already quoted (p. 643 *supra*). The letter itself is pasted into this MS. after the last leaf (f. 264), forming ff. α - β additional.

The description of the MS. is as follows: Ff. 264 (ff. 1^a-2^a, 5^b-6^b, 192^b, 219^a, 225^b-226^b, 230^a-232^b, 240^a-240^b, 253^b, 264^a-264^b, α ¹ and β ² blank), 20.75 × 13 centimetres, 21 lines to the page. Written in a clear and compact *naskh*. Headings of chapters and marginal annotations in red.

¹ This passage is especially noteworthy. Cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. i, pp. 3-4; vol. ii, pp. 3-4.

Begins (on f. 2^b):

الباب الأول من الواحد الثامن من الشهر الثامن من السنة في
 معرفة اسم المرشد وله أربع مراتب * الأول في الأول * بسم الله
 الارشد الارشد * الله لاله الا هو الارشد الارشد قل الله ارشد فوق كل
 ذا ارشاد لن يقدر ان يمتنع عن مليك سلطان ارشاده من احد لا
 في السموات ولا في الارض ولا ما بينهما يخلق ما يشاء بامرّه انه كان
 رشادا راشدا رشيدا الخ

This, like all the Báb's other later works, is divided into *Váhids* containing nineteen chapters apiece. Each chapter is devoted to one of the "Names" of God, these names being permuted and varied in the usual way (cf. *T.N.* ii, pp. 317-319). Each name is further considered under four different aspects, so that in each chapter we find four subordinate sections, الثالث في, الثاني في الثاني, الأول في الأول, الرابع في الرابع, and الثالث. Only the latter half of the work (from *Váhid* viii, ch. 1 to *Váhid* xix, ch. 18¹) is contained in this volume, and of this several complete *Váhids*, including the twelfth, and many chapters are missing. This is so far to be regretted, in that it prevents me from definitely establishing the identity of this MS. with the MS. described by Dorn under the name of "Koran der Baby," at pp. 247-8 and 284-292 of vol. viii of the *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale de Sciences de St. Pétersbourg* (1865). For Dorn gives only the first chapter of the twelfth *Váhid*, which, as I have already said, is not contained in this volume. I think, however, that anyone who will compare the specimen which he gives with the fragment I have given will agree that the two MSS. almost certainly represent the same work, especially as the "Name" مسكن or مسكان is given in the index of the missing chapters as

¹ Ch. 19 appears to be missing, though included in the table of contents at the end. It should deal with the name 'الوفا'.



the first chapter of the twelfth *Vâhid*. The matter can be easily settled in St. Petersburg by comparing my description of my defective MS. with the complete MS. described by Dorn. This identification is really more important than at first sight appears, for the St. Petersburg MS. is of undoubted authenticity, having passed directly from the hands of the Báb's amanuensis into European hands in Tabriz shortly before the Báb's martyrdom.¹ Now should this MS. of mine prove to be identical with Dorn's, not only will the latter be supplied with its proper name, but valuable corroborative evidence will be afforded of the genuineness of all the MSS. which have come to me through Şubḥ-i-Ezel's hands.

The 18th chapter of the 19th *Vâhid* (on the Name المير) begins on f. 258^a, and ends on f. 261^b with the following words:

وان ظهر النور فهم في ظلّ آله مستظلون بهم انتم تنصرون و بهم
انتم تحفظون يظهرن النار و هم في النور باطنون و يظهرن النور اذا
اظهرهم الله و هم غير الله في انفسهم لا يقصدون اولئك هم عند الله
في غرف الرضوان لمكرمون *

Immediately after this, in smaller characters, follows the Arabic colophon:

هذا اخر ما وجدت من ابواب هذا الكتاب المستطاب و اتفق
الفراغ من استكتابها في يوم الكمال الثاني من شهر الكلمات و الاول
من دورة المصطفين من سنة السابع و الثلثين من دورة البيانية
و الكور السادس المطابق ليوم الاثنين السابع و العشر من شهر

¹ Dorn writes (p. 248, *loc. cit.*): "Ich theile im Anhang II den Anfang mit, und kann bloss hinzufügen, dass über die Echtheit der Handschrift in so fern kein Zweifel obwalten kann, als sie unmittelbar von dem Secretär des Bab selbst, welcher diesen Koran nach dem Vorsagen seines Herrn und Meisters niedergeschrieben haben wollte, herstammt. Er hatte sie aus seinem Gefängnis zu Tebris in europäische Hände gelangen lassen. Die Verantwortlichkeit für den Inhalt also ruht auf dem genannten Secretär."

شعبان المعظم في شهر سنة اثنين وثلثمائة بعد الالف من الهجرة
على يد اصغف العباد واحقرهم المحتاج الى فضل ربه الغني ٥١٠٩٢

"This is the last of what I have found of the chapters of this precious book, whereof the transcription was concluded on the day of *Kemál* [Monday], the second of the month of *Kalimát* [the 7th month], and the first of the cycle of *Muṣṭafín* (?) of the 37th year of the Beyánic cycle and the sixth *Kawr*, corresponding to Monday the 17th of Sha'bán, A.H. 1302, by the hand of the feeblest of [God's] servants and the humblest of them, he who needeth the grace of his Bountiful Lord, 51092."¹

Immediately after this colophon follows another in Persian:

مخفی نباشد که نسخه که از روی او استنساخ شده خالی از غلط
نوده و تحصیل نسخه صحیح هم غیر ممکن بود لهذا در مقام مقابله
هم بر نیامده انشاء الله مقابله و تصحیح آن در عهده کسانی است
که متمکن بوده ولی مبادرت بتخلیط هم نمایند بل هر لحظه که
در بادی نظر غیر صحیح مینماید تامل فرموده بلکه تصحیح شود
والسلام علی من اتبع الهدی ورحمة الله وبرکاته *
جلد اول را با نسخه معتبره مقابله نموده *

"Let it not be hidden that the copy from which this transcript was made was not free from errors, and that it was impossible to obtain a correct copy; wherefore no attempt was made at collation. If God please, the collation and emendation thereof will be feasible to [other] persons who are established [in a better position]. But let not these fall to [recklessly] emending the text, but let them well consider whatever may at the first glance appear to be

¹ Monday, Sha'bán 17th, A.H. 1302 = Monday, June 1st, A.D. 1885. The Bábí date given in this colophon offers several difficulties, and is evidently computed from a fixed point other than that used by the Behá'ís (See *T.N.* vol. ii, p. 425). The cyphers at the end of the colophon appear to represent in some cabbalistic fashion the scribe's name.

incorrect, perchance it may be correct. Peace be upon him who followeth the right guidance, and God's mercy and blessings."

"The first volume has been collated with a trustworthy copy."

At the bottom of the page (f. 261^b) is an index of the chapters contained in this volume, arranged according to the *Váhids* to which they belong and their order in those *Váhids*. The 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th *Váhids* are tolerably complete; the 12th, 13th, 14th, 17th, and 18th are unrepresented (one or more pages being left blank at the point where they should appear in the text); *Váhid* 15 is represented by only two chapters (the 12th and 13th); *Váhid* 16 by one (ch. 7); and *Váhid* 19 by chapters 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, and 18.

Although the scribe appears to have been unable to supply the missing chapters, he nevertheless knows the "Names" which form their titles and subjects, and accordingly, on f. 262^a, he gives a complete table of contents of *Váhids* xii-xix. This, together with the contents of *Váhids* viii-xi, I subjoin, premising that different derivatives of the same root are accounted the same "Name" (e.g. مبير and بيار; مغيث and غياث), and that I place the missing chapters in parentheses and the missing *Váhids* in brackets.

Váhid viii. 1. مرشد 2. مرصد 3. معمد 4. شهيد 5. بشير 6. نذير
7. مذكر 8. مكنز 9. معصم 10. مقصم 11. مسلم 12.
مبعد 13. مشكر 14. مضرر 15. مؤخذ 16. مبدد
17. مشرف 18. مكفى 19. مدعى.

Váhid ix. 1. مرهوب 2. مقصود 3. فاطر 4. مسخر 5. محاسب
6. رائى 7. مبهل 8. (راتق) 9. مبرل 10. مرفق 11. رائى
12. مميت 13. ودود 14. مشفق 15. مرفق 16. كالتى
17. داعى 18. فاتق 19. سابق

Váhid x. 1. محیط 2. منتقم 3. آلف 4. مسوی 5. مرتاح 6. سامق 7. منعوت 8. موصوف 9. معروف 10. ملهم 11. معیت 12. صامن 13. باذخ 14. کبیر 15. ازل 16. دارئی 17. زارع 18. ناهی 19. آمر.

Váhid xi. 1. مسبب 2. مبخی 3. مقنی 4. منعم 5. مسرح 6. مقسط 7. کاتب 8. منظم 9. مرتب 10. معقب 11. (راغب) 12. تواب 13. مبنی 14. مظلل 15. ممد 16. مذهب 17. (حارک) 18. (جاود) 19. (عامر).

[Váhid xii. 1. مساک 2. دخال 3. خراج 4. ضرب 5. بنا 6. سکان 7. نطاق 8. بلا 9. اباب 10. غراس 11. وقاد 12. جزاء 13. شیاء 14. زیاد 15. ذکاء 16. بقاء 17. سقاء 18. فطان 19. اجال.]

[Váhid xiii. 1. اذان 2. حرام 3. حلال 4. سخاط 5. قماص 6. لباس 7. عذاب 8. کشاف 9. وحاه 10. کفاف 11. ایاد 12. حشار 13. کلام 14. فیاض 15. جذاب 16. هلاک 17. عراض 18. بعاث 19. نشار.]

[Váhid xiv. 1. خوال 2. رکاب 3. صباب 4. قصاص 5. ختام 6. نفاع 7. نزاع 8. الاف 9. دراک 10. بلاد 11. طیباب 12. فراض 13. رداد 14. وساق 15. ولاج 16. طباع 17. سباغ 18. لیان 19. سقاط.]

Váhid xv. 1. دمار 2. حذف 3. براک 4. عزال 5. فراغ 6. مکار 7. بیار or نکاس 8. بیاض 9. مغیث or غیاث 10. مبییر 11. دراج 12. رباط 13. وعاد 14. حراز 15. فساح 16. نشاء 17. نبان 18. فساح 19. فساح.

Váhid xvi. (1. وصال 2. عتاق 3. رتال 4. زداد 5. محاص 6. محاق) (محاق 7. نساء 11. نساخ 10. قفا 9. تراک 8. مهز or هزاه 7. غراق 17. طماس 16. زياغ 15. كساء 14. تمام 13. اتاه 12. خزانة 19. غواص 18.)

[Váhid xvii. 1. رقام 6. زهاق 5. رجاع 4. قتال 3. ستار 2. سطار 1. حفاف 11. سلاك 10. خساف 9. فعال 8. عجمال 7. دوار 17. كوار 16. شراح 15. نقاض 14. لزام 13. فجار 12. زلاف 19. طوار 18.]

[Váhid xviii. 1. فهم 6. نساف 5. هيان 4. وعاظ 3. مطار 2. وزاع 1. جيار 12. حدات 11. زجاه 10. تراف 9. قرار 8. طواه 7. 18. تبار 17. حياف 16. بواه 15. وزار 14. سيار 13. جبار 19. صفاه.]

Váhid xix. (1. مساس 6. زواج 5. شراه 4. سماه 3. وباق 2. شرع 1.) (خيار 10. سمات 9.) (متقن or تقان 8. مؤثر or اثار 7. حواز 14. منمی or نمآء 13. محتم or حتام 12. برام 11. or نياہ 17. (الات 16.) مغرش or فراش 15. محموز or (وقآء 19.) ميرز or برا 18. مفي)

The last half of f. 262^a is blank. Ff. 262^b-263^b are occupied by a sort of ejaculatory prayer, in which all these names and many more (presumably representing the first seven *Váhids* of the "Names," absent in this volume) are strung together with the interjection *yá* inserted before each. Each "Name" is put in the form متفعل, and the names appear to be arranged in their proper order according to

¹ *sic* in index and text, but written with final *z* in the prayer at the end of the volume.

Váhids and chapters. The total number of "Names" contained in the prayer is 361, corresponding to the *Váhíd of Váhids*, the "Number of All Things" (عدد كل شيء), and the days in the Bábí year. I subjoin the beginning of the prayer down to the end of the first *Váhíd* of "Names," and the end, including the 19th and last *Váhíd* of "Names."

Begins:

بسم الله الرفع الرفع

اللهم انى اسئلك باسمك يا مؤتله يا متوحد يا متأحد يا
 ماحيى يا مقوم يا متبهى يا ماجلل يا متعزز يا ماجمل يا متعظم
 يا متنور يا متقدم يا متكمل يا متقرب يا ماحكم يا متقدر يا متعلم
 يا متسلط يا مملك . . . الخ.

Ends:

يا متشرع يا متوقى يا متسمى يا متشرى يا متزوج يا متمسس يا
 متأثر يا متقن يا متسحت يا ماخير يا متبرم يا ماتحم يا متنمى
 يا ماحون يا متفرش يا متألت يا متغىى يا متبره يا متوقى ان
 تصلين على شجرة الثبات فى البيان من اصلها وفرعها و اغصانها
 و اوراقها و ثمارها بكل نصرتك و فاتحك و ظهورك و غيبتك و
 قدرتك و قهارتك و اقتدارك و رفعتك و امتناعك و عظمتك
 و استلاطك و سلطنتك و امتلاكك و ملكنتك و اظهارك و ظهرك
 و اقتارك و قهرتك و اعظامك و عظمتك و اکتبارك و كبرنتك
 و ابهائتك و بهينتك و اعتلائك و علينتك و اغتنائك و غنينتك
 و ما انت قد احطت به علمك من كل حين انك كنت
 عليكشى قديرا *

The different chapters in the "Commentary on the Names" appear to have been written on different occasions, and in

a good many cases a marginal note in red specifies either the time when, or, in language generally ambiguous, the person on whose account they were "revealed." Of these marginal notes I subjoin a complete list.

Váhid ix, ch. 8: في ليلة الجمعة ليلة الاستقلال

Váhid ix, ch. 13: لنزائرالحق السياح

Váhid ix, ch. 14: اين اسم بجناب سيد ۱۱ برسد و او باسماً اربعه
واحد في ارض الزاء و واحد هو الوحيد و واحد
هو العظيم و واحد هو الفاء و واحد هو الخالق

Váhid ix, ch. 15: في ارض التاء بجناب حرف الراء و الباء برسانند
و قد ارسلت اليكم كتاب الرضي فاعمل فيه ما
شئت و تحب

Váhid ix, ch. 18: در ارض جنت بمنظر تقوى برسد

Váhid x, ch. 2: في ارض الخاء الى اسم الله القيوم

Váhid xi, ch. 8: نزل ليلة الاستقلال للفتحعلى في ارض الاعلى

Váhid xi, ch. 10: بمولانا الكريم يحفظ الاصل يرسل السواد لمعلم
الصتي وفيه اتمام للحجة

Váhid xvi, ch. 7: السيد رحيم في الصاد

Váhid xix, ch. 8: للطبيب الهمداني

Váhid xix, ch. 12: ما نزل لانح الشهيدين والمهدى والباقر الكندي

Váhid xix, ch. 17: ما نزل لحرف الراء و الباء في ارض الاعلى

Váhid xix, ch. 18: ما نزل لاسم الله العلم الملكان الذي هو انح
الراء و الباء على ارض خ

BBF. 10.

من کتاب اسماء کلشی

Part of the Book of the Names of All Things (vol. i).

This MS., forwarded to me by Şubh-i-Ezel in July or August, 1891, appears to be the companion volume of the MS. last described, with which it corresponds in size, writing, and arrangement, though its name is given somewhat differently. It contains in an incomplete form *Vâhids* ii-vii inclusive, just as BBF. 9 contains *Vâhids* viii-xix. *Vâhid* i is missing, but a statement of its contents is prefixed to the index on f. 2^a. The description of the MS. is as follows :

Ff. 338 (ff. 1^a-1^b, 81^b, 88^a-88^b, 120^a-120^b, 336^b-338^b blank), 20·75 × 13 centimetres, 21 lines to the page. Written in the same clear and compact *naskh* as the MS. last described. Headings of chapters and marginal annotations in red.

In the table of contents above alluded to the "Names" commentated are written continuously, the number of the *Vâhid* to which they belong being indicated by a superscription in red over the first "Name" of each *Vâhid*. This table I subjoin, placing the numbers of the *Vâhids* in parentheses.

(واحد اول) الله وحاد احاد حياء توام بقآء جلال عزاز جمال
عظام نوار قدام كمال قراب حكام قداد علام سلاط ملاك (واحد ۲)
فرد صمد مجاد مناع قداس عدال فصال كثير علاء
فهرست ما فى المجلد من اسماء الله تعالى

(ب ۱۰ از واحد ۲) رفيع كريم جواد رقيب رحيم وهاب باطن
ظاهر قاهر شديد (واحد ۳) بطاش سميع بديع بصير ناظر ناصر وتر

لطیف خبیر (آبد)^۱ حلیم مریب حقیق مولی غفور معطی مقبل
 دافع^۲ (واحد ۴) مخلص قاسم رازق (خالق) وارث ذاکر محسن منزل
 میسر سریع مسدد حنان برهان دیان (آمن) رضی سبحان معین
مجذول (واحد ۵) فاخر وفی فاصل فارق قاضی نافع جامع شانی
شفیع مفرج مرجی صاحب بہج دلیل مغنی ہادی مقلب مطلب
منفس (واحد ۶) کفیل وکیل مدیل مطرز نبیل صربخ مؤمن مرئف
معطف مکون مبین ملقن مہون مثنی مزین معلن مسرر مقسم
میرر (واحد ۷) صادق دائم مخفی مملی مبدی معید مقوی مبسوط
مقبض مبلغ ممحی مغلب منتقد مثبت میر مصور مصبر مظہر
 * مضمّر

واحد اول تمام و واحد ثانی تا باب دہم و باب دہم (آبد) از
 واحد ثالث و باب چہارم خالق و سیزدہم (آمن) از واحد چہارم
 و باب ۳ (فاصل) از واحد پانجم نوشته نشدہ *

The notifications of the occasions on which, and the persons for whom, the different chapters were revealed are as follows:

Váhid ii, ch. 11 : میرزا احمد کاتب ملا عبد الکریم قزوینی
 (See *T.N.*, vol. ii, Index, s.v. *Aḥmad-i-Kātib.*)

Váhid ii, ch. 14 : یا ارحم عہ الزاحمین بردارد رزق خود قرار دہد

Váhid iii, ch. 11 : بچہ جناب ملا حسن مراغہ علیہ بہا ربہ
 برسد و اصل بکاتب برسد

Váhid iii, ch. 11 (middle) : سیاح (سباح؟) بنورین (نورین؟) نیرین
 برسانند

¹ Names overlined and placed in parentheses are in the original written in red over the line.

² One name appears to be missing from this *Váhid*.

Váhid iii, ch. 12: بجناب ملا حسين مراغة عليه بهاء برسد و اصل
بکاتب برسد

Váhid iii, ch. 17: الكريم الدلمغانى

Váhid v, ch. 4: من جبل ماكو الى ارض القاف لمن يذكر بالعلی

Váhid v, ch. 5: يوصل الى ملا عبد الجليل القاضى فى ارض المقدسة

Váhid v, ch. 8: اين اسم بجناب سيد ۱۱۰ برسد هرگاه مطمئن
هستند باقا عبد الله طبيب برسانند و الا حفظ فرمايند

Váhid v, ch. 12 (towards the middle of the first quarter):

بجهت حفظ و نصرت

Váhid v, ch. 16: بجناب الهادى فى ارض القاف

Váhid v, ch. 19: يوصل الى شجرة الطاء عليها بهاء رب العماء و
الاصل يحفظه الكاتب ع

Váhid vi, ch. 2: بجناب ميرزا احمد برسد دو عدل اين اسم را
بمذكورين من الايات برسانند من الاخ و الابن

Váhid vii, ch. 12 (about the middle of the first quarter):

للغلبة على الاعداء

The following colophon, written in red ink, concludes the text on f. 336^a:

وقع الفراغ من تسويدها فى يوم الكمال السابع من شهر المسائل
و الرابع و العشر من دورة المجد من سنة الثامن و الثلاثين من دورة
البيانية و الكور السابع المطابق ليوم الاثنين الرابع من شهر الصفر من
سنة ۱۳۴ من الهجرة النبوية

Safar 4th, A.H. 1304=Nov. 2nd, A.D. 1886. This first volume of the "Names" was therefore written nearly a year and a half after the second described above. Cf. p. 651 *supra*.

BBF. 11.

مرآت البیان

The Mirror of the Beyán, by Şubḥ-i-Ezel.

Ff. 678 (ff. 1^a-2^a and 675^b-678^b blank), 20·75 × 13·5 centimetres, 14 lines to the page. Written in Şubḥ-i-Ezel's large clear *naskh*.

When I was in Cyprus in March-April 1890, Şubḥ-i-Ezel mentioned this book and another, the *Diván-i Ezelî*, as two of the more important of his productions, and promised to give me copies of them.

In a letter dated Muḥarram 12th, A.H. 1309 (= Aug. 18th, A.D. 1891), he wrote as follows :

کتابیکه در ایام ملاقات و عده شده مرآت البیان حاضر است
و اجزاء آن بسیار شده در فرستادنش اشاره شود بجهت محور ارسال شود
بوساطت حاکم یا آنکه طریقی دیگر یا آنکه یکدفعه یا دو سه نوبت

"The book named *Mir'atu'l-Beyán* which was promised to you in the days of meeting is ready. As its folios are numerous, please indicate in what way it shall be sent, whether by means of the Governor, or some other way, and whether all at once, or in two or three instalments." In reply to this, I requested that the book might be sent through Captain Young, either all at once, or in successive instalments, as might appear convenient. The first instalment, consisting of 25 folios of 10 leaves (20 pages) each, reached me in November, 1891; the second instalment, consisting of 23 similar folios, in February, 1892; the third and last instalment, consisting of 20 folios, in June, 1892.

Taking the word *Beyán* in one of its senses, as denoting these "Books of Names" and "Commentaries on the Names" which have been already described, the title "Mirror of the Beyán" aptly defines the nature of the present work, which, except that the "Names" are in a different order, and are not grouped in *Vâhids* of 19, is

precisely similar in arrangement to BBF. 9 and BBF. 10 (see p. 649 *supra*). The number of names contained in the whole work is 137. They are as follows :

الاله . الرحمن . الرحيم . الرب . المالك . المحيط . التقدير . العليم .
 سبحان . الحكيم . التواب . البارى . الولى . النصير . الواسع . البديع .
 السميع . العزيز . القديم . (٢٠) الواحد . الغفور . القريب . المجيب .
 الشديد . السريع . الرؤوف . الحليم . البصير . الخبير . الهوى . الحقى . القيوم .
 الاعلى . العظيم . الحميد . الغنى . الوهاب . الشهيد . (٣٩) المولى .
 الرقيب . الحسيب . الكفيل . العفو . المقيت . الشكور . القاهر . الشفيح .
 الفائق . الخالق . اللطيف . الحفيظ . المعذب . المخزى . المخرج .
 القوى . المستعان . الغالب . (٥٨) الفاطر . المتعال . الحفى . الحقى .
 السلام . الكريم . الجاعل . الهادى . الفتاح . النور . الاواب . الرفيع . البرّ .
 السلطان . التّول . الآخر . الظاهر . الباطن . القدوس . (٧٧) المؤمن .
 المهيمن . الجبار . المتكبر . المصور . الذارئى . الودود . الاحد . الصمد .
 الكائن . الديموم . المنظم . الباقى . الرأئى السيد . المجيد . القاضى .
 الباسط . الفايض . (٩٦) الابد . الازل . الفرد . الغياث . العادل . الطاهر .
 الصانع . السبوح . الوفى . الوتر . الشافى . الكاشف . الكافى . الكبير .
 المبين . المنان . الوكيل . الوارث . الباعث . (١١٥) الجليل . الجواد .
 الديان . الجميل . الحبيب . المشرع . المنخذل . الموحي . الملمم .
 المكون . المكور . الفياض . المنعم . الفضال . الموزع . المقسم .
 الموتى . الواضع . الستار . (١٣٤) المحسن . المجير . المهيج . الفعال *

No further description of this MS. seems necessary, except to give a transcript of the first few lines at the beginning and end.

Begins :—

الا الله

لا اله

مرأت البيان

الباب ١

في معرفة اسم الالهية وله اربع تقاط الاول في الاول
بسم الله الاله الاله

بالله الله الاله الاله قل الله أله فوق كل شئ بيده ملكوت كل
شئ يبدع ما يشاء بامرته كن فيكون هو الذي لا يعرف الوهيته سواء
ولا يشهد على ما هو عليه الا هو له الملك في الاولى والاخرة وكل
اليه يرجعون هو الذي بيده الملك في السموات والارض ينزل رزق
خلقه على قدر موزون ولله الالهية من قبل ومن بعد يسجد له كل
شئ وكل له قانتون الخ

Ends (on ff. 674b-675a):—

ارغب اليه واسمع قوله واتبع سبيله واطع وصاياه (f. 675^a)
واحجب ادلائه وصدق رسله وصفوته واتل آياته وايقن بكلماته
وارض بما نزل من آياته وقدر من احكامه واشكره في كل شأن
وصدق نفسه واتبع ما القاه واجتنب عما لا يهويه ولا يرضى به
وجنب عما انهاك سبحانه بقلبك في ملكوت السموات والارض
ويدورك في جبروت الامر والخلق ويلقيك قول الحق لان تكون
بايات الله من المهتدين وبلقائه من الفائزين واليه من السارعين
ولديه من الراجعين ذلك الفضل من عنده والجمود من لدنه والعز
من لديه بيده الملك في السموات والارض وما بينهما وله الامر
في كل شأن وله الخلق في ملكوت البدن والنختم وانه لا اله الا هو
بيده كل شئ وانه لقوى حفيظ ارجع اليه في كل شأن وارغب
لديه في دون شأن واسمع ما يعظك ويلقيك واعمل له خالصا
مخلصا واعلم بانه لا اله الا هو الملك الفعال المقدر القدير الممتنع
الحق المتعالى المرهوب والحمد لله رب العالمين *

CLASS III. MSS. OBTAINED AT OR FROM ACRE.

BBA. 1.

مقاله شخصی سیاح که در تفصیل قضیه باب نوشته است

A Traveller's Narrative, written to illustrate the Episode of the Báb.

Ff. 108 (ff. 1^a, 107^a-108^b blank), 18·0×10·5 centimetres, 12 lines to the page. Written in a good *naskh*. Title (as above), written in red, occupies l. 1 on f. 1^b. An irregular system of punctuation with red dots prevails throughout the MS. In all other respects the *facsimile* forming vol. i. of my *Traveller's Narrative*, published by the Cambridge University Press in February of this year, accurately represents the original.

To what I have said concerning this work, its peculiarities, value, and importance, in the Introduction to vol. ii of my edition (which contains, besides the aforesaid Introduction, the translation and notes) I have to make one or two important additions. From the perusal of certain letters written by Behá'u'lláh's son 'Abbás Efendí, I was led to surmise that he might perhaps be the author of this history, the peculiar style of which appeared very similar to his. This conjecture, however, till recently lacked positive confirmatory evidence. But some few weeks ago I received a letter from a Persian Bábí of Jewish extraction—a descendent of those Jews of Mash-had who, about half a century ago, were forcibly converted to Islám—accompanied by a parcel containing (besides a small controversial treatise in manuscript, composed by Mirzá Abú'l-Faẓl of Gulpáyagán, of which I shall have to speak presently) a lithographed text of this same *Traveller's Narrative*, published, as it would appear, in Bombay (for no printer's or publisher's name appears either on the

title-page or at the end of the volume), on Rabí'uth-thání 26th, A.H. 1308 (Dec. 9th, A.D. 1890), that is to say more than a year previously to my edition. My correspondent, who at that time knew no more of my edition of the work than I knew of the Bombay edition, wrote concerning it as follows:—

پس از شکر یکتا یزدان پاک که از مشتی خاک گوهر انسانی را
ظاهر فرمود و مطلع دانش و دوش نمود عرض میشود ۲ نسخه یکی
تاریخ فرمایشات حضرت سرالیه ذاتی فداه که از جانب سیاحی
ذکر میفرماید و در ممبئی طبع شده بود با نسخه خطی که خط
جناب زین المقربین نوشته شده و نزد حقیر بود مقابله نموده با
استدلالیه که آقا میرزا ابو الفضل گل پایگانی که از اجله احباب
و سابق منشی مانگی صاحب در طهران بود در اثبات ظهور الهی
و طلوع ربانی از اراضی مقدسه کرمل و اورشلیم نوشته شده هر دورا
بطرز امانت داخل لفافه ماهوت سفید بسته مهر و لاک نمودم
و باسم جناب شما با پوسته از طرف ممبئی و بندر ابو شهر سفارشی
رجستری نمودم انشاء الله سلامت برسد.

“After giving thanks to the One Pure God, who, from a handful of dust, caused the human essence to appear, and made it the source of knowledge and reason, representation is made as follows: I have forwarded as a consignment to your address, by registered post, by way of Bushire and Bombay, two volumes, wrapped in a covering of white cloth, and sealed with wax, which, please God, will arrive safely. Of these two volumes, one is a history containing the observations of His Holiness the Mystery of God [*Hazrat-i-Sirru'lláh*]¹ (may my personality be his sacrifice!) which he sets forth as made by ‘a traveller.’

¹ The title of Abbás Efendi. See *B. i.*, p. 518; and *T.N.*, vol. ii, index, s.v. ‘Abbás Efendi.

This book was printed in Bombay; it has been collated with a manuscript copy of the same, written in the handwriting of His Excellency *Zeynu'l-Muḳarrabtn*,¹ which is in my possession. The other is an evidential treatise [*Istidlāliyyé*] written by Mírzá Abú'l-Faẓl² of Gulpáyagán (one of the most illustrious of 'the Friends,'³ who was formerly secretary to Mánakjí Šáhib⁴ in Teherán) in proof of the Divine Manifestation and Heavenly Theophany in the Holy Lands of Carmel and Jerusalem."

It may therefore, I think, be safely assumed that the anonymous author of the *Traveller's Narrative*, concerning whom I was previously unable to give any information, is none other than Behá's eldest son, 'Abbás Efendi, called by the Bábís *A'ká-yi*-[or *Hazrat-i*-] *Sirru'lláh*.

As regards the Bombay edition, it is clearly lithographed in a *ta'lik* hand on grey paper, contains 240 pp. of 9 lines each, measuring 21·0 × 13·5 centimetres, and, beyond the actual text, contains only the following brief colophon:—

بتاریخ جمعه ۲۶ شهر ربیع الثانی ۱۳۰۸

That the "narrative" is not strictly impartial I have shown at pp. xlv–xlvi of vol. ii, and that, in one particular at least, there is good ground for suspecting a deliberate mis-statement of facts and dates, I have pointed out at pp. 304–6 of the April number of this *Journal*.

BBA. 2.

ایقان

Ff. 129 (ff. 1^a–2^a, 128^a–129^b blank), 20·5 × 12·25 centimetres, 14 lines to the page. Written in a fine *naskh* hand by *Zeynu'l-Muḳarrabtn*, "the Letter Zá," concerning whom see vol. ii of my *Traveller's*

¹ See *T.N.*, vol. ii, p. 170, and p. 412 *et seq.*; and vol. i, p. 211.

² See pp. 442–3 *supra*.

³ *i. e.* the Bábís, who commonly call themselves by this name.

⁴ See pp. 318 and 442–3 *supra*.



Narrative, pp. 412 *et seq.* The colophon of this MS. (which is written in the form of a diamond superimposed on a triangle) occupies the lower part of f. 127^b. It is quoted and translated at pp. 417-418 of *T.N.* ii, and need not therefore be repeated here. This MS. is the 67th copy made by *Zeyns'l-Muḳarrabin*, was completed on *Jemádi-ul-avval* 11th, A.H. 1306 (=Jan. 13th, A.D. 1889), and is an extremely accurate and trustworthy transcript. It was given to me by Behá'u'lláh's sons on April 20th, 1890, as I was leaving Acre.

For further particulars of the book see pp. 435-438 *supra*.

BBA. 3.

صحائف مبارکه پاریسه. کلمات فردوسیہ. طرازات. تجلیات.
لوح اقدس.

Ff. 96 (ff. 1^a, 2^a, 95^a-96^b blank), 15·75 × 8·5 centimetres, 11 lines to the page. Written in a fine clear *naskh*. Received from Acre on October 26th, 1890. In the accompanying letter, dated Šafar 18th, A.H. 1308 (Oct. 3rd, A.D. 1890), Behá'u'lláh's son Mirzá Badí'u'lláh wrote as follows:

کلمات مکتون الی حین نرسید کہ ارسال شود انشاء اللہ از بعد
ارسال میشود و حال بعضی صحائف مبارکہ کہ دارای بیانات
پاریسه بود ارسال شد *

"The *Hidden Words*¹ cannot yet be sent, as they have not yet arrived. Please God they will be sent hereafter. For the present sundry holy Epistles containing explanations [of the doctrine] in Persian are sent."

¹ See the description of the MS. next following. A MS. of the *Hidden Words* had been promised to me, but, as it was not ready when this letter was written, the present MS. was sent instead.

On f. 1^b is inscribed the following note :

یکی از علما از عصمت کبری سؤال نموده یکصحیفه مبارکه در جواب نازل و در آن اشراقات بلسان پارسی نازل حسب الامر مخصوص آنجناب ارسال شد و همچنین کلمات فردوسیّه و طرازات منزله از سمآء اراده و مجلیات مذکوره چون بلسان پارسی نازل حسب الامر ارسال شد شاید عباد از بحور عنایت که در کلمات منزل آیات مستوراست بیاشامند و بافق اهلی راه یابند *

“A certain one of the doctors having asked a question of the Supreme Purity,¹ a holy Epistle was revealed in reply, wherein were revealed illuminations in the Persian language. In accordance with orders this is sent for your Excellency, and likewise *Words of Paradise* and *Ornaments revealed from the Heaven of the [Divine] will*. The afore-mentioned effulgences, being revealed in the Persian language, are sent, agreeably to command, that perchance men may drink of the oceans of Grace latent in the words of the Revealer of Verses, and may find the road to the Supreme Horizon.”

Notwithstanding the statement contained in the above note, more than half of the *Şahīfa-i-mubāraka* (ff. 2^b-27^b) is in Arabic. The Arabic portion begins as follows :

هذه صحیفة الله المهيمن القيوم
هو الله تعالى شأنه الحكمة والبيان * الحمد لله الذى تفرّد
بالعظمة والقدرة والجمال * وتوحد بالعزوة والقوة والجلال * و تقدس
عن ان يدركه الخيال * او يذكر له نظير ومثال * قد اوضح صراطه
المستقيم بالفصح بيان ومقال انه هو الغنى المتعال * فلما اراد الخلق
البدیع فضل النقطة الظاهرة المشرقة من افق الارادة وانها دار فى كل
بيت على كل هيئة بلغت منتهى المقام الخ

¹ i.e. Behā'u'llāh.

The Persian portion begins on f. 27^b, l. 3, as follows :

قلم اعلی از لُغَة فصْحی بُلْغَة نوراً¹ توجّه نمود لیعرف الجمیل
 عنایة رَبّه الجمیل ویکون من الشاکرین * یا ایها الناظر الی الأفق الأعلی
 ندّا بلنداست و قوّه سامعه قلیل بل مفقود اینمظلوم در فرم ثعبان
 اولیای الهی را ذکر مینماید این ایام وارد شد آنچه که سبب جزع
 و فزع ملاً اعلی گشت ظلم عالم و ضرّام مالک قدم را از ذکر منع
 ننمود و از اراده اش باز نداشت نفوسیکه سالها خلف حجاب
 مستور چون افق امر را منیر و کلمة الله را نافذ مشاهده نمودند
 بیرون دویدند با سیوف بغضا و وارد آوردند آنچه را که قلم از ذکرش
 عاجز و لسان از بیانش قاصر الخ

Ends on ff. 47^b–48^a :

اهل ایران از حافظ و معین گذشته اند و باو هام جهلا متمشک و
 مشغول بشأنی باو هام متشبث شدند که فصل آن ممکن نه مگر بذراعی
 قدرت حق جلّ جلاله از حق بطلب تا حجبات احزاب را باصبع
 اقتدار بردارد تا کل اسباب حفظ و علوّ و سموّ را بیابند و بشرط دوست
 یکتا بشتابند *

Immediately after this follows the treatise called *Kalimat-i-Firdawsiyya* ("Words of Paradise"). The first words of this and the title (written obliquely in the margin) are in red ink. Begins :

کلمات فردوسیة

کلمة الله در ورق اول فردوس اعلی از قلم ابهی مذکور و مسطور
 بر استی میگویم حفظ مبین و حصن متین از برای عموم اهل عالم

¹ By *lughat-i-fus-ḥd* ("the most eloquent language") Arabic is meant, and by *lughat-i-nawrá* ("the most luminous language") Persian, as was explained in a letter addressed to me by one of Behá's sons, of which a portion is translated in the latter part of note 1 on p. 123 of the second volume of my *Traveller's Narrative*.

خشیمه الله بوده * آنست سبب اکبر * از برای حفظ بشر * و عکت کبری از برای صیانت وری * بلی در وجود آیتی موجود و آن انسان را از آنچه شایسته و لایق نیست منع مینماید و حراست میفرماید و نام آن را حیا گذارده اند و لکن این فقره مخصوص است بمعدودی کل دارای اینمقام نبوده و نیستند *

This is the first "leaf" (*warak*), and it is followed by nine others, the tenth being considerably longer than the rest.

On f. 64* begin the *Tirazat* as follows:

بسمی المہمین علی السماء

حمد و ثنا مالک اسماء و فاطر سمارا لایق و سزاست که امواج بحر ظهورش امام وجوه عالم ظاهر و هویدا آفتاب امرش حجاب قبول نفرمود و بکلمه اثباتش محور راه نیافت منع جبایره و ظلم فراغنه او را از اراده باز نداشت جل سلطانه و عظم اقتداره الخ

Of these *Tirazat* there are six, of which the first (on f. 66*) begins as follows:

طراز اول و مجلی اول که از افق سماء ام کتاب اشراق نموده در معرفت انسانست بنفس خود و بانچه سبب علو و دنو و ذلت و عزت و ثروت و فقر است بعد از محقق وجود و بلوغ ثروت لازم و این ثروت اگر از صنعت و اقرار حاصل شود نزد اهل خرد ممدوح و مقبولست مخصوص عبادیکه بر تربیت عالم و تهذیب نفوس امم قیام نموده اند ایشانند ساقیان کوثر دانائی و هادیان سبیل حقیقی الخ

On f. 77^b begin the *Tajalliyat* as follows:

صحیفة الله المہمین القیوم
هو السامع من افقه الاعلی *

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو والذى اتى انه هو السر المكنون * والرمز
 المخزون * والكتاب الأعظم للأمم * وسماء الكرم للعالم * وهو الآية
 الكبرى بين الورى * ومطلع الصفات العليا فى ناسوت الانشاء *
 به ظهر ما كن مخزوننا فى ازل الازال * ومستور عن اولى الابصار *
 انه هو الذى بشرت بظهوره كتب الله من قبل ومن بعد من اقرب به
 وباياته وبيئاته انه اقربنا نطقى به لسان العظمة قبل خلق الارض
 والسماء * وقبل ان يظهر ملكوت السماء * الخ

Of the *Tajalliyât* contained in this piece there are four, the first of which (f. 80^b) begins as follows:

مَجَلَى اَوَّلُ كِه از افتاب حقيقت اشراق نمود معرفت حق
 جل جلاله بوده و معرفت سلطان قدم حاصل نشود مگر بمعرفت
 اسم اعظم اوست مکتبم طور که بر عرش ظهور ساکن و مستویست
 و اوست غیب مکنون و سر مخزون کتب قبل و بعد الهی بذکرش
 مزین و بشباتش ناطق * الخ

The *Lawh-i-Akdas*—not the *Kitâb-i-Akdas* to which I formerly wrongly applied this title (see p. 440 *supra*) but the real *Lawh-i-Akdas*—begins at the top of f. 85^a as follows:

هذا اللوح الاقدس نزل من الملكوت المقدس لمن اقبل الى
 قبلة العالم الذى اتى من سماء القدم بمجده الاعظم بسم الرب
 ذى المجد العظيم * هذا كتاب من لدنا الى الذى ما منعه
 سبحات الاسماء عن الله فاطر الارض والسماء لتقر به عينه فى ايام
 ربه المهيمين القيوم * قل يا ملا الابن واحتجبت باسمى عن نفسى
 ما لكم لا تتفكرون * كنتم ناديتم ربكم المختار فى الليل والنهار فلما
 اتى من سماء القدم بمجده الاعظم ما اقبلتم وكنتم من الغافلين *

The last sentence but one of this extract confirms the information given by me to Baron Rosen at a date anterior to that whereon I received this MS. (see *Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 243, n. 1), viz. that this *Lawḥ-i-Aḳdas* was addressed to a Christian.

Ends, without colophon, on f. 94^b, as follows :

طوبى لمن انقطع عن سوائى * و طار فى هواً حببى و دخل
ملكوتى * و شاهد ممالك عزى * و شرب كوثر فضلى * و سلسبيل
عنايتى * و اطلع على امرى * و ما سترته فى خزائن كلماتى * و
طلع من افق المعانى بذكرى و ثنائى * اته منى * عليه رحمتى و
عنايتى * و مكرمتى و بهائى *

BBA. 4.

كلمات مكنونه فاطمه . سه لوح كه مخصوص اصحاب زرتشت
نازل شده.

Hidden Words. Three Epistles to Zoroastrians.

In the *Epistle to the King of Persia* (*Coll. Sc. vi*, pp. 204-5) certain quotations are made from the *Hidden Book of Faṭīma*. When I was engaged on the translation of the *Traveller's Narrative*, in which the greater part of this *Epistle* is cited, I was forced to consider what the work thus referred to might be. Not being able to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion, I wrote to Acre asking for information on this and several other subjects. In reply I received on Sept. 1st, 1890, a letter, dated August 20th, 1890, from Behá's son Mírzá Badí'u'lláh, containing answers to my question. What refers to the *Hidden Book of Faṭīma* I translated in vol. ii of the *Traveller's Narrative*, p. 123, n. 1. I shall not repeat the translation here, but will give the original text of this portion of the letter.

سؤال پنجم در ذکر فقرات صحیفه مکنونه فاطمیه علیها صلوة الله جواب آنکه حزب ایران یعنی شیعه که خود را پاک و عالم را نعون بالله مجس میدانند برانند که بعد از حضرت ختمی مأب حضرت فاطمه صلوة الله علیها شب و روز در مصیبت پدر بزرگوارش بناله و ندبه و زاری مشغول لذا جبریل از حضرت رب جلیل مأمور بمصاحبت و مؤانست و ملاقات حضرت فاطمه شد و کلماتیکه سبب تسلی و تسکین قلب بود ذکر مینمود ان کلمات را جمع نموده و صحیفه فاطمیه نام نهادند و برآند که آن صحیفه نزد حضرت قائمست و در ایام ظهورش ظاهر میشود و از آن صحیفه جز اسم چیزی معلوم نه فی الحقیقه اسمی است بی رسم و ذکر است بی حقیقت و حضرت موجود اراده فرمود بتلویح و کنایه ظهور قائم را معلوم فرماید لذا باین قسم ذکر شد حکمة من عنده و آنچه در لوح حضرت پادشاه ائده الله باسم صحیفه ذکر شده از کلمات مکنونه است که قبل از لوح حضرت سلطان نازل شده و کلمات مکنونه بلغت فصیحی (عربی) و نورا (فارسی) هر دو نازل و بعضی از آن را امر شد مخصوص آنجناب نوشته ارسال دارند تا بر حقیقت امر مطلع گردید باری فارسی و عربی آن در این ظهور نازل *

A passage in a subsequent letter (received on Oct. 26th, 1890) wherein apology is made for delay in sending the promised *Book of Faṭima* has been already quoted at p. 666 *supra*. The book finally arrived on December 14th, 1890, together with a letter from Mīrzá Badi'ullāh, dated Rabī'ul-avval 15th, A.H. 1308 (Oct. 29th, A.D. 1890), wherein he wrote concerning the accompanying MS. as follows :

¹ i.e. Behá'u'lláh.

این کتره کلمات مکنونه با بعضی از الواح که مخصوص ملت
زدهشت نازل شده ارسال شد *

“This time the *Hidden Words*, together with certain Epistles revealed for the Zoroastrian church, have been sent.”

The description of the MS. is as follows. Ff. 44 (ff. 1^a, 31^b-32^a, 42^a-44^b blank), 15.75 × 8.5 centimetres, 11 lines to the page. Written in a bold clear *naskh* hand. Titles and initial words in red. Of the four passages cited from this work in the *Epistle to the King of Persia* the first (beginning ای بیوفایان) commences on f. 8^a, l. 9; the second (beginning ای بظاهر آراسته) on f. 8^b, l. 5; the third (beginning ای پسر دینا) on f. 9^b, l. 3; and the fourth (beginning here ای بندۀ دنیا instead of ای مدعی دوستی من) but otherwise identical with the citation in the *Epistle to the King* on f. 10^b.

Begins on f. 1^b, at the top of which is written in Mīrzā Badi'’s *ta'lik* :

هذا ما نزل من لسان الرب انه ليهاء الله لمن في السموات
والارضين

The rest of the page is occupied by the opening clause of the *Hidden Words*, which I give in full :

بنام گوینده توانا

ای صاحبان هوش و گوش اول سروش دوست اینست ای بلبل
معنوی جز در گلبن معانی جای مگزین و ای هدهد سلیمان عشق
جز در سبای جانان وطن مگیر و ای عنقای بقا جز در قاف و نا محل
مپذیر اینست مکان تو اگر ببر جان بر پری و آهنگت مقام خود
رایگان نمائی

The Persian portion of the *Hidden Words*, which extends to f. 31^a, contains over 80 similar short clauses, beginning in each case with an invocation similar to that written above. Of these invocations, all of which are written in red, I give those which stand at the heads of the nine clauses which immediately follow the first :

ای پسر خاک ... ای پسران ارض ... ای پسر حب ... ای
پسر عز ... ای سایه نابود ... ای پسر هوی ... ای صاحب دو
چشم ... ای پسران من ... ای دوستان ...

The last clause, occupying f. 31^a, is as follows :

ای عباد

جواهر معانی بدیعه که ورای پردهای بیان مستور و پنهان بود
بعنایت الهی و الطاف ربّانی چون شعاع منیر جمال دوست ظاهر
و هویدا شد شهادت میدهم ای دوستان که نعمت تمام و حجّت
کامل و برهان ظاهر و دلیل ثابت آمد؛ دیگر تا همت شما از مراتب
انقطاع چه ظاهر نماید کذلک تمتّ النعمة علیکم و علی من فی
السموات و الأرضین و الحمد لله رب العالمین *

Four blank pages (ff. 31^b-33^a) separate the Persian from the Arabic portion of the *Hidden Words*. The latter begins on f. 33^b, l. 6, as follows :

یا ابن الروح

فی أوّل القول املک قلباً جیداً حسناً منیراً لتملک ملکاً
دائماً باقیّاً ازلاً قدیمّاً

یا ابن الروح

احبّ الأشياء عندی الأناصاف لا ترغّب عنه ان تکن الی راغباً
ولا تغفل منه لتکون لی امیناً وانت توقّف بذلک ان تشاهد

الاشياء بعينك لا بعين العباد و تعرفها بمعرفتك لا بمعرفة احد في
 البلاد فكّر في ذلك كيف ينبغي ان تكون ذلك عن عطيتي عليك
 و عنائتي لك فاجعله امام عينيك

This part of the *Hidden Words* contains only 18 short clauses similar to the above, and ends at the bottom of f. 36^b as follows :

يا ابن الانسان

لا تحرم وجه عبدي اذا سئلك في شيء لأن وجهه وجهي فاخجل

ميتي *

The Epistles to the Zoroastrians begin at the top of f. 37^a. This page, which includes the whole of the first Epistle, I here transcribe in full :

این سه لوح مبارک از الواحی است که مخصوص اصحاب زرتشت

نازل شده

هو المقصود

بخود مشغول نباشید در فکر اصلاح عالم و تهذیب امم باشید
 اصلاح عالم و تهذیب امم از اعمال طیبه طاهره و اخلاق راضیه
 مرضیه بوده ناصر اممالست و معینش اخلاق یا اهل توحید
 بتقوی الله تمسک نمائید هذا ما حکم به المظلوم و اختاره
 المختار *

The second Epistle to the Zoroastrians (ff. 37^b-39^b) begins as follows :

بنام یکتا خداوند بیهمتا

ستایش پاک یزدان را سزااست که بخودی خود زنده و پاینده
 بوده هر نابودی از بود او پدیدار شده و هر نیستی از هستی او نمودار

گشته ای رستم انشاء الله بعنایت رحمن مرد میدان باشی تا
از این زمزمه ایزدی افسردگانرا برافروزی و مردگانرا زنده و
پژمردگانرا تازه نمائی اگر باین نار که نور است پی بری بگفتار آئی
و خودرا دارای کردار بینی الخ

The third Epistle to the Zoroastrians (ff. 39^b-41^b), which concludes the MS., begins as follows :

روشنی هر نامه نام زنده پاینده بوده ای بندگان سزاوار آنکه
درین بهار جانفزا از باران نیسان یزدانی تازه و خرم شوید خورشید
بزرگی پرتو افکنده و ابربخشش سایه گسترده با بهره کسی که خودرا
بی بهره ن ساخت و دوسترا درین جامه بشناخت الخ

BBA. 5.

Selected Precepts of Behá'u'lláh.

Ff. 6 (f. 1^a bears a short inscription, ff. 6^a-6^b blank),
20.0 × 12.5 centimetres, 13 lines to the page.
Written in a bold graceful *nashk*.

This little MS., containing fifteen clauses called *بشارت*, or "Good Tidings" (each of which indicates some reform or law conducive to the general well-being of mankind embodied by Behá'u'lláh in one or other of his "revelations"), was received by me from Acre on February 7th, 1891, together with a letter from Mírzá Badí'u'lláh dated *Jemádi-uth-thání* 11th, A.H. 1308 (Jan. 22nd, 1891). This selection of precepts, or compendium of reforms aimed at by the new religion, was, as the letter seems to imply, compiled for my benefit by order of Behá'u'lláh. As indicating the ideals held up by Behá for the guidance of his followers it is interesting and important, and I hope at some future date to publish it in its entirety. For the present I must content myself with giving the inscription on f. 1^a, the first and last clauses, and an abstract of contents in English.

The inscription at the top of f. 1^a is as follows :

این احکام و اوامر الهی از قبل در الواح متفرقه و کتاب اقدس
و اشراقات و تجلیات و طرازات و غیرها نازل حسب الامر الاقدس
الاعلی جمع شد تا کل بر فضل و رحمت و عنایت حق جل
جلاله در اینظهور اعظم و نبأ عظیم آگاه شوند و بشکر و حمد مقصود
عالمیان مشغول گردند آنه آنه یؤید عبادۀ علی ما اراد و هو
الامر الحکیم *

“These Divine ordinances and commands, formerly revealed in sundry epistles, in the *Kitāb-i-Akdas*, in the ‘Illuminations,’ ‘Effulgences,’ ‘Ornaments,’ etc., have, agreeably to the Supreme and Most Holy Command, been collected, that all may become cognizant of the grace, mercy, and favour of God (great is His Glory!) in this Most Mighty Manifestation and this Great Announcement, and may engage in praise and thanksgiving to the Desired Object of all the inhabitants of the world. Verily He helpeth His servants unto that which He willeth, for He is the Wise Ordainer.”

The text begins on f. 1^b as follows :

هَذَا نَدَاءُ الْأَيْهَى الَّذِي ارْتَفَعَ مِنَ الْأَفْقِ الْأَعْلَى

هُوَ الْمَبِينُ الْعَلِيمُ الْخَبِيرُ

حق شاهد و مظاهر اسماء و صفاتش گواه که مقصود از ارتفاع ندا
و کلمۀ علیا آنکه از کوثر بیان آدان امکان از قصص کاذبه مطهر شود
و مستعد گردد از برای اصغاه کلمۀ طیبۀ مبارکۀ علیا که از خزانه علم
فاخر سما و خالق اسماء ظاهر گشته طوبی للمنصفین یا اهل ارض
بشارت اول که از ام کتاب در این ظهور اعظم بجمیع عالم عنایت
شد محو حکم جهاد است از کتاب تعالی الکریم ذو الفضل العظیم
الذی به فتح باب الفضل علی من فی السموات و الارضین *

The concluding clause (on f. 5^b is as follows :

بشارت پانزدهم

اگرچه جمهوریت نفعش بعموم اهل عالم راجع و لکن شوکت
سلطنت آیتی است از آیات الهی دوست نداریم مُدُنِ عالم از آن
محروم ماند اگر مدبّرین این دورا جمع نمایند اجرشان عند الله
عظیم است *

In substance the reforms enacted in the fifteen clauses contained in this tract are as follows :

- (1) Abolition of religious warfare (*jihād*).
- (2) Permission to all sects and peoples to unite in friendly intercourse.
- (3) Permission to study foreign languages (a thing discouraged by the Báb), coupled with a recommendation that one language and writing (either of those already existing, or specially devised for the purpose) should be selected by general consent as a medium of international communication. (Cf. *B.* ii, p. 981; *Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 245, l. 4 from the bottom.)
- (4) All Behá's followers are bound loyally to serve and support any King who extends his protection to their faith.
- (5) The followers of Behá, in whatever land they dwell, must cheerfully and ungrudgingly submit to the laws and conform to the customs of that country.
- (6) Promise of the "Most great Peace" (Cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. xl.).
- (7) All are permitted, subject to the dictates of decency and good taste, to follow their own inclinations as to dress and the wearing of the hair.
- (8) The good works and devotions of Christian priests are recognised and will be accepted, but they must henceforth abandon their seclusion and "engage in that which shall advantage them and whereby mankind shall be benefited." They are also permitted to marry.

- (9) Confession of sins to one's fellow-men and seeking absolution from them is not permitted. To God only should confession be made, and from him only should pardon be sought. A form of prayer suitable for such confession is given. (Cf. *B. ii*, p. 975, first paragraph.)
- (10) The Báb's command to destroy certain classes of books (*e.g.* books of logic, philosophy, and other sciences conducing, in his opinion, only to self-conceit and disputatiousness) and to "renew" all books after a certain period, is abrogated. (Cf. *B. ii*, p. 979, l. 21; p. 928, l. 10 *et seq.*)
- (11) The study of sciences and arts is commended and encouraged, but they should be such as conduce to the welfare of mankind.
- (12) All men must learn and practise some craft, trade, or profession. The diligent and conscientious practice of such craft, trade, or profession is in itself an act of worship. Mendicity and idleness are hateful to God. (Cf. *B. ii*, p. 975, first paragraph.)
- (13) The settlement of differences, the apportionment of alms, and the ordering of the affairs of the commonwealth generally, are entrusted to the "House of Justice." (Cf. *B. ii*, p. 974.)
- (14) Visitations of the tombs of martyrs and pilgrimages to the shrines of saints are no longer to be regarded as obligatory. Nevertheless it is a pious work for rich men to leave money to the "House of Justice" to enable their poorer brethren to perform these pilgrimages.
- (15) Though a republic conduces most to the general welfare, it is not desired that Kings, who are the "signs of God's Power," should cease to exist. "If statesmen can combine these two things in this cycle, their reward with God shall be great."

CLASS IV. MSS. OBTAINED FROM CONSTANTINOPLE.

Before proceeding to describe these MSS. I must explain in what manner I became acquainted with Sheykh A—, the learned Ezeli from whom I received them. On October 13th, 1890, I received from Constantinople a long letter in Persian, occupying two sheets of writing-paper, and dated Safar 22nd, A.H. 1308 (Oct. 7th, 1890), which letter proved to be from the aforesaid Sheykh A—, with whom I had had no previous communication, and of whose very existence I had till that day been unaware. After apologizing for writing to me without previous introduction or acquaintance, the writer explained how he had heard of me from Persia and Cyprus, and how he had learned that I had interested myself especially in the Bábi religion. In consequence of this, he said, he had written to me to warn me against certain pretenders to spiritual truth (by whom he meant the Behá'ís) who had brought discord and dissensions into the bosom of the new faith. After discoursing in this strain at great length, in fine but rather ambiguous language, he continued as follows :

و اما بجهت فهمیدن شما آیات و کلمات این ظهور را اعم از کلمات
نقطه حقیقت یا کلمات شخص حی کتابی در نزد حقیر موجود
است بزبان عذب البیان فارسی در کمال سهولت تقریباً بیست
جزو که عبارت از یکصد و شصت ورق باشد میشود اسرار این
شریعت و احکام آن و تفسیر اصطلاحات و مقاصد این حضرات را
بزبانی خیلی آسان بیان میکند بطوریکه شما را کلید و مفتاحی
از برای این گنجینه علم الاسما بدست میدهد

“Now to enable you to understand, not only the words of the Point of Truth (*i.e.* the Bábi), or the words of Him called ‘The Living’ (*i.e.* Subh-i-Ezel), but the

signs and words of this dispensation in general, there is in my possession a book in the sweet Persian tongue, in very simple style, consisting of about twenty folios or 160 leaves (pp. 320), which sets forth in very easy language the mysteries of this law and its ordinances, and explains the terminology and ideas of these people, in such wise that it will place in your hand a key wherewith to open this treasure-house of the Knowledge of the Names." The writer then goes on to say that as there is only one copy of this book, and as it has to be jealously kept from the eyes of all save a few, he cannot give me the MS., but that if I should like to have it he will either lend it to me for two or three months, that I may make a copy for myself, or will get it copied for me at five francs the folio.

I immediately answered this letter, saying that I should prefer to have a copy made for me in Constantinople, and asking for the name of the book and further particulars about it. In answer to this letter I received on November 10th, 1890, a second communication from Sheykh A —, in which he wrote :

در باب کتاب حکمت نامش (هشت بهشت) است و باصطلاح
 زبان فارسی متداول نوشته شده که همه کس را استفاده ازو ممکن
 باشد و تا این کتاب را کسی نمخواند میدانند حضرات حکما چه
 میخواهند بگویند و از اول لا اول له مقصود ازین همه کتب آسمانی
 چه بوده و چیست و لسان سماوی را ازینهمه ما جرا غرض و منظور
 چه میباشد

"As to the book of philosophy, its name is *Hasht Bihisht*, and it is written according to the current Persian idiom, so that it may be possible for all to profit by it. Until one has read this book he knows not what the philosophers wished to say, what was and is the object of all these sacred books [which have been revealed] since the beginning which hath no beginning, or what was the design and

purpose of the Celestial Tongue in all its past utterances." The writer added that there was only one other copy of the book besides his own, and that it was in Persia, and was accessible to no one but the owner; that he would put the work in hand immediately; that I was, at my convenience, to remit him £4, wherewith to pay the scribe; and that the MS. would be finished in two months and a half.

On Feb. 2nd, 1891, I received fifteen folios of the promised MS., together with a letter, explaining that the rest of the transcript had fallen into the hands of enemies from whom it had not been possible to recover it. The missing portion, Sheykh A—— added, would be sent as soon as another copy could be made.

In a fourth letter, received on Feb. 27th, 1891, Sheykh A——, after giving further particulars of the loss of the twelve confiscated folios, wrote concerning the *Hasht Bihisht* in somewhat greater detail as follows:

دیگر اینکه این کتاب دو کتاب است. جلد اول آن در نظریات
فلسفه بیان و دلائل علمی و حکمت آن کرده است و جلد دوم در
احکام شریعت بیان و احوال قیامت و جنت موعود جسمانی
و مجملی از وقایع یوم القیمه و این کتابیکه برای سرکار استنساخ
شد جلد ثانی است

"Moreover this book (the *Hasht Bihisht*) is really two books. In the *first* volume [the author] has treated of the theoretical aspects of the philosophy of the Beyán, its scientific proofs and rationale; while in the *second* [he discusses] the ordinances of the Law of the Beyán, the circumstances of the Resurrection and the promised corporeal Paradise, and, in a summary manner, the events of the Day of Resurrection.¹ Now the book copied for you is the *second* volume." If I like, continues Sheykh A——, he will

¹ i.e. the circumstances of the Báb's 'manifestation' and the internecine strife which subsequently arose within the sect.

have a copy of the *first* volume also made for me, which, though it deals less directly and ostensibly with the Báb's doctrine, and, indeed, would not be recognized by the uninitiated reader as inspired thereby, will nevertheless help to render clear the true character of the new religion.

Not to pursue further a long correspondence, I may state briefly that I subsequently received the whole of vol. i of the *Hasht Bihisht* (فلسفه نظری بیان) and the greater portion of vol. ii. The latter, however, is defective in the middle, and consists of portions of two different copies, the first twenty-two folios (consisting of four sheets, or sixteen pages, each) being written on yellow paper, and the last eight on white paper. How great may be the central hiatus I have no means of judging, but I hope soon to receive the missing portion.

Concerning the real authorship of the work I addressed a direct enquiry to Sheykh A—, to which he replies as follows :

اما اسم مصنف این کتاب را خواسته بودید اگرچه در بیان جزئیات و شخصیات محسوست ان هی الآ اسماء سمیئموها انتم و آبائکم اما کنون که خواسته اید عرض مینمایم تمام این مطالب که درین دو کتاب مسطورست مقالات و کلمات حضرت سید بزرگوار حاجی سید جوان کربلائی است که از حروف حی اول و اصحاب سابقین و حروف بسم الله است و آن بزرگوار از زمان مرحوم شیخ احمد احسانی تا هفت سال پیش ازین درین مراتب سالک حقیقت بود و آن کسی است که حضرت نقطه بیان در دلائل سبعة قول اورا دلیل میآوردند و در لوح اول خطاب باو نوشته بودند السلام علیکم یا اهل بیت النبوة ولی چون در اواخر عمر آن بزرگوار را قوی ضعیف و رعشه در دست پیدا شده بود خوب مقتدر بر نوشتن نبودند این مقالات را خود املا فرموده یکی از تلامذه آن جناب نوشته بود

مخط لا یقرء و اوراق بی ترتیب این ایام در اسلامبول چون فراغت
 بدید بود بنده و آن شخص همتی کرده آن اوراق بی ترتیب را
 مرتب کردیم خلاصه اصل روح مطالب از ایشان است قوالب الفاظ
 شاید از ماها باشد..... اسم مصنف این دو کتاب را اگر بخواهید
 ذکر نمائید جناب حاجی سید جواد است

“ You wished to know the name of the author of this book. Although particulars and personalities are abolished in the Beyán (—‘They are naught but names which ye and your fathers have named’¹—), still, since you have asked, I will tell you. The ideas contained in these two books [i.e. the two volumes of the *Hasht Bihisht*] represent the teachings and sayings of the illustrious Hájí Seyyid Jawád of Kerbelá, who was of the ‘First Letters of the Living,’ the earliest believers, and the ‘Letters of the *Bismi’ulláh*’ That illustrious personage, now departed, was a pilgrim after truth in these degrees from the time of the late Sheykh Aḥmad of Aḥsá until seven years ago. And he is one whose words are adduced as proof in the *Dalá’il-i-Sab’a* by His Holiness the Point of Revelation [i.e. the Báb],² who, in the first Epistle which he addressed to him, wrote, “Peace be upon you, O scion of the prophetic household!” But, inasmuch as during his latter days the strength of that illustrious personage was much impaired and his hands trembled, he was unable to write, wherefore he dictated these words, and one of his disciples wrote them down, but in an illegible hand and on scattered leaves. In these days, having some leisure time in Constantinople, I and this person exerted ourselves to set in order these disordered leaves. In short the original spirit of the contents is his [i.e. Seyyid Jawád’s], though perhaps the form of words may be ours. Should you desire to mention the name of the author of these two books it is Hájí Seyyid Jawád.”

¹ Kur’án, vii, 69; xii, 40; liii, 23.

² See p. 447. *supra*.

It is unnecessary to point out the importance of such a work from such a source. As, however, one of the volumes is defective; as I have not yet been able to study either volume as it deserves; and as I do not wish to prolong this article unnecessarily, I must perforce confine myself for the present to giving a very brief description, deferring a more adequate account of the contents and scope of the work to some future occasion.

BBC. 1.

هشت بهشت . جلد اول . در فلسفه نظری بیان .

Hasht Bihišt. Vol. i. Theoretical Philosophy of the Beyān.

Ff. 246 (ff. 1^a, 246^a-246^b blank), 25 × 14.5 centimetres, 24 lines to the page. Written in a small, neat, and legible *ta'liq*. Headings of chapters and sections, technical terms defined, etc., written in red. Initial words of sentences overlined with red.

Begins:

فلسفه بیان

بسم الله المنع الاقدس

چند چند از حکمت یونانیان حکمت ایمانیان را هم بخوان

تعریف علم فلسفه و فائده آن

علم فلسفه که آنرا علم اعلی و علم کلی می نامند خروج از تنگنای مدارک جزئی حیوانی است بسوی فضای واسع مشاعر انسانی و ازاله هرج و مرج ظلمات جهل و عمش است بانوار نظام عقلی و دانستن حقایق اشیاست بر ترتیب اصلی و نظم طبیعی و بالجمله این علم شریف محستین سببی است از برای حرکات فکریه و بزرگترین موجبی است از برای انشاء معارف و علوم. و اختراع صنایع و حرف و غلت اولی انتقال قبایل و امم است از

حال وحشت و بداوت بعالم تمدن و حضارت و محول از قریه ترستی بمدینه فاعله حقیقی و اما غایت آن کمال نفس انسانی است در معاش و معاد و حیات اوست بحیات مقدسه عقلیه و محجات اوست از بیابان وحشت و خوف بدخول در بلد الامین حقیقی و من دخله کان آمنا

Ends with an explanation of sundry technical terms appertaining to the Bábí religion. The last of the terms so explained is "He whom God shall manifest," and the author seizes the opportunity to express in the clearest manner his disapproval of Behá'u'lláh.

This concluding passage I subjoin in full :

من ینظره الله ظهور موعود دین بیان است در قیامت بعد و رجعت اخری مانند ظهور قائم در دین اسلام و عدد آن را مستغاث فرموده اند که دو هزار و یکسال¹ باشد و مکرر حضرت نقطه بیان میفرماید خداوند عالم تا خلق ظهور اول را اکمال نفرماید خلق دیگر ظاهر نمی کند و ظهور نخستین تا بکمال خود نرسد ظهور دیگر ظاهر نخواهد شد و الا امور حق سبحانه و تعالی جزاف و عبث خواهد بود العیان بالله و این معنی با قواعد عقلیه و اصول حکمیه بدیهی است که هیچ دهقانی تا از درخت غرس کرده خود اکتفاف نمر نکند بجای او درختی دیگر غرس نخواهد کرد و آنهمی ظهور بعد بالبدیهه باید اشرف از ظهور قبل باشد و در صورتیکه ظهور نخستین هنوز مقام نطفه دارد و بکمال طبیعی خود بالغ نشده چگونه معقول و متصور است که بگوئیم عالم ظهوری اشرف اقتضا نمود و ظهور نخستین منسوخ شد زیراکه با شئی غیر معلوم که هنوز ظاهر نشده چیزی دیگر را نمیتوان نسبت داد و قیاس شرافت و عدم شرافت

¹ See B. i, p. 515, and p. 299 *supra*.

آنها را نمود و این سخنی است که از غایت سخافت برای زن ثکلا
خنده انگیز می باشد

و این چند نفر که در دین بیان بر خاسته ادعای مقام (f. 243^a)
موعود را نمودند اگر همین قدر حس اولیات و بدیهیات را میداشتند
از خجالت بزمین فرو میرفتند که هیچ این سخن معقول و ممکن
التصور نیست

و انگهی باید اصحاب آن ظهور اشرف و الطف و اعلی باشند از
ظهور بیان و حال اینکه در همه اصحاب این ظهور جدید از خود
من یظهروه الله گرفته تا همه اصحاب و انصار او بقدر یکنفر از اصحاب
ظهور بیان شعور و ادراک ندارند و این چیزی نیست که برای کس
مخفی باشد

بلکه هنوز این ظهور اعظم و اصحاب این ظهور نتوانسته خود را از
ظل بیان خارج نمایند¹ و هنوز مردم اسم بایی بر آنها اطلاق می
کنند چه طور ظهور اعظمی است م

Here follows (on f. 243^b) a short appendix giving a sort
of epitome of the Bábí doctrine, "which section," says the
writer, "whosoever fails to understand has in no wise
understood, nor will ever understand, the meaning of the
remaining sections of this book."

Begins:

هر کس معنی این فصل را نفهمد معنی باقی فصول این کتاب را
هیچ نفهمیده و هرگز نخواهد فهمید

یکی از جمله کلمات مکتونه و اسرار مودوعه بیان این است که
صاحب این شریعت کلیه و کلمه جامعه مودعه مکتونه در

¹ The original has نماید.

کینونیات اشیا بندای عالمگیر و فریاد در میان ملا امکان اهل سموات
 و ارضین را منادای خود ساخته میگوید
 ای اهل امکان !

ای ارباب مذاهب مختلفه و ادیان متشسته و ملل متنوعه ! ای
 کسانیکه تعصب را جزو دیانت خود می‌شمارید و جز صدای خود
 صدای دیگری را نمی شنوید ! دین بیان بهیچ یک از شما ابدأ
 تکلیف نمی کند که شما مذهب و دیانت خود را بگذارید و از پی
 دین جدیدی بپروئید و دست از دین اول خود بردارید حاشا
 و کلاً هرگز دین بیان و اهل بیان بشما چنین تکلیفی را نمی کنند
 که شما دین سابق موروثی آبا و اجدادی خود را ترک کنید¹
 و مذهب ثانی اختیار نمائید .

The Appendix ends (on ff. 245^a-245^b) as follows :

خلاصه این دین مبسب و شریعت حقّه وجودات را بهیچوجه
 منفی و معدوم نمی خواهد و برای شئون وجودیه اصلا و ابدأ زوال
 و انقراض در هیچ رتبه روا نمی دارد زیرا که همه وجود از مراتب
 غیب و شهود سرتا سر مظاهر ذات مطلق و مجالی حقند
 بلکه آنچه میخواهد درجه کمال شئون وجودیه و رفع مناقص
 و معایب آنهاست و اگر بدین کلمه جامع مکنونه رفع نزاع
 و اختلاف از میان کل ملل و ادیان نشود دیگر بهیچ طور و هیچ چیز
 رفع خلاف ممکن نخواهد بود فاعرف ان کنت تعرف

Apart from the Appendix, the book consists of an Intro-
 duction, five chapters (*Báb*), and a conclusion (*Khátima*).

¹ MS., by an obvious slip, کند.

The *Introduction* (ff. 1^b-11^b) contains the following sections:

- تقسیم فلسفه از قدیم و جدید (f. 3^a)
 پیدایش اشراقیین (f. 3^b)
 فرق میان فلاسفه و انبیا و سلاطین (f. 4^b)
 پیدایش صوفیه و متکلمین (f. 5^a)
 ظهور فلسفه قرآنیه و حکمت اهل بیت (f. 5^b)
 طلوع افتاب حسی از افق مغرب (f. 6^b)
 ظهور فلسفه بیان که مقام جمع الجمع است (f. 7^a)
 خصائص فلسفه بیان (f. 8^a)
 تعریف فلسفه بیان (f. 8^b)
 در بیان موضوع و مزایای فلسفه بیان¹ (f. 9^b)

The contents of the five chapters and conclusion are stated in an index which occupies the last nine lines of f. 11^b. This index is as follows:

فهرست ابواب کتاب

مطالب این علم اعلی در ضمن پنج باب گفته می شود و هی هذه
 باب اول در بیان امور عامه و مفاهیم کلیه که معقولات اولیاند
 باب دویم در بیان جواهر و اعراض که فن قاطیغوریاس² است
 و موضوعات علوم درین فن اثبات میشود و تشریح و تکوین مبین
 می گردد
 باب سیم در بیان اثبات توحید و صفات و اسما و افعال حق
 سبحانه

¹ Nineteen special features (خصائص) are enumerated.

² Evidently an erroneous transcription of *Pythagoras*, which name is commonly written in Arabic فیثاغورس. The transcriber of this MS., probably unfamiliar with the name, read the initial letter as ج instead of ف. This mistake is repeated elsewhere.

باب چهارم در بیان نبوت و ولایت و کتاب و سبع المشانی
و تاویل
باب پنجم در بیان نشأه اولی و اخری و احوال مبدء و معاد
و چگونگی سفر نفس در عالم آخرت و اثبات بقای نفس ناطقه بعد
از خراب بدن عنصری
خاتمه در بیان شرح اصطلاحات حکمت و اسامی فلاسفه از
قدیم و جدید

Each chapter is further divided into a number of sections, the enumeration of which I am forced to omit in this place. The explanation of the Bábí terminology (ff. 237^b-243^a) is one of the most valuable portions of the book, for the meanings of many obscure expressions which occur constantly in the Bábí writings are here clearly and concisely defined. This portion, at least, of the work I hope to publish at no distant date. For the present I confine myself to giving, as specimens, a few of the more important explanations.

رب اعلی و حضرت اعلی اسم مخصوص حضرت نقطه بیان است
ارض اعلی کنایت از زمجان است
ادلاء حی عبارت است از حروف حی و آن هیجده نفر ذوات
مقدس بودند که قبل از کل شی بین یدی الله ساجد شدند از
نقبا و مچبا و تلامذه حضرت سید¹
اسم الله الاول که اورا اول من آمن نیز گویند عبارت است از
جناب آخوند ملا حسین بشروئی که چهل روز قبل از خلق کل
شی بین یدی الله ساجد شد و اورا حرف سین اول بسمله نیز گویند

¹ Seyyid Kázim of Resht is evidently meant.

اسم الله الآخر عبارت است از جناب حاجی میرزا محمد علی بارفروشی که سین آخر بسم الله بود و همه حروف بسم الله باین دو حرف راجع شد

اسم الله الانیس کنایت از جناب اخوند ملا حسین داماد مرحوم حاجی سید جواد کربلائی است¹

اسم الله الاهز عبارت از آقا سید رحیم اصفهانی است که درین ظهور مسلک ابو موسی اشعری و ابو هریره را امتحان نمود لا الی هؤلا و لا الی هؤلا بخيال خود خود را حکم قرار داده میگوید فتنه این دو برادر افتتان موسی و هرون است بظهورات عکا و قیریس هر دو مصدق و مؤمنم و نظر بظواهر ندارم و هنوز در اصفهان حیات دارد²

ارض شمس و ارض تا عبارت از تبرییزست زیرا که عدد تا و شمس ۴۰۰ است

ارض بهاء و ارض ط طهران است زیرا که بهاء و ط ۹ است
ارض علم عبارت از قم است چه علم با قم عددًا مساویست
ارض الف و لام عبارت از اسلامبول است
ارض سر عبارت از ادرنه است زیرا که عددًا سر و ادرنه مساویند
و در اینجا میان اصحاب نار و نور تفریق افتاده

اسم عظیم اسم جناب شیخ عظیم خراسانی است و اسم ایشان³ و بعد از فتنه تیر انداختن بشاه آنجنابرا در طهران شهید کردند

¹ Since the alleged author of this book, Aká Seyyid Jawád of Kербelá, is here spoken of as "departed," it is evident that this portion, at least, of the work was not composed by him.

² One sees from this that the office of one who seeks to reconcile the conflicting claims of the two rival factions is a thankless one!

³ The scribe has omitted to insert the name Mullá Sheykh 'Alí.

The above definitions and explanations are but a selection from the letter *alif*, which is followed by the other letters in their alphabetical order. I will only give one more, which confirms the opinion expressed by Baron Rosen (*Coll. Sc.* 1, MSS. Arabes, p. 187, n. 1), that the term *Kurratu'l-'Ayn* does not in the Báb's *Commentary on the Súra-i-Yusuf* denote the celebrated Bábí heroine who afterwards bore this title.

قرّة العین اسم حضرت نقطه‌است در اول ظهور ولی در ثانی
جناب طاهره قزوینی مظهر این اسم شد

"*Kurratu'l-Ayn* was a name of His Holiness the Point [i.e. the Báb] at the beginning of the 'Manifestation,' but subsequently Her Holiness the Pure [*Jenáb-i-Ṭáhira*] of *Qazvín* became the manifestation of this name."

It is impossible here to do more than indicate, as I have striven to do, the extreme value and importance of this work.

BBC. 2.

هشت بهشت . جلد ثانی . در احكام شریعت بیان و غیره
Hasht Bihišt. Vol. ii. Practical Philosophy of the Beyán, etc.

This MS. is, as I have already stated, imperfect, consisting of twenty-two folios (of ff. 8 each), written on yellow paper, separated by a hiatus of unknown extent from the concluding eight folios, which are written on white paper. It is therefore impossible for me to describe it fully, partly because the proper numeration of the leaves following the hiatus cannot be determined; partly because, when the supplementary folios of either the white or the yellow part are sent, I am to return or otherwise surrender up the other part, which, therefore, I cannot disfigure with numbers or other marks. The portion now in my possession consists of ff. 240 (thirty folios of ff. 8 each), ff. 1^a-2^a being blank. Uniform in size with the preceding, viz. 25 × 14·5 centimetres.

Begins (on f. 2^b):

بسم الله الامنع الاقدس
مغان که دانه انگور آب می سازند
ستاره می شکنند آفتاب می سازند

تعریف شریعت بیان ما نُنسخ من آية او نُنسبها نأت بخیر منها

هر شریعت را که حق منسوخ کرد " او گیا برد و عوض آورد ورد
— شریعت بیان ترتیب منتظم و مقرریست که بطریقی بدیع از
عالم اختراع نازل شده و خداوند سبحانه مدار ترقی حوادث کونیّه را
بر آن نهاده و مُسنتقل میکند عالم اجسام و اکوان را از عرصه
غلظت و کثافت بصقع جوهریت و لطافت و تبدیل میکند ارض
هیولیات را بعرضه مجردات و اجسام دنیویه عرضیه را باجسام
جوهریه آخرویه و می کشاند عالم کون و فساد را بسوی حیات
جاوید و کمال گئی و بقاء محض و نور صرف و روحانیت مطلق

Ends with the narrative of "one of the people of the Beyán" (*i.e.* an Ezeli Bábi)¹ of a visit which he paid to Acre from Cyprus, and of what he saw and heard there. This narrative, written partly in Persian and partly in Arabic, occupies five pages and one third, and contains the most violent and bitter denunciations of Behá and his followers. "Praise be to God," he begins, "who hath caused me to travel in all lands, and hath shewn me the firmly-buttressed palaces, and Iram of the columns, and the couches of Pharoah and Shaddád, and the tombs of Thamúd and 'Ád, who rebelled in the land, and oppressed [God's] servants, and whose home shall be hell—an ill resting-place!—And blessing and peace be upon Muḥammad and his glorious household. *But after this.* I was for a while in the regions of Syria, and in the city of Damascus

¹ Probably Sheykh A— himself, who in one of his letters mentioned incidentally that he had visited Acre—a rare thing for an Ezeli to do.

'the spacious' [*al-Feyhá*], and Aleppo 'the grey' [*ash-Shahbá*], and the parts round about Mount Lebanon, and Tyre, and Sidon. And the misleadings of the Black Darkness brought me into the City of Blood, the town of Acre, which they call 'the City of Vision' [*Madinatu'sh-shuhúd*]; and, by my life! it is, indeed, the City of Vision, and a minaret for the consuming fire, and on it are poured forth darknesses, and lightnings, and thunders. There I plainly saw the manifestation of plurality, to wit, the combination of thunder, lightning, darkness, and the thunder-bolt; and I called to mind the *Chapter of the Unbelievers* of the Eternal Word.¹ For these are they who have hidden the light of their original potentiality with the darkness of the attributes of wicked souls and the effects of a corrupt nature, and have been veiled from the Truth by Untruth." The first of these "unbelieving souls and manifestations of infidelity," whom he met on the sea-shore, was none other than Behá's eldest son 'Abbás Efendí, whom he calls "al-Waswás," which is an attribute of the devil meaning "the whisperer" or "suggester" [of wicked thoughts],² and is numerically equivalent to the name 'Abbás.³ "After that," he continues, "I saw the rest of the Wicked One's followers, and heard the words of each. Their sayings and arguments consist of a farrago of names, baseless stories, calumnies, falsehoods, and lies, and not one of them has any knowledge of even the first principles of the religion of the Beyán or of any other religion. They are all devoid of knowledge, ignorant, short-sighted, of common capacity, hoodwinked, people of darkness, spurned of nature, hypocrites, corrupters of texts, blind imitators; God hath taken away from them his light and hath left them in the darkness of the Wicked One, and hath destroyed them in the abysses of vain imaginings, and hath put chains around their necks" After one or two pages of denunciation

¹ Kur'an, cix.

² Kur'an, cxiv, 4.

³ Both words = 133.

filled with quotations from the *Kur'án*, which are interpreted in a sense far from flattering to Behá and his followers, the narrator describes how, after some days spent in the society of "souls suggesting thoughts of evil," he was admitted to Behá's audience-chamber. "When I was come there," he continues, "and looked upon that Arch-idol, that Greatest Talisman, that personified Revolt [*Túghút-i-mumaththal*], that rebellious Lucifer [*'Asázil-i-márid*], that envious Iblis, I saw a form on a throne, and heard the 'lowing of the calf.'¹ Then did I see how the light of the Most Great Name had shone on Ahriman the accursed, and how the finger of the demon wore the ring.² For they had written the Name *Behá'u'l-Abhá* in divers writings, and called it 'the Most Great Name.'³ Thereat there came to my mind this verse of [*Háfiz*] the Tongue of the Unseen—

'Efficient is the Name Divine; be of good cheer, O heart!
The div becomes not Solomon by guile and cunning's art.'"⁴

The narrator then describes his heartfelt joy on finding himself once more outside Acre, concluding in the following words, with which also the MS. ends:

فاهمنى الله بعد تلك الليال العشر فجبور نفسى و تقويها و علمت
ان الفجر ابتداء ظهور نور الروح على مادة البدن عند اول اثر تعلقه
به فلحقت نفسى سكينه من رحمة الله لما فارقت اطلال ذوى افك
عتو فوفقت على رصد ورايت طيوراً صافات حاصرات واقفات عند
كوة الكبرياء و نادت يخفى ندائها يا منجى الهلكي و يا غياث من

¹ The Ezelis compare Behá to the Golden Calf, to the worship of which Sámiri seduced the Children of Israel. See *Kur'án* vii, 146; xx, 90; and *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 355 and n. 2.

² Allusion is made to the well-known story of the theft of Solomon's magic ring by one of the demons, who, by its aid, exercised for some time the supreme power.

³ This is regarded throughout the *Beyán* and by all the *Bábís* as the "Most Great Name" of God, but according to the Ezelis it belongs properly to *Subh-i-Ezel*. Cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 353, l. 11.

⁴ The translation of this verse I have taken from Herman Bicknell's beautiful and noble rendering of *Háfiz* (London, Trübner and Co., 1876), p. 131.



استغاث أن ذاتاً هبطت فاعتربت فامطربت فسارعت فمتمت
 فهل إلى سبيل من وصول * تمت والسلام *

I must now state the contents of this volume as briefly as possible, leaving a fuller account of its most interesting and valuable contents for some future occasion. Not being able to number the pages in the customary fashion, I avail myself of the scribe's Arabic numeration, according to which the first page of writing (f. 2^b) is numbered p. 1, after which the pages (not the leaves) are numbered regularly (the even numbers only being written in) as far as p. 126 (and p. 127, not numbered). At this point the numeration changes from the pages to the leaves (as though f. 2 had been numbered 1, f. 3^a 2, etc.), and what, according to the system hitherto followed, should be (p.) 128 is actually marked (f.) 64. The numeration by leaves then proceeds regularly up to (f.) 175, where the portion of the MS. written on yellow paper (22 folios of 8 leaves each) ends. Then, separated by the hiatus already mentioned, come the 8 folios written on white paper. Here the numeration is again by pages, not leaves, the first page of the white being numbered 330. It proceeds regularly up to p. 438 (and p. 439, not numbered) except that pp. 416 and 417 are both numbered 416, thus making all the subsequent numbers up to 438 wrong by two. In the last folio the numeration again changes in the most erratic manner, the leaves of this folio being numbered from 201 to 208.

The *Introduction* extends from p. 1 to 37, and, after some preliminary remarks, enumerates and discusses fifteen "virtues" (خصائص) which the religion of the Beyân has over all other religions, and seven "claims" (دعوى) which its adherents make for it.

The body of the work consists of eight chapters (for which reason, probably, the book is entitled *Hasht Bihišt* or "the Eight Paradises") and a conclusion. The index of these occupies the last thirteen lines of p. 37 and the first two lines of p. 38. This index I here transcribe.

فهرست ابواب کتاب

باب اول در حقوق الهیه و آن عبادات و نظامات و ادعیه و زیارات است

باب دوم در تهذیب اخلاق و آن حقوق خود شخص است از حیث انقباض و انبساط قوای طبیعی خود

باب سیم در تدبیر منزل و آن حقوق خود شخص است نسبت بامور منزلیه خود از مطعم و مشرب و ملبس و مسکن و منظر و محفل و مجمر و مسموع و مشموم و حقوق عشایر و اقوام و عائله و مشترکین منزل است

باب چهارم در حقوق مدینه و امور سیاسیه و ملکیه نسبت بافراد ملت و اهالی مملکت و نسبت بتکالیف شخصی سلطنت

باب پنجم در حقوق و نوامیس عامه مانند امر تزویج و تطلیق و ارث و تجهیز اموات و معاملات و صناعات و جنایات و دیات و کفارات

باب ششم در حقوق ملکوتیه و آن علوم و صناعات و فنون است
باب هفتم در احوال و اشراف قیامت و دلائل ظهور قائم آل محمد
باب هشتم در تاریخ بیان و مجملی از وقایع یوم القیامه

خاتمه در بیان فتنه ده‌ماه صیلم و خروج دجال و سامری و اهریمن و صنم اعظم و طاغوت اکبر و عجل جسل و جغه نیل و امثال آنها

As a systematized treatise on the philosophy, theology, ethics, morality, and, in lesser degree, the history of the religion of the Beyán, this volume and that previously described occupy a unique place in Bábí literature. In such an article as the present it is impossible to do more than indicate their extreme interest and value.

BBC. 3.

بیان فارسی

Ff. 296 (ff. 1^a-4^a, 295^a-296^b blank), 14.5 × 9.0 centimetres, 16 lines to the page. Written in small and legible but not very elegant *naskh*. Headings of *Váhids* and chapters, etc., in red. Ff. 4^b-6^a are occupied by an index of contents. The MS. is carefully and accurately written, and has evidently been collated throughout, as there are corrections and insertions here and there in the margin. Received by me in August, 1891, from Sheykh A—, who bought the MS. for sixty-three francs from a Bábí who was returning to Persia. In the accompanying letter Sheykh A— wrote as follows :

بیان فارسی هم خیال کردم اگر برای شما بنویسانم خرجتان زیاد میشود یک جلد بیان خط ایران بخط نسخ صحیح و خوب بهمان قیمت که شخصی در اصفهان مینویسد تقریباً از یکی از احباب که خیال رفتن بایران داشت خریده برای سرکار انقاد داشتم قیمت آن هم سی جزوست جزوی دو فرانک که دو قران در ایران باشد نوشته شده بغیر از صحافی و جلد و آنهم تقریباً دو فرانک یا سه فرانک میشود روی هم شصت و سه فرانک با پول پُست قیمت آن میباشد *

“As for the *Persian Beyán*, I thought that, if I should have a copy made for you, your expense would be [needlessly] increased. I therefore send for you a copy of the *Beyán* in one volume, written in Persia, in good and correct *naskh*, at the price for which a certain person in Isfahán transcribes it, which I bought from one of the Friends who was intending to return to Persia. As to its price: it contains thirty folios, and was transcribed at two francs

(which, in Persia, is two *kráns*) a folio, besides the cost of the binding and cover, which comes to about two or three francs. Altogether, with postage, its price is sixty-three francs."

Concerning the work itself, see pp. 450-1 *supra*.

BBC. 4.

كتاب قيوم الاسماء تفسير احسن القصص

وهو سورة يوسف لان عدد قيوم (١٥١) مطابق مع يوسف (١٥١).

Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsiif.

Ff. 202 (ff. 1^a, 201^b-202^b blank), 21.75 × 13.75 centimetres, 22 lines to the page. Written in a small, clear *ta'liq*. Headings and titles in red. Copied for me at Constantinople under the supervision of Sheykh A—, the Ezeli, in the autumn of 1891.

The general characteristics of this book, and the special peculiarities of this particular MS. I have already discussed in a previous article (*J.R.A.S.* for April, 1892, pp. 261-8). To what I there said concerning the nomenclature of the chapters or *súras* which compose the *Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsiif*, I have now to add some further particulars with which Baron Rosen has most obligingly supplied me as to their nomenclature in a MS. of the same work in his own collection. (See *Coll. Sc. iii, Manuscrits Persans*, p. 50.) The nomenclature adopted in Baron Rosen's MS., in so far as it differs from that previously given by me at p. 263 *supra*, is as follows :

Chapter xiv. . .	سورة القدس	Chapter xxxiii. . .	سورة النصر
„ xv. . .	المشيئة	„ xxxix. . .	الشكر
„ xvi. . .	العرش	„ xlii. . .	العهد
„ xxi. . .	البحر	„ xliii. . .	الوحيد
„ xxvii. . .	الاموال	„ xlv. . . .	هو

Chapter	سورة المرآت	Chapter	سورة الحق
xlvi.	الحجّة	lxxxiv.	الطير
xlvii.	النداء	lxxxv.	النبا
xlviii.	الاحكام	lxxxvi.	الابلاغ
xlix.	الاحكام (sio)	lxxxvii.	الانسان
l.	المجد	lxxxviii.	التثليث
li.	الفصل	lxxxix.	الربيع
lii.	الصبر	xc.	المجتل (p)
liii.	الركن	xc. i.	المحل
liv.	المر	xcii.	الاشعار
lv.	الأكبر	xciii.	No title.
lvi.	الحزن	xciv.	القتال
lvii.	الافئدة	xcv.	القتال (sio)
lviii.	الذكر	xcvi.	الجهاد
lix.	الاولياء	xcvii.	الجهاد (sio)
lx.	المحمد صلعم	xcviii.	الجهاد (sio)
lxi.	الاحديّة	xcix.	القتال (sio)
lxii.	الخليل	c.	القتال (sio)
lxiii.	الشمس	ci.	الحج
lxiv.	الورقة	cii.	المحدود
lxv.	السلام	ciii.	الاحكام
lxvi.	الظهور	civ.	الجمعه
lxvii.	الزوال	cv.	النكاح
lxviii.	الكاف	cvi.	الذكر
lxix.	الاعظم	cvi.	العبد
lxx.	الياء	cvi.	الصاغرين
lxxi.	الاسم	cix.	المؤمنين
lxxii.		cx.	
lxxiii.			

As will be observed, one chapter (the last) is missing from the above list. Baron Rosen writes: "Je ne sais pas comment il se trouve que le nombre des sourates est

de 110 seulement au lieu de 111. Je n'ai pas sous la main dans ce moment l'exemplaire de l'Institut." Apart from this and chapter xciv, the above list, in conjunction with that given at p. 263 *supra*, supplies names for all the chapters.

Since this article went to press, I have received, under circumstances briefly detailed at p. 663 *supra*, another Bábí MS. (the *Istidlaliyyé*, or "Evidences" of Mirzá Abu'l-Fazl of Gulpáyagán), for which, as it cannot be placed in any one of the four classes into which the other MSS. are divided, I am obliged to create a fifth "supplementary" class (BBS).

BBS. 1.

استدلالیه

Evidences of the Behá't doctrine. By Mirzá Abu'l-Fazl of Gulpáyagán.

Ff. 22 (f. 1^a and 22^b blank), 21·25 × 13·25 centimetres, 14 lines to the page. Written in a good clear Persian *ta'lik*. The manner in which this MS. came into my possession is explained at p. 663 *supra*.

This work, intended to prove by quotations and arguments drawn from the Old Testament that Behá'u'lláh is the promised Messiah and deliverer of Israel, is addressed chiefly to the Jews. It appears to have been written in the year A.H. 1305 (A.D. 1887-8), for on f. 19^b we find the following passage :

و این فقرة نزد علمای موسوی روشن و مسلم است که از خرابی
اورشليم بدست بخت النصر تا این زمان سنه هزار و سیصد و پنچ
هجری دو هزار و سیصد و هجده سال گذشته است و بر حسب
شهادت تواریخ هم از زمان دانیال تا تولد حضرت مسیح تقریباً
یکهزار و هشتصد و هشتاد و هشت سال است و این جمله دو هزار
و سیصد [و] هجده سال میشود *

The work consists of a preface and three sections. The preface extends from f. 1^b to f. 3^a. As it is rather interesting, I give the text in full. It is so easy that I do not think it necessary to add a translation.

بنام خداوند یکتای کریم

خدمت ذیمرت دانشمندان و مشایخ ملت فخمیه بنی اسرائیل عرض میشود که خداوند جل ذکره در ازمان سابقه این طایفه جلیله را بمراتب توحید و خداشناسی هدایت فرمود و از ننگ پرستش اصنام که در آن هنگام دین عموم اهل عالم بود مظهر ساخت و بنی اسرائیل را قوم مخصوص خود خواند و باین تخصیص ایشان را بر کل ملل و قبایل برتری داد و بتوسط سرور پیغمبران موسی علیه السلام کتاب مستطاب توره که نور عالم و رهاننده امام است نازل فرمود و شریعت مقدسه را در این کتاب مؤسس و محکم ساخت و پس از وفات این پیغمبر عظیم الشأن و ارتقای آن حضرت بمقام قرب حضرت سبحان این دین مبین را در هر قرن و زمان [به] پیغمبران بزرگ مؤید ساخت تا مدت یک هزار و پانصد سال ملت فخمیه اسرائیل بوجود این پیغمبران جلیل و وحی های نازله (f. 2^a) بر ایشان که اکنون معروف برسائل انبیاست منور و مفتخر بود و چون انسان بصیر هشیار در این کتب مقدسه توره و رسائل انبیا ملاحظه نماید خواهد یافت که خبر بزرگی که در تمامی این کتب است اینست که عصای سلطنت بنی اسرائیل خواهد شکست و پادشاهی انقراض خواهد یافت و در اقطار عالم از مشرق تا مغرب پراکنده خواهد شد و تا مدت طولانی که آغاز و انجام آن نیز در وحی الهی معین و موثق است ببلایهای صعب گرفتار خواهند شد و شهرهای ایشان خراب و ویران خواهد گشت

و اورشلیم پایمال قبائل خواهد گشت تا آنکه بزرگی از جانب خداوند بر بوبیّت کبری مبعوث گردد و بنی اسرائیل را از ذلت و گرفتاری نجات بخشد و بمراتب عزّت و بزرگی نایل فرماید و جمیع طوایف عالم را بر یک دین و مذهب متفق گرداند و بنی اسرائیل را رتبه وراثت ارض و هدایت عباد عنایت فرماید و بالجمله چون در مراتب (f. 2^b) مذکوره وقوف حاصل شد معروض میدارم که در این قرن شریف و یوم عزیز آهل بها مدعی بر آنند که میعاد ظهور این وعده مبارکه فرا رسیده است و وجود مبارکی که نجات کلّ اهل عالم موقوف بظهور او بود از مشرق عالم طالع شده و سطوت و اقتدار او با وجود معاندت کلّ ملل در تمام بلاد ظاهر گشته یعنی تیر وجود مسعود بهاء الله در سنه هزار و دویست و هشتاد و پنج هجری¹ در اراضی مقدسه و بریه الشام در شهر عکا که در حول کوه کرمل است خداوند باعظم اسما و ربوبیّت کبری ظاهر فرمود و کلام الهی و وحی آسمانی را بر نهجی که در توره و عده داده شده بر لسان مبارکش نازل نمود و شریعت مقدسه که هدایت بخش عالم و محلّ اتفاق امم تواند بود و مشتمل است بر صلوة و صوم و تمامی آداب عالیّه انسانیّه و معالی صفات و کمالات روحانیّه و دوست (sic) و نیکخواهی کلّ امم و مواحدت و معاشرت با تمام (f. 3^a) اهل عالم در کتاب مستطاب اقدس² مؤسس داشت و کلمه نافذهاش در این مدت قلیله که قریب بیست و پنجسال

¹ This passage, which gives the date of Behá's "Manifestation" as A.H. 1285 (A.D. 1868), is very important, as affording approximate confirmation of Nabil's chronology (*B. i.*, p. 626; *B. ii.*, 984, 988, stanza 10), and further evidence against the impossibly early date (A.H. 1269) given by the *Traveller's Narrative*. See pp. 304-6 *supra*. It is curious that in two works composed by the Behá'is within so short a time of one another, and both intended for more or less general circulation, so glaring a discrepancy should have been allowed to appear, more especially as both dates are used evidentially.

² This passage is also important, as affording further evidence that *Kitáb-i-Atás*, not *Lawh-i-Atás*, is the correct title of the work alluded to.

است بدون وسایط ملکی از عزت و ثروت و سیف و امثالها در اکثر بلاد غالب گشته و با دشمنی و معاندت اکابر هر ملک و مملکت از سلاطین و ملوک و علماء و امراء حتی عامه رعایا امر مبارکش در اکثر ممالک نافذ شده و حجت و برهان ظهورش نزد ارباب قلوب صافیه و نجبای هر مذهب و مملکت مقبول و روشن گشته بنا بر آنچه عرض شد ما را در سه مقام تکلم باید و شاید بخواست خداوند مملکت عزیزه اسرائیل بسبیل نجات راه جویند و از ظلم قبائل و گرفتاری بدست امم رستگاری یابند و این سه مقام که در آن تکلم میشود عبارتست از بیان و دلیل و تجدید شریعت و بشارات صریحه کتب مقدسه بر این ظهور عظیم و الله یهدی من یشاء الی سبیله الواضح المستقیم *

The headings of the three sections (*maqām*) into which the book is divided, with the pages on which they begin, are as follows :

مقام اول (f. 3^a) در بیان این مطلب است که هرگاه پیغمبری ظاهر شود حجت چه باید باشد و بچه دلیل صدق قول و رسالت او بر طالب مستعد واضح و معلوم گردد *

مقام دوم (f. 8^b) در اینست که آیا شریعت توره بظهور پیغمبری از جانب خداوند جایز است تغییر یابد و شریعت مقدسه بظهور جدید لباس جدید پوشد یا نه *

مقام سوم (f. 11^b) بشارات هائیکست که در کتب مقدسه بر این ظهور وارد شده و آن بردو گونه است قسم اول بشارتها ائیکست که بدون وقت (f. 12^a) و تعیین زمان شده جهة ظهور وارد و این قسم از حد گنجایش صحیفه بیرونست و ما برای اتمام مرام بچند آیه در این مقام اکتفا خواهیم

نمود (f. 14^a) [قسم دوم] و اما بشارتهائی که مؤرخ
و معین است و در کتاب وارد شده است صریح تر از
همه کتاب حضرت داینال است

The whole book, in short, is an attempt to interpret the prophesies of the Old Testament, more especially of the book of Daniel, in favour of Behá'u'lláh.

Ends :

پس از این دو کلام الهی پند گیرید (f. 22^a) و روز مجات خود را
از دست ندهید و بیقین بدانید که هر کسی که خود را پاک نکرده
خداوند را تفتح ننمود و بظهور سرور بزرگ میکانیلی ایمان نیاورد
نام او در صحیفهٔ حمراء از قلم اعلیٰ ثبت نخواهد گشت و وارث
عزت ابدی نخواهند شد امید چنانست که کَلّ از نصیح خالص
مستنبّه گردند و این یوم عزیز را که بعضی در آن رستگار و برخی
شرمسار خواهند شد بغفلت نگذرانند و الله یقول الحق و یرحم
السبیل انه هو العلیٰ المقدر العزیز الجمیل الجمیل *
من قلم ابو الفضل گلپایگانی سنه^{۱۳۰۹}

I have now described, as fully as the space at my disposal would admit, all the Bábí MSS. in my possession, with the exception of a number of letters of greater or less importance, and certain scattered leaves containing transcripts, made by myself or others, of sundry poems, short epistles, etc., of which I have already published some, and hope, in due course, to publish such others as appear of sufficient interest. Of some of the MSS. described above (such as the various "Books of the Names," and many of the Prayers, Exhortations, Visitations, and Rhapsodies) it is most improbable that complete editions could ever be required or contemplated; a few judiciously selected extracts would answer every practical purpose. Of others, such as the *Tárikh-i-Jadíd*, and both volumes of the *Hashít*

Bihisht, complete editions would certainly be desirable, could anyone be induced to incur the necessarily heavy expenses of publication. Failing this, however, abridged English translations might sufficiently answer the purpose; and of the *Túrikh-i-Jadid*, at all events, such a translation is now in the press, and will, I hope, appear in a few months. Of the more important sacred books of the Báb, Subh-i-Ezel, and Behá, nothing will serve but complete texts prepared from the best available MSS. I have no doubt in my own mind that the Persian Beyán should come first; and, with a view to publishing it *in extenso*, I have been for some time engaged on the collation of several MSS. Besides the two MSS. in my own possession (BBP. 8, and BBC. 3), and the British Museum Codex (Or. 2819), the liberality of the Academy and the Institut des Langues Orientales of St. Petersburg has placed at my disposal, for periods of six months each, the two manuscripts of the work contained in their rich collections. Much work remains to be done ere we can venture to generalize with perfect safety on the relations, affinities, and tendencies of the Bábí movement, but that that work is well worth the doing I, for my part, do not for a moment doubt.

DEATH OF BEHÁ'U'LLÁH.

Within the last few weeks news of the death of Behá'ulláh has reached me. I have not been able to ascertain the date of his decease, but of the fact itself there is no doubt, for it is confirmed by a letter written from Acre by his son, Mirzá Badí'ulláh, and dated *Zí'l-Ká'da* 29th, A.H. 1309 (June 25th, A.D. 1892). A portion of the letter I will here cite, with translation.

یا حبیب قلبی و مسرّة فؤادی در این ایام امطار بلا از سحاب
 سماء قضا بشانی نازل و صواعق هموم و غموم باحوی متواتر که
 لسانرا یاری تقریر و قلم را طاقت تحریر نه زیرا افق امکان از مجتبیات

آفتاب حکمت و بیان محروم و سرریز عالم از پرتو نیر اعظم ممنوع
آذان دوستان از استماع صریح قلم اعلی در ظاهر باز مانده و عیون
مشتاقان از مشاهده افتخاری محجوب گشته سبحان الله چه
قیامتی در عالم برپا و چه اضطرابی در وجود هویدا شمس حقیقی
ترک عالم ترابی فرمود و در عوالم عظمت و جلال با شراق بی زوال
تجلی نمود اگرچه این مصیبت عظمی فوق تحمل است و این
رزیه کبری مخرب بنیان صبر و تحمل و لکن نظر بحکم محکم و امر
مبصر که در کتاب اقدس از ملکوت مقدس نازل باید این عباد
و آمجناب جمیعاً بطراز صبر و تسلیم مزین شویم و بحبل محکم رضا
و تمکین متشبث و با قلوب قویّه و نفوس مطمئنّه بر آنچه علت
ترقی عباد و آسایش و عمار بلاد و تهذیب اخلاق و ظهور الفت
و وفاقت قائم و بتمام وجود بنصائح مالک غیب و شهود متمسک
تا عالم امکان بعنایت حضرت مئان رشک روضه رضوان مشاهده
کرد و ما ذلک علی الله بعزیز آیه مبارکه که در کتاب اقدس نازل
در این مقام مرقوم میشود قوله جل جلاله و عمّ نواله یا اهل الارض
اذا غربت شمس جمالی و سترت سماء هیکی لا تضربوا قوموا علی
نصرة امری و ارتفاع کلمتی بین العالمین انا معکم فی کل الاحوال
و نصرکم بالحق انا کنا قادرین من عرفنی یقوم علی خدمتی بقیام¹
لا تقعدہ جنود السموات و الارضین و در مقام دیگر میفرماید قل یا
قوم لا یأخذکم الاضطراب اذا غاب ملکوت ظهوری و سکنت امواج
بحر بیانی ان فی ظهوری لحدیث و فی غیبی حکمة اخری ما اطلع
بها الا الله الفرد الخبیر و نرثکم من افقی الابهی و نصر من قام علی
نصرة امری بجنود من الملائکة العلی و قبیل من الملائکة المقربین انتهى

¹ BFP. 3 and BFP. to read های.

Translation.

“O friend of my heart, and delight of my soul! In these days the showers of affliction do so descend from the clouds of the firmament of fate, and the thunderbolts of griefs and sorrows do so succeed one another, that neither hath the tongue strength to describe, nor the pen power to utter them. For the horizon of the Phenomenal World is bereft of the effulgences of the Sun of Wisdom and Revelation, and the throne of the Universe is deprived of the radiance of the Most Mighty Luminary. The ears of the friends are, to outward appearance, debarred from hearkening to the cry of the Supreme Pen, and the eyes of the longing are veiled from the contemplation of the Most Glorious Horizon. Great God! how dire a catastrophe is this which has arisen in the World, and how grievous a calamity is this which hath appeared in the Universe! The Sun of Truth hath bidden farewell to this earthly sphere, and now shines with a brightness which waneth not in the regions of Might and Glory. Albeit this supreme affliction transcends endurance, and this most dire disaster lays in ruins the edifice of resignation and patience, yet, having regard to the authoritative command and binding behest revealed from the Holy Angel-World in the *Kitáb-i Aqdas*,¹ we and you alike must adorn ourselves with the ornament of patience and resignation, lay hold of the firm rope of submission and acquiescence, apply ourselves with strong hearts and tranquil souls to what will conduce to the progress of mankind, the peace and prosperity of the world, the amelioration of characters, and the appearance of charity and concord, and attach ourselves with our whole being to the counsels of the Lord of the Visible and the Invisible, so that the Phenomenal World may, by the Grace of that Beneficent Being, be beheld an envy to the Garden of Paradise. *Nor is this thing difficult with God.* The blessed text revealed in the *Kitáb-i Aqdas* shall here be cited. He says (great is His Glory and universal His Bounty!):

¹ Cf. n. 2 at the foot of p. 703 *supra*.

'O people of the earth! When the Sun of my Beauty sets, and the firmament of my Form is hidden, be not troubled; arise for the helping of my work and the advancement of my Word throughout the worlds. Verily We are with you under all conditions, and will help you with the Truth; verily We can do this.¹ Whosoever knoweth Me will rise up to serve me with such uprising that the hosts of heaven and earth shall not put him down.' And in another place he says: 'Say, "O people, let not trouble take possession of you when the Kingdom of my Epiphany becomes concealed, and the Waves of the Ocean of my Utterance are hushed. Verily there is in my Epiphany a reason, and in my Occultation another reason, which none knoweth save God, the Incomparable, the All-Knowing. And We shall see you from the Most Glorious Horizon, and will help whomsoever riseth up for the helping of our Work with hosts from the Supreme Concurrence, and a cohort of the Cherubim."'²

The same news reached me on the same day from my Ezeli correspondent in Constantinople, but in how different a form of words was his laconic announcement of Behá's death couched! He added (I know not on what authority) that disputes had already arisen between two of Behá'u'lláh's sons, 'Abbás Efendí and Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí,³ as to the succession; and that Áká Mírzá Áká Ján called *Khádímu'lláh*, Behá's amanuensis and special attendant, had given his support to the latter, because he hoped to find him more pliable and more amenable to his own views and wishes. This statement I only give for what it is worth.

¹ A translation of part of this passage will be found quoted at p. 976 of *B. ii*. It occurs on f. 7^b of B.F.P. 3, and f. 31^b of B.F.P. 4.

² This passage occurs on f. 10^b of B.F.P. 3, and ff. 38^a-38^b of B.F.P. 4.

³ The latter I did not see at Acre, neither did I know where he was, though I heard mention of him. He it was, I believe, who invented the different forms of the *Khaff-i-Badí'*, or "New Writing." (See *B. i*, p. 498.) Of this writing I was unable to obtain a specimen, but I learn from Baron Rosen that M. Toumansky was more fortunate, and that amongst the treasures which he brought back from 'Istikábád were the words *على محمد* written in new character.

What effect Behá's death may have on the further development of Bábiism it is impossible to conjecture. Will the movement of which he has for so long a time been the guiding spirit, languish or lose ground? Will dissensions arise amidst his followers to produce further disruptions and schisms in the Bábí church? Will the Ezelís (who, as it appears, keep themselves well informed of all that takes place at Acre) seize the opportunity to set on foot propaganda in favour of Subh-i-Ezel? Or will the fabric, reared with such infinite pains by the departed Seer, prove able to withstand the disintegrating forces which, no longer kept in check by his master-hand, must almost inevitably come into play? Time alone will show.¹

¹ I learn from Baron Rosen that a short paragraph announcing the death of Behá'u'lláh appeared in the Russian newspaper called *Le Caucase*, published at Tiflis; and that the news was also conveyed to him by Lieutenant Toumanski in a private letter, in which were enclosed copies of Behá'u'lláh's testamentary dispositions (كتاب عهدی) and an elegy on his death by the Bábí poet 'Andalíb (Mirzá 'Alí Ashraf of Lábtján). Baron Rosen adds that Behá died on May 16th of this year (1892), but that the news of his decease did not reach 'Ishkábád till July 5th. The interesting documents forwarded by Lieutenant Toumanski are to appear in the *Zapiski*.

ART. XIV.—*Dusratta's Hittite Letter.* By Major C. R. CONDER, D.C.L., LL.D., R.E.

THE subject of the present paper is the translation of one of the most interesting and important tablets that have been discovered within the last twenty years—interesting not only from a linguistic point of view, but also as casting new light on the history of Western Asia, about 1500 years before our era, and as showing the manners of the age and the political relations of Egypt with Asiatic countries. It also informs us of the language spoken in Armenia and in Syria, and of the extent of the Hittite dominions before the fall of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty.

The tablet in question is the longest, and perhaps the most important, of all in the great collection of cuneiform letters to the kings of Egypt, which was discovered by the peasantry at Tell Amarna in Middle Egypt (between Minieh and Assiut on the east bank of the Nile) in 1887. These number some 300 in all, and those as yet translated are in an Aramean language resembling Assyrian. But there are two letters in the collection in another language, clearly not Semitic; and Dr. Hugo Winckler, who has published a transcription of these, with others, now in the Royal Museum at Berlin, came to the conclusion in 1888 that they were in the Hittite language, the main reason for such belief being, that the shorter of the two is written by a certain prince of Reseph (not far from Palmyra), who was named Tarkondara, and who calls himself in his letter the "Prince of the Hittites." His epistle to Amenophis III. consists of thirty lines of ideographic writing, not easily interpreted; but it seems clear, from the pronouns and from other words, that the language is the same as that of the longer letter now under

consideration, which, as we shall see, is also written by a personage who calls himself the Hittite Suzerain. For these reasons it appears reasonable to suppose that we are dealing with the native language of the Hittite tribes, though the script is not that peculiar to their monuments, but that known as Cuneiform, and used by the Akkadians, their neighbours.

The introduction to the letter, as Dr. Winckler points out, consists of eight lines of Assyrian or Aramean. The bulk of the letter consists of 512 lines of native language. The writer is Dusratta, a well-known chief of Mitani or Southern Armenia, a region which was the later Melitene. He addresses Amenophis III. of Egypt, and speaks of his father Suttarna, and of his daughter Tadukhepa. There are in the same collection other letters, in Aramean, from the same Dusratta, which have been translated, and which refer to the same personages—Giliat, the Armenian, and Menes, the Egyptian envoy—who are so often mentioned in the letter now to be considered. From these letters we know that Dusratta was one of the most important political personages of his time. His sister Thi was married to Amenophis III.; and Amenophis IV. married his cousin—Dusratta's daughter. The Tell Amarna collection includes a letter from a Suttarna, and many others from kings of Babylon and Assyria, and from princes of Elishah and Syria, to the two Egyptian kings mentioned; but Dusratta speaks as a personal friend and relative, and his letters are of higher interest than those of other correspondents, while his character comes out, in some of his utterances, in a manner which shows that he must have been personally a very remarkable man.

To understand aright the relations of the Asiatics with the Egyptians in this age it is only necessary to turn to Dr. Brugsch's History of Egypt. It is well known that, in the Hyksos period, various Asiatic tribes invaded and ruled over the Delta: that their expulsion was first attempted by Ahmes I. of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty about 1700 B.C.: that Thothmes III. conquered all Syria

and part of the regions beyond the Euphrates; and that a century after his conquest, about 1500 B.C., Amenophis III. was still master of the conquered regions, and in communication with the princes of neighbouring states, in Assyria, Babylonia, and Asia Minor. But these conquests were lost by his indolent son Amenophis IV., who lived at Tell Amarna, where his desecrated sarcophagus has just been found. The later letters speak of the revolt of Hittites and Hebrews; and it is certain that the marriage of Tadukhepa did not fulfil her father's hopes, and that a revolution in Egypt put an end to her husband's life and dynasty. It was then—according to the ordinary chronology—that the Hebrews invaded Palestine, while the Hittites became independent in the north, and so remained till reconquered by Rameses I. and Rameses II. of the nineteenth dynasty. But, at the time when our letter was written, Egyptian power was paramount to the Euphrates, and Amenophis III. had gone beyond the river on a hunting excursion, to kill lions, during which time he perhaps first made Dusratta's acquaintance. About 1450 B.C. the old Armenian monarch—writing to his son-in-law—speaks with affection of the great Amenophis, and relates his sorrow when he heard of his death. He recalls the fact that Amenophis III. sent a "message asking for his daughter"; and he adds, "may I die but may he who loved me live with God." Our present letter appears to be the answer sent to this original message.

As far as I am aware no attempt has yet been made to determine the character of the language, or to translate the contents of Dusratta's Hittite letter. Dr. Sayce kindly sent me a short printed paper, which contains his preliminary remarks on the text, which are very valuable; and in this paper (where published is not stated) he has pointed out the words which are clearly indicated by determinatives, such as the names of countries, cities, personages, and deities; and in addition has proposed ten words as having certain meanings, including father, tablet, scribe, God, friend, wife, envoy, brother, interpreter, and

image; and in each case he seems to be right, though in two other cases I think an emendation possible. Dr. Sayce, however, does not indicate whether he regards the language as Aryan or Mongolic: from certain remarks on syntax I conclude that he favours the former view; but it should be noted that there are 400 different words in the inscription, many of the commonest of which are so often repeated (owing to the great length of the text) that it becomes easy to determine approximately what they mean. Dr. Sayce renders *Amâtippi* "grandfather": it certainly applies to a personage, but occurs with the personal name Artatan; whereas from a letter published last year we know that the name of Dusratta's grandfather was Sitatama. I think the word more probably means "friend." The second word which I at first regarded as fixed by Dr. Sayce is *gipanu* "a papyrus," but on further study it appears more probably to mean "a decree"; and the word for papyrus which occurs in the text is *a allali pa* or "leaf of the water reed."

After reading Dr. Sayce's paper I was struck by the resemblance of some of the words which he determined to words of the Turkic languages of Central Asia—especially *atta* "father," *talami* "interpreter," and *eena* "gods." On careful examination of the text, as given in the original characters by Dr. Winckler in his great publication of 1891, I also observed that the cases of the noun, in words which could clearly be shown to be nouns, were the same as those of the Turkic dialects. Subsequently I found that the verb substantive was also Turkic, and that all Dr. Sayce's words could be so compared. A great many words were also very clearly the same as in Akkadian—the old language of Chaldea which scholars now regarded as closely related to Turkic speech—and as in the cognate dialect, called Medic or the "third language" of the Behistun texts, which Dr. Oppert also regards as closely connected with Turkic speech.

It also became clear that the language was agglutinative, and presented the grammar, not of Aryan but of Mongolic

speech, and these indications therefore all pointed clearly in one direction, independently of the vocabulary of some 400 different words.

In speaking of Akkadian I am aware that some scholars deny the existence of any such language; but on the other hand it has been upheld by equally distinguished writers; and I think that the former school can hardly have studied the grammar of the Akkadian, and the bilinguals in Akkadian and Assyrian, since it is quite impossible to reconcile Akkadian with any Semitic syntax, whereas the Mongolic languages present exactly the required structure, to say nothing of the comparison of some 400 known Akkadian words with those of living Mongolic languages. It has also quite recently become known that, as early as 2500 B.C. or earlier, the Akkadian King Gudea ruled from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean, and had conquered part of Syria. It is therefore not unnatural to find that the Akkadian language closely resembled that of tribes of Hittites, in Syria and in Southern Armenia. As regards the Medic language, spoken about 500 B.C. in the countries ruled by the Persians, near the Tigris, the Mongolic character of that language is generally admitted. It appears to me to bear to that of Dusratta's letter exactly the relation we should expect, considering the lapse of a thousand years: that is to say that the Medic words are decayed representatives of those used by Dusratta, just as a modern English word compares with the Anglo-Saxon; but the Mongolic languages change so slowly that in the speech of the Yakuts, or Turko-Mongols of Siberia, in our own times, many Akkadian and Medic words still remain unchanged, although, in structure and vocabulary, the language as a whole has undergone considerable modifications.

These comparisons will be found worked out in detail in the grammatical treatise and index attached to the present paper. I do not claim for these attempts more than a provisional character. It is evident that in dealing

with what is called an "unknown" language I must have made many mistakes, which will be pointed out, especially as to words occurring only once or twice; but in such study the difficulty diminishes as the inscription becomes longer, since all common words of the language will then be found often recurring. It is sufficient for the moment to note that these common words are all of Mongolic character; and that the pronouns, the cases, the forms of the verb, and the syntax, all agree in rendering the comparison with Akkadian, Medic, and Turkic speech, very complete and evident. While emendations are to be expected, and indeed have occurred to me in several passages, since I first sent a paper on the subject to the *Times* last December, there can still, I think, be no doubt as to the general gist of the inscription, or as to the character of the language.

Dusratta speaks of his Kingdom as that of the *Mini*, who are presumably the Minyans, well known in later times to the Assyrians as living west of Lake Van, and mentioned in the Bible (Jer. li, 27) in the same region. They are probably the same people called *Men* in Egyptian inscriptions (Brugsch Egypt, vol. i, p. 234), who in the Hyksos period were ruling in Zoan, and whose portraits are regarded as showing a Mongol type. They had been expelled for more than a century when Dusratta wrote, but were still powerful in the north. The tablet of Edfou speaks of them as inhabitants of Assyria, and from the decree of Canopus it appears that they dwelt east of Syria. In later times an Aryan race invaded the country round Lake Van, where they left inscriptions (about 800 B.C.) in a language which, as I pointed out to the Royal Asiatic Society last year, is clearly comparable with Persian and Sanskrit. But in Dusratta's time—some 700 years earlier—these invaders had as yet not come down from the Caucasus; and his subjects were of the same sturdy Mongol race to which the Hittites and the Akkadians also belonged.

The letter generally refers to a message received by

Dusratta from Menes, the envoy of Amenophis III.: to the marriage of his daughter Tadukhepa; and to the affairs of his kingdom, his boundaries, his gifts of money, and of a throne sent to Egypt; and, if I understand aright, to the fact that the message was only verbal, and not well understood or regarded as well authorized, so that he is anxious to receive a confirmation of the good news, in a decree written on papyrus, which he has been told is about to follow. Tadukhepa is then to be sent to Zoan, and to Egypt, to marry the heir of the reigning Pharaoh, which was eventually accomplished. There are references to the translation of his letter into Egyptian, and he sends Gilius, who was a relation of his, in order to receive a full report from his own people.

Taking the paragraphs in order, it is to be observed that difficulties arise, since the tablet is broken in two, and much damaged, and because the words are not always clearly divided by spaces; but as a whole it is very clearly expressed and business-like, forming a political document which was of high importance, of which remained undisturbed in the palace of the Egyptian king for nearly 2400 years, till the peasantry dug it up with the rest of this curious library in 1887.

The first paragraph is in Assyrian, as Dr. Winckler points out. It is much injured, but the names of Dusratta and Amenophis are distinguishable, and the words "I am at peace . . . to thy ladies, to thy princes, to thy horses . . . to thy land, and to all that is thine (may there be) exceeding peace." The first paragraph in native language is also much injured, but appears to refer to the offer detailed later, that Dusratta's conquests in Phoenicia should be recognized by Egypt as part of the marriage compact, and included within the borders of the Minyan kingdom. In the next paragraph there is a reference to former relations with Suttarna, the father of the writer who was favoured by Egypt, and to the message received from Menes; to the honour thereby conveyed; and to gold, which was to be sent, with the message conveyed by a

Minyan embassy. In the third section the writing is uninjured as a rule, and here we obtain the following:

"May the god Tessub (a name of Rimmon), the god Sausbe, with thy god Amanu¹ and the god Simigiz, and the god Ea the lord of all, cause this to be fulfilled, the gods speeding the (business) speedily. So may they will to give thee thy desire, for if they are benignant it will be despatched very speedily; may they grant me that it be done. Messages also shall make clear speedily (as I desire) that a great honour has been done."

"Giliias the envoy, taking the message, is ordered to speak, his duty being to go forth, because Amenophis, the Egyptian friend, rules in a far off land, and I rule in the city of Ikhivin (perhaps *Kaban Maden* in the country west of Lake Van), which is the city of the god Simigiz, who is adored as the paternal deity. Having received the reply to be spoken—for words of reply are very speedily to be despatched—him I instructed in the presence of the Minyans. He is doing this important duty, whom I ordered because I see that he is speedy in what is to be done, and because Giliias knows how to speak, in completion of what is not written fully. Thus the god Simigiz is besought, to speed my man quickly; so he shall show, by word of mouth, what is sent back—my brother—bearing the desire of the Minyan land. May it avail that he should journey so to do. Why this is done brother, let messages fully explain, and what I desire. The servant of the god Simigiz, of Amanu, and of the holy Ea—the Minyan, brother—receiving, this must be done: he by your favour receiving a favourable reply to show. Because of my brother having so done let messages explain, being made to be accomplished by the paternal god Simigiz: the god Simigiz adored brother by me. Let me be gladdened hearing thy messages, and favoured by thee, receiving intelligible messages after this has been received."

¹ From another letter of Dusratta's, written in Assyrian, it is clear that the god Amanu was the Egyptian god *Amen*.

From this and other passages that follow we gather that Ea, the Akkadian god, was adored by Dusratta; and his name indeed appears to be the same with the word *Ee*, used in this letter as meaning "god," which is the Turkic *eye* for a "deity" or "spirit." The old explanation "house of water," is not only unlikely, but is contrary to the rules of Mongol grammar. The rest of the tablet is here injured.

The second columns of the front of the tablet now follow with the passage:

"As besides, information is to be sent . . . brother, as to what my brother desires to make me possess. Gilias and Menes being empowered by me to go together, and being decided that they shall go to the far off land, being desirous to write I do so quickly: brother, thy province being ruled by me jointly—the whole race of which as you know you named me Suzerain." After an obscure sentence it continues:

"An embassy to show that I am placed in possession; a record to be kept by me; my brother himself at the same time ordering a decree, to make me take possession. Menes (having asked), my Minyan is made ready, to assist him in speaking. With all judgment may he serve, explaining the letter. Menes having been sent, travelling to thee, and being received, let a decree be ordered to be despatched; the things in this tablet being first received: brother, let a decree be ordered to be borne, rolled up (or sealed up): it being ordered that the letter to be delivered be received sealed." The tablet is much injured after this passage and twenty-seven lines have been lost. The next passage in the lower part refers to the gift or tribute sent by Dusratta.

"My gift was to be delivered very quickly . . . brother I am sending it in fulfilment . . . the gods earnestly beseeching to hear what I say, that like as I have received I have given. The gold brother I myself decreed that the whole land should again give, and I send it to be delivered very speedily. The people having understood

that the King (demands) a double tribute, it goes, I despatching it."

"To proceed: as Menes my brother's envoy says, it is understood that my brother is extremely desirous that it should be completed, it being decreed how all the region alike anew is made to give, let gold be taken from all the region: an additional tax being proclaimed . . . it was (therefore) proclaimed, and written, and explained, to give thee double very quickly. My brother having decreed after this wise, to be made ready. I am desirous to give it quickly."

Dusratta then assures the King of his willingness to fulfil these obligations, and proceeds in an injured passage to refer to the affairs of Northern Syria—a subject which recurs in a better preserved part of the letter later on.

"As Menes says that my brother much desires that an explanatory letter be written, his embassy being gladly received in the Minyan Kingdom—being at once and gladly received in the Minyan Kingdom—this letter of mine was written. A papyrus having been sent me I shall be informed, if I have not rightly understood what has been said by Menes. But if it be so I shall gladly be commanded: this brother confirm thou thus, the proclamation being received by me, clear and intelligible altogether."

"As Menes says that an embassy will come quickly, therefore his news will be favourably received in the Minyan Kingdom." The passage which follows is somewhat broken, but repeats the desire for a confirmation of the verbal message, or *pour parler* which preceded the final treaty; but which the diplomatic Dusratta is cautious not to accept too readily: a very important passage is here probably lost referring to the relations to be established.

Turning to the back of the tablet we find the question of translation to be next treated very fully.

"My brother (beholds) the continuation of the message. Brother, I not knowing whether the servant rendered well or badly the message in thy language, the interpreter having heard what was said, the servant explained with explanation

the message sent in thy language. Brother, my speech-maker being bound to make clear, by spoken word bound to make clear, and also by speaking together, my brother shall be informed of everything by the message. What my brother does not understand, when interpreted, this, being further spoken, shall be said at length. I also preferring to cause this to be written carefully making every effort, and also speaking at length, to explain what is clearly written. Brother, thy language is not used here, is it? I am telling them to take care as regards the explanation of what is put before you: by the mouth of the subject taking the message it shall be made clear brother, by his word, what the Minyan Kingdom has said, which, being interpreted, understand thou perfectly. I, not being sure as to all that was said, my brother's servant having spoken in thy language the message which he gave. The servant being a foreigner, the Minyan told me what the word was in thy speech. Brother, I am glad, preparing to speak, that Menes is about to come again with Gilias as a comrade. Menes and Gilias knowing all. The Minyan telling me what is done, making to agree as to what remains in dispute, my brother having received all that they are made to say—my speech being foreign—this done, brother, the speech being made for me by the Minyan, received as a comrade. Gilias having come again with Menes. Gilias and Menes having come, brother, for me the speech being made in Minyan, a mutual agreement will be made, as to what remains in dispute."

This passage I have carefully revised, and the rendering seems to give a probable sense, though the language of the original is very cramped.

"To proceed: they having travelled and messages being received, let my brother order, and let me hear, that it is to be done: word thereof is besought—information that you favour the arrangement. Your settlement thereof is earnestly urged. What my brother desires of me thereunto an order receiving, if thou art favourable. In addition

also to Menes, my brother's envoy: in addition to Gilias and Artessupas, Asalis is an envoy—the interpreter of Gilias. Asalis my scribe, him also, as understanding how to make clear quickly in thy language this my writing, him, my chieftain, brother, I am glad to have sent.”

“Brother, very gladly I send by the envoy a gold throne, in exchange for the brilliant gift with the envoy, my brother's gift of a crown; I send back this throne to thy abode, to please a concubine of thine when seeing it. Let it be given, being speedily despatched, my brother giving sanction by his order.”

“Brother, pardon my having done so, the envoy having thought the gift (acceptable); and being hindered in saying what I much wished to have written, as to having sent my gift to be borne to my brother, my brother will understand what I wish to write. It is enough briefly to tell my brother that it was given.”

“Brother, I gladly give power to the envoy to lead in return, this woman whom Menes says my brother gave power to bring, when he was ordered as an envoy: my brother, as Menes says, having preferred the bringing by an envoy, and my brother having ordered her bringing by Menes—he shall bring her. What I say being understood to be considered timely, my brother having ordered Menes, as he says, to bring her.”

“Understanding that my brother desires now to take her home—is it not—brother understanding this decision to be preferred, is it not obligatory? As twenty-three months have gone by, is not her being taken home to be hastened: my court also having decided to accept, and resolved to sanction the (agreement?) and being satisfied together with my wife, and the girl being pleased to the depth of her heart when told—how happy words cannot tell—with the gods is the decision, with the strong gods, brother, is the decision for me, the girl being Whether also I do not desire that she should be so brilliantly exalted, the girl being advantageously, surely you know it is so surely you know that I shall be happy.”

The broken part that follows is in the same strain, after which six lines are lost; and below these a broken fragment contains Tadukhepa's name, and speaks of her being highly favoured, and going a long journey from the Minyan Kingdom to the land of Zoan, and afterwards dwelling in Egypt, with another invocation of Rimmon and Amanu, to cause the fulfilment of the agreement, and with a further reference to his expected recognition as the ruler of the Phoenicians. In this passage Dusratta introduces his own name, to make the expected concession more binding and clearer.

The right hand columns are well preserved and continue this important subject.

"Brother, thy border in the land over against Egypt is . . . and to proceed, I being ordered to extend myself thereto, command thou the people to take me as master and King, their duty . . . being made known, interpreted by interpreter, is not the possession thus to be made clear? Proclaim thou for me that, whatever of the peoples of the land of Chalcis, the Phoenicians west of the Minyan Kingdom, of the people of the land of Chalcis, I have conquered, is made subject. Brother thy word is enough, no one henceforth disputing my right, as master of the peoples. Is not this clearly thus? As to the expedition (or Lordship) is it not that it will be thus?"

"To proceed. Let my brother send his order giving possession to me alone, of that which I am desirous to have extended. The order received, I go forth. Brother, to me as an order—if my brother so favours me, having ordered all to be clearly written, thereby this region being ruled jointly by me. I being Suzerain of the power of the Hittite land; taking to me, brother, all the people conquered. Let it extend to the city of Harran, the region which no king enjoys being taxed. Brother, I go forth, my brother confirming it fully by this proclamation."

"To proceed, enough not being said as to my desire of being put in possession of these possessions by my brother. I and my Court being told that it is as was sent, my Court

will go forth, my brother having made them Minyan by Royal command. Your aid the Minyan land joyfully will accept, messages of authorization being received, by a tablet with my brother's Royal command in writing. Brother, I tell them that no grant has been received from you, as to giving possession; brother having told them that no grant is given, they have stopped fighting at the word spoken. Brother, authorization being received, received by Embassies, being gladly received when they come back to the Minyan Kingdom, let me hear what is (wished?). Brother, order thou to be written thy full grant of these things."

The next passage depends mainly on the meaning of the word *Ammatippi*, and I think that my original understanding of it must be abandoned, in favour of one which appears to fit in better with the general subject.

"To proceed. The sanction will favour me (is it not so?) as being the father. The tablet will be engraved with writing (is it not so?) the tablet giving sanction for me the father, as a favoured friend. This former tablet being engraved with writing (is it not so?) all this tablet having been ordered to be written, let my brother order a tablet to be written anew, when what is written in the words of this same tablet is understood, having ordered it to be written, answer it when you speak my brother; the things written answer thou; the things to be written answer thou"

"If so be that sanction is granted to me by return, it shall be so written: thus must letter for letter be made, brother: it being given a clear signature; being thus made recognizable by signature; and my brother having made the letter binding, again we shall be bound by word of sworn friendship."

"Brother, the completion of the letter being hastened, my brother will understand when it is said that the answer must be hastened. It is to be considered, that my child having resolved, it must be considered as to the road to be followed, my child being hastened on her journey. My

friend Artatan having been sent to the father, let messages explain as to her being ordered to go: the agreement for the maiden being sanctioned; the messenger speaking as to my child's appearing; let messages explain that the agreement is sanctioned: the father doing what is due. Order thou the envoy to speak as to my child's appearing; my friend the father saying—is it not so—what is due to the father. Let him bear a letter of decree, this giving confidence to my people, when safely received, if also it is said 'what he is doing ought not to be done.' Moreover, let the decree say that my brother is pleased. Brother, as my authority, brother, a decree being to me as authority, first having been caused to come, being an authority as to what my brother decides, this assurance being first given."

"This, then, is my brother's answer. I also am not urging her to be married: if the decree orders me your friend to keep the paternal gold: the decree returning to me the father to keep what belongs to me, I am not urging that father's child to be sent from home. The decree thus ordering me, which my brother sends, I shall be glad, taking kindly the return to me of the enjoying of friendship. She the Minyan will go to be married, setting forth to be given. My brother's decree will be understood as a message settling what my brother authorizes. As the king desires . . . I the father as my brother desiring."

After a broken passage the same subject continues: "My brother being seen to be in earnest, my daughter will be ready, to be married for me by my brother in presence of the deity, my brother having this business done very quickly in the strange land. So charging my brother with the business, that she be wedded by thy son, having been taken away from the Minyan land. Having sent again . . . and perceiving the king in earnest, this region which I rule hearing the announcement, my brother at once (sending) an order to this region which I rule" (the sense is then obscured by breaks in the text), but the next words are clear:

“in the presence of the Royal city of Thebes, before the god Sausbe whom I adore, my son-in-law being married”; and, again, “The marriage of Tadukhepa, is it not thus that Dusratta, the favoured friend from the land of Mitani, consenting to the wish of Amenophis the Egyptian friend, that the son of Amenophis be so married to her in the presence of the image of the deity, Dusratta who dwells afar off arranges.”

“All that prince and people are able to do, assuring to be done very quickly, it is hoped that the Minyan will be commanded to the utmost. Brother, my subject acting for me, as thought best, having written fully, the subject having received what is graciously to be conveyed to me in the Minyan land: the princes ruling the whole race of the Minyans having agreed: this people which my brother made subject to me seeing what I do to be beneficial to their land, ready to trust as subjects what I do: a decree being made; my brother of Egypt and the ruling Minyan princes having agreed, and the people made submissive; all being written which I had to speak about increasing renewal of friendship (is produced). The Minyan land being increased; I also if the subject race are not obedient levying war if obliged therefore also make thou the people to be (ruled) by a Prince.”

In conclusion of this account of Dusratta's letter, it is to be acknowledged that the translation is no doubt rough, and may be improved. The language has two great defects: the first being that there is no distinction of gender; and the second that (as in Akkadian and Medic) there is only a very imperfect distinction of tense. Thus while the language at first appears simple, practically it proves to be much more obscure than any inflected speech. Turkish is the admiration of grammarians for its regularity, but agglutinative languages do not possess the power of Aryan

speech. There can however, I think, be little doubt as to the general meaning; and we have thus suddenly become possessed of some 400 Hittite words, which will be of the greatest value in the future, in finally settling the translation of Hittite texts. The Hittites who dwelt in Northern Syria were of the same stock with Akkadians, and early inhabitants of Armenia and Asia Minor, and Dusratta ruled them as Suzerain from the Upper Euphrates. In Syria they were mingled with Semitic Phoenicians, but even as late as 720 B.C. they were still the dominant race. As an inscription of seventy lines has now been brought home by Mr. D. G. Hogarth, which is in the Hittite character, I have some hope that I may in the future be able to place before the Royal Asiatic Society a translation worthy of criticism, of a text in their own characters; since the language is shown to be clearly of the Turkic class, by the evidence of the present text in a known character. It can I think in future hardly be denied that the Hittites—whose features on the Karnak monuments and on their own (to say nothing of their pigtales) are so decidedly Mongolian—belonged, not to the later Aryan race which settled near Lake Van, but to the older Mongol stock, of which the Akkadians also were a very important branch.

SKETCH OF THE GRAMMAR.

The inscription is written in syllables, in the character used in Cuneiform texts about 1500 B.C., and with comparatively few determinatives or ideograms, but probably a good many phonetic complements. The characters given in the index are those corresponding in later Assyrian—used for facility in printing.

The syntax is similar to that of the Akkadian and Medic rather than of the modern Mongolic languages. The object

is followed by the subject, and the verb stands always at the end of the clause, as in all Turanian speech, in which it never precedes, as is commonly the case in Aryan languages. The adjective (of which there are few) follows its substantive. The defining word (or genitive) may precede the defined (or nominative) without any mark of case, as in Aryan and Mongol speech—an arrangement which shows that the language cannot be Semitic: since in Semitic languages the case is reversed. The genitive may also follow the nominative with a case suffix—as in Akkadian and Medic.

Other marks of the Mongolic character of the language are found in the absence of gender to the nouns, and of prepositions, which are replaced by postpositions: also by the non-existence of the relative pronoun, and the construction which is used to express it indirectly. The regularity of the cases; and the formation of forms of the verb by auxiliaries prefixed (as in Akkadian): the postponed position of the possessive pronoun, and the preposing of the personal pronoun, also show the grammatical connection with Medic and Akkadian. The adjective and adverb are indistinguishable, as in modern Turkish. The great length of the words (as in Mongolic languages generally) is due to the incorporation of various particles. The vowel harmony, according to which the particle agrees with the vowel of the root, is also a peculiarity of Mongolic speech, which is traceable also in Medic and Akkadian.

The Noun.

The ordinary cases of the noun, formed by suffixes which are the same for all words (without distinction of gender), are the same as in Turkic languages, and for the most part as in Akkadian. The nominative ends in *-s* for the indefinite and in *-pi* for the definite case (Medic *pi*), and the plural is *na*, as in Mongolian (Akkadian *-ene*), which

is prefixed to the case suffix, as in all Mongolic speech. The other cases commonly found are :

	HITTITE.	TURKISH.	AKKADIAN.
Genitive	-na	-n	na "of."
Dative	-a	-a	... "to."
Locative	-ta	-da	-ta "at."
Accusative	-e	-i	... Acc.
Ablative	-dan	-den	-ta "by."
Instrumental	-li	-li	... "with."
Causative	-kku	-ichun	-ku "for."
Comitative	-allan	-ailan	... "together with."

In addition to these usual cases there are other suffixes found occasionally, which are the same as in Akkadian, e.g. -si "in presence of" -ra "towards" or "going to" -ku "in" -sa "inside" -ta "from."

The noun is formed from the root in many cases by adding -ma -da -k or -t, and the adjective by -ra, as in other Mongolic languages. The object often ends in -an; and the adverbs have in most instances the same termination. These endings are also found in Turkic speech, with -i which is the *nomen actionis*. The case -pi or -ippi is that which is called the definite nominative in some Mongolic languages; and this suffix takes the place of the definite article. Collective nouns appear to be indicated by the prefix *man*, and the prefix *nam* (or *anam*) "in the condition of" occurs, as in Akkadian.

The Verb.

The terminations of the verb seem to resemble those of the Medic language. The time is not very well distinguished, but it would seem that -sa is the 3rd person singular for present and future, and -ta for the perfect. The precativè is formed by -sena, which is the Medic -sne, and the 2nd person singular imperative ends in -s, as in Medic. As a rule the participial forms are much used, the

active would appear to be *-lan* and *-an*, and the passive *-ku* or *khu*, *-kha* or *-ka*. The infinitive active is formed by prefixing *ni-* or *an-*, as in Medic and Akkadian. The passive is formed by adding *-il* or *-al* to the root, before the mood or tense ending, and this answers exactly to the Turkish passive *-il-*: the particles *na* and *ma*, meaning "to go" and "to make," are inserted in the same way, to form the causative (as *na* is also used in Medic), and the same is expressed in other ways, by reduplication of the root, and by prefixed auxiliaries. The termination *-man* or *-van* also occurs for the participle as in Medic, and *-manlu* ("jointly") may be recognized, which Dr. Oppert calls the reciprocal in Medic.

The verb substantive *ai*, like the Turkish *ai* or *ä*, also follows the verb, and is found in the past tense (*aidan*), as well as the present (*ain*), and participle (*ailan*): it also seems, in one or two cases, that the verb *ol* "to become" is represented by *ulli*. The prefixed auxiliaries are the same as in Akkadian, which in modern languages are usually suffixed. They include *be* "to make," *ip* "to create," *ma* "to make," *eti* "to do" or "make," and *khil* "to make" or "do." *Dan* "must" is also prefixed as in Akkadian, and in one case we have *gan* "let," forming the subjunctive, a prefix as in Akkadian. This simple structure appears to apply to all the verbs.

Pronouns.

The personal pronouns are *ú* "I," with its cases *úe* "me," *úa* "to me," *úna* "of me," for the first: *Ti* "thou" "thee," *ta* "to thee," for the second; and as usual there is strictly speaking no 3rd person, though *sa* and *na* are so used. *ú ú* appears to mean "I myself," and the pronoun *nippi* "self" may be added to either of the preceding. As in other Mongolic languages the possessive pronoun is formed usually by placing the personal one after the noun, and the case ending follows; but, as in Medic, an emphatic possessive is formed by prefixing the personal pronoun, in the nomi-

native case, to the noun—as *ú ukki* “my own people.” In this instance the case suffix is attached directly to the noun. There appears to be great care taken in the writing to distinguish the pronoun cases. *Ir* “him,” as an incorporated pronoun, is used as in *Medic*. The great fault of the language is that the gender is in no way indicated as a rule; and this renders it difficult, in many cases, to explain the numerous incorporations with certainty. The common demonstratives are *a* “this,” *atinin* “that” (in accusative), *aú*, *bu*, and *suupi*, “this same” “the same,” *Imma* “this same,” *Api* “what,” *Khu Kha Khai* “that” “which,” *bi* “they” “them,” *na*, *ni* “he” “she” “it,” *na* “they,” *enin* “them,” *Pi* “the” “which,” *ubbi* and *abbe* “who” “whom,” *sa* “this man,” *as* “whatever.”

Numerals.

One only occurs, viz. *xxiii*, expressed in numeral form (*viii. 60*); it precedes the noun *is* “month” (Akkadian *ai*, Turkic *ai* or *eie* “month”): but *bisuuu* may mean “double” and *id* “single.” *Maanna* appears to mean “first of all” or “previously.” The sounds of the numerals are, however, not to be discovered in other cases. *Ari* seems to mean “first,” “at once.”

Conjunctions.

The common conjunction is *paza* “also” or “again,” but *u* “and” seems to be recognizable, as in Turkic speech. As a rule conjunctions are avoided, and seem to be omitted, which is also the case in other Mongolic languages.

Adverbs and Particles.

A good many of these appear to be fairly certain, and are very similar to those commonly used in Turkic speech, as well as in Akkadian and *Medic*. Among these may be noted *Aini* “well,” *ala-* “back,” *Beeni* “fully,” *Dukhu* “completely,” *en* “as,” *enna* “thus” (“as this”), *guru*

"wholly," *guka* "greatly," *Isi* "how," *iummi* "altogether," *Kii* "together with," *Ki* "as," *Iskhin* "briefly," *Khasa* "how much," *Khasien* "when," *Lik* "as to," *Me* "when," *Mu* "as to," *Padan* "plainly," *Paan* "highly," *Pati* "surely," *Pasani* "again," *Pidra* "either," *Satti* "all that," *Sini* "anew," *Siin* "alike," *Suka* "at the same time," *Taa* "so," *Tase* "because," *Timme* "as," *Tissan* "quickly," *Tissi* "at length," *Zaru* "afterwards." The particles and adverbs, as a rule, precede and follow the verb respectively.

Negatives.

Nu "not" occurs as in Akkadian (Turkic *ne* "nor"), and *anni* "not" is also found, with *Ma* "it is not," used in its proper place after the noun as in Turkic speech: *annae* may perhaps mean "none."

Phonetics.

As regards the sounds of the language it is to be noted that the distinction of long and short vowels, which forms so important a feature of inflected languages (Aryan or Semitic), has less importance in agglutinative languages, like that under consideration. It is clear that several words are spelt in more than one way, so that one would seem to suggest a short vowel, and the other spelling a long one: e.g. *Pal-da* and *Pa-alda*, or *Khal-lan* and *Kha-allan*, but as a rule the same word is always spelt the same way, and distinguished thereby from a different word of similar sound. Great care seems to have been taken, in the whole of this text, to ensure distinctness of meaning.

The vowels are *a e i u*, and perhaps *au* as a diphthong. The gutturals are *k g* and *kh*, with *ú*, which may have been pronounced *hu*. There is nothing to show if the *eu* sound of the Turkic languages was in use (closely resembling the French *u*); the words beginning with *ya* or *ye*, such as *yal* and *yem*, are peculiarly Turkic. The palatals *l* and *r* very rarely begin any words. In Turkic speech they hardly ever do, and in this respect the language is nearer



to Mongolian and Akkadian than to Turkish. The dentals are little distinguished: *d* and *t* are often denoted by the same sign, and the sibilants are *s* and *z*, without any of the distinctions of sound found in Aryan and Semitic speech. The labials are *m* *b* and *p*. There is nothing to show if the nasal *nġ* of the Turkic languages was in use, as the characters were not capable of expressing the sound, except perhaps in such words as *danga*. As a rule *m* stands when this nasal might be expected. The whole character of the phonology of the language appears to be Mongolic, and especially as regards the vowels and the vowel harmony.

The grammar of the language thus becomes an even stronger argument than the vocabulary in favour of the Mongolic theory of explanation. But how easily the vocabulary of some 400 words is explained by aid of Turkic speech will be seen from the index.

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The Akkadian words are for the most part well known, and given in the recent works of Hommel and Haupt, as well as by Lenormant and Delitzsch; but I have taken

- 𐎲 𐎶 𐎺 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *Aimaniin* (vii. 9; viii. 54, 59; xii. 111) "made good" "thought well" or "preferred,"
Turkic *ai* "good."
- 𐎲 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *Addu* "to name" (vii. 12, vii. 8), *Adduga* "you named" (iv. 11); Turkic *at* "name" "word" and *du* "to fix," as in Akkadian.
- 𐎲 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *Aggus* (iii. 89, v. 71, ix. 123) "power" or "honor," Akkadian *akku* "high," *Agga* "strong"; Turkic *ak* "high" "mighty."
- 𐎲 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *Aggudan* "by word of mouth" (vi. 71), Turkic and Akkadian *ag* "open" "mouth," *gu* "word," *dan* "by."
- 𐎲 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *Akillan* "thought" (viii. 70), passive part, Turkic and Akkadian *ak* "intelligence." See *Nakki*.
- 𐎲 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *Akuusa* (iii. 95) "is adored" or "exalted," Akkadian *Aka* "exalt."
- 𐎲 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *Alateas* "restore thou" (x. 42, 43) or "answer thou," Akkadian *al* "back" and *te* "to deliver."
- 𐎲 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *Allan* (iii. 117, x. 17), Turkic *al* "take" "hold," participle.
- 𐎲 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *Allaman* "taken" or "made take," frequently found.
- 𐎲 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *Allai* "holding" (ii. 70).
- 𐎲 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *Allaiilan* "being held" or "received" (vii. 26). The passive form *il* here occurs as in Turkic speech.
- 𐎲 𐎶 𐎶 *Amkha* "besought" (vii. 32), Turkic *am em* "to hope" "wish," etc.
- 𐎲 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *Ammatippi*. Probably "the friend" (ii. 56; x. 37; xi. 52, 58, 67), from the same root as the preceding, meaning "to trust," whence many words for friendship. (See Vambéry, Wörterbuch, p. 30.)

- 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 *Ammumansa* "he is besought" (iii. 103).
See preceding.
- 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 *Ammaman* "ready" "prepared," Turkic *am* "now" "soon," the word occurs frequently.
- 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 ANMES. Determinative prefix for "gods" (*Ena*). The gods named are Simigiz, Ea, Amanû, Tessub (Rimmon), and Sausbe. *Anbelan* "to fulfil" or "be fulfilled" (iii. 114, vii. 31). See *Belan*.
- 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 *Andu* "to give" (v. 64, 73; vii. 9; x. 9), Medic *du* "to give."
- 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 *Ankuu* . . . (v. 71) "to establish," Akkadian *ku* "to record." See *Kuu*.
- 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 *Anti* "to take" occurs frequently, Akkadian *ti* "take" "raise," etc.
- 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 *Ansusus* (v. 70) "addition," Akkadian *su* "to increase"; *Ansanuukhu* (i. 18; ix. 129; xi. 50, 51; xii. 87) "to be considered." See *Zan*.
- 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 *Annan* (iv. 30) probably "ready," Turkic *an* "ready."
- 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 *Annama(an ?)* (iv. 17) "prepared." See the preceding.
- 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 *Annae* (vii. 12) probably "none." See the next.
- 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 *Anni* "not." See *Ma anni*, Medic *anni* "not," *Anni* perhaps "time" (viii. 58, 59), Turkic *an* "time."
- 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 *Annutan* or D.P. *Nutan* "by prince" (xii. 108, 124). See *Nu*.
- 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 *Anuda* or *Anuhua* (iii. 118) perhaps "at once." See *Annan*.
- 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 *Anam*. Prefix frequently occurring, "in the state of" or "for the purpose of," Akkadian *Nam*. See *Anam-Isan* (v. 66, ix. 126), *Anamkhillusis* (vii. 13), *Anamtanu* (viii. 10), *Anammi-iddaman* (xi. 62, 64), *Anammi-belan* (iii. 84, v. 77, ix. 122).

- 𐎶 𐎠𐎵- *Api* "what" "whom," *Aapi* "to which" (iv. 11, vi. 192, vii. 24, x. 17), it is compounded of *a* "this" and *pi* "which," as in *Medic*.
- 𐎠𐎵-𐎶𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎠𐎵 *Arkkena asaman* (viii. 8) "Further will be spoken" from Turkish *arkh* "after."
- 𐎶𐎠𐎵-𐎶𐎠𐎵 *Ari* "first" or "at once" (ii. 59), Turkic *arai* "first" *ara* "at once."
- 𐎶𐎠𐎵-𐎶𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎠𐎵 *Arien* "at once" (xii. 85, 96, 97). See the preceding.
- 𐎶𐎠𐎵-𐎶𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎠𐎵 *Arieta* "adorable" (iii. 114), Akkadian *Eri* "to worship."
- 𐎠𐎵-𐎶𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎶 *Arki* "attempt" (vii. 11), Turkic *erik* "will" "effort."
- 𐎶 *Artatan*, proper name (xi. 52).
- 𐎶 *Artessupan*, proper name (vii. 36) "man of God Rimmon," *Artippi* "return" (xi. 72). See *Attartippi*.
- 𐎠𐎵-𐎶𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎵𐎶 *Artilan* (x. 32) "returning," Turkic *art* "back."
- 𐎶𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎵𐎶 *Aruusa* (vii. 34; viii. 48; x. 11, 41; xii. 105) "thereunto." In Turkic speech *ara* means "distance."
- 𐎶𐎠𐎵 *As* "whatsoever" (x. 7), as in *Medic*.
- 𐎶𐎠𐎵 - *Aas* "happy" (viii. 64), Akkadian *as* "happy" "obedient," Mongol *ase* "joy."
- *As* "a record" (v. 86), *Assaa* (ix. 116) may be connected.
- 𐎠𐎵𐎶 *Asi* "desire" occurs frequently (e.g. iii. 86) with the forms *Astien*, *Asti inna*, *Astiee*, *Astien*, *Astiipi*; Akkadian *Astin* "want."
- 𐎶𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎵𐎶 *Asien* (vii. 17), perhaps the Mongol *as* "to give."
- 𐎶 *Asalinan*, proper name (vii. 36, 37).
- 𐎶𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎵𐎶 *Attan* "going" or "coming" (ii. 64, iv. 8, xi. 63), Turkic *at* "to walk."

𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵 *Attaman* "made go" "sent" (iv. 5, 27, 28; v. 61; vi. 100; xi. 63).

𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 *Attaartippi* (iii. 96, v. 88, xi. 50, xii. 87), a noun; occurs in plural (i. 8) "reply" from *atta* "words," *ar* "back," *tip* "send," *pi* "which."

𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵 *Attaippi* "the father" (ii. 55; ix. 118; x. 35, 37; xi. 50, 55, 58, 71; xii. 68). See also *Attaip* (xi. 69), *Attaipi* (iii. 114), *Attaipius* (xi. 67) and *Attaisi* (iii. 95), *Attaippa* (x. 52); Akkadian *adda*, Turkic *atta* "father" in the definite form

𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 *Atinin* "this" or "that," Turkic *atin* "that."

𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 *Azalta* perhaps "rejoiced" (viii. 67). See *aas*, or "advantaged," Turkic *as* "to be useful."

𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 *Azarraman* "despatched" (iii. 97), Turkic *asur* "to pass."

𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 *Azakha* "distant" (iv. 8), Medic *accikka* "distant," Turkic *as* "to go."

𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 *BAR Du ú* "my daughter" (xii. 89), Akkadian *Bar* "lady" and *duu* or *dum*, *duv* "child" with *ú* "my" affixed.

𐎠𐎶 *Be* "race" "offspring" (iv. 11, xi. 69, xii. 121) as in Akkadian.

𐎠𐎶 *Be* "to make" occurs often as an auxiliary prefix, Medic *Pe*, Akkadian *Ba* "to make" or "create."

𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 *Belaan* "fulfilled" or "finished," Akkadian *be* "complete," *Bela* "end"; Mongol *belen* "ready." See also *Belaman* (iii. 108) "made complete"; *Belie* (v. 60, vi. 112).

𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 *Beendu* "making give" (vi. 97). See *Andu* (cf. iii. 111).

- 𐎲 𐎲𐎶 𐎲𐎶 *Beeni* "fully" (iii. 101), Akkadian *be* "full" "complete."
- 𐎲 𐎲𐎶 𐎲𐎶𐎶 *Beeru* "making give" (v. 69, xii. 97). From *Be* "to cause" and *ru* "to present."
- 𐎲 *Bi* "they" "them" (iii. 87, x. 4, xii. 110), Medic *pi* "they."
- 𐎲 𐎲𐎶 𐎲𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎲𐎶 - *Billas* "knowledge" or "token" (vi. 101), Turkic *bél* "to recognize."
- 𐎲 𐎲𐎶𐎶 𐎲𐎶 *Biin* "seeing" (xii. 115, 116); Turkic *bîn* "to see" "perceive."
- 𐎲 𐎲𐎶𐎶 𐎲𐎶𐎶 *Bizus* "twofold" (vi. 65, 72) from *bi* "two" and *Zuus* "increase," Turkic *iz* "fold" suffixed to numbers.
- 𐎲𐎶 - *Bu* "this" occurs several times, Turkic *bu* "this."
- 𐎲𐎶 - 𐎲𐎶 𐎲𐎶 *Buddu* "confidence" (xi. 60), Turkic *büt* "to trust."
- 𐎲𐎶 - 𐎲𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎲𐎶𐎶 *Buklus* "aid" (iv. 17, x. 25), Turkic *bogla* "to aid" "strengthen."
- 𐎲𐎶𐎶 *Da* or *Ta* (vii. 2, 5, 38) *Datisi Daallaan* and (vii. 10) *dadaan daaman* (vii. 17), from *da* "to speak," as in Akkadian; Turkic *di* "to speak."
- 𐎲𐎶𐎶 *Dan* "mighty" (iv. 11, x. 16) as in Akkadian, Mongol *den* "high," Turkic *tan* "great." *Dan* "must" (viii. 64) or "can," *Danni* (viii. 65) "strong."
- 𐎲𐎶𐎶 𐎲𐎶𐎶 *Danga* "power" or "province" (x. 16).
- 𐎲𐎶𐎶 *Du* (*benamaan*) (iv. 28) perhaps *du* "to command," as in Akkadian.
- 𐎲𐎶𐎶 𐎲 𐎲𐎶𐎶 𐎲𐎶 - *Dubiippi* "obedient" (xii. 118), Akkadian *dub* "to serve."
- 𐎲𐎶𐎶 < 𐎲𐎶 - *Duupi* (iv. 62) "being," Medic *du* "to be."
- 𐎲𐎶𐎶 𐎲𐎶𐎶 𐎲𐎶 - *Duman* "making go" "proceeding," Akkadian *du* "to go."
- 𐎲𐎶𐎶 𐎲𐎶𐎶 *Duka* "gone" "come" (i. 9, see ix. 113). See preceding.

𐎶𐎵𐎶 *Dub* "tablet" "document," as in Akkadian, *Dubbu* (x. 26, xi. 48) "this tablet," *Dubbuu* (vi. 97) *accusat.?* *Dubbeas*, *Dubbias* (x. 39, xi. 45) "a tablet," *Dubbe* (iv. 18) *accusat.?* (cf. vi. 99, viii. 69), *Dubbu liepi* (xii. 100) "by this tablet," *Dubbu ukku* "for this tablet" xi. 45), *Dubnu* "of tablet" (x. 36, 38, 39, 40) or "tablet it," *Dubbiman* (x. 36, 38) "stamped," *Dubmaman* (xii. 111) "made stamped" or "written," *Dubsarippi* "scribe" (vii. 87), as in Akkadian.

𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 *Dudubni* (i. 53, v. 69) "made written."

𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 *Dukarrippi* "the confirmation" or "execution" from *du* "to make" or "give" and *Kar* "strong" or "execute," as in Akkadian (v. 86, 95; vi. 103; ix. 96; xii. 109).

𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 *Dukhu* perhaps "fully" (vii. 15), Turkic *Tokh*, Akkadian *dikh* "full" "complete."

𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 *Duppasena* "let serve" (iv. 18, ix. 125), Akkadian *dup* "serve." Perhaps *duppa* (vii. 14) means "servant."

𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 *Duraan* "remain" "keep" (ii. 73; vi. 68, 69), Akkadian and Turkic *dur* "to stay."

𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 *Durube* "subject" (i. 15, xii. 110), Akkadian *dur* "to serve." See *Durubiipi* "subject" *adject.* (xii. 114), *Durube-ippi* (xii. 122).

𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 *Durupatii* "forced to be subject" (xii. 121). See *Pat.*

𐎶𐎵𐎶 *Dusratta*, proper name (i. 3; ix. 127; xii. 103, 107).

𐎶𐎵𐎶 *E* "speech" occurs frequently with this apparent meaning, Turkic *ayi* "to speak," Akkadian *e* "to speak." See *ee* MES "words" (iii. 88). *E* "house" perhaps to be so rendered (xi. 69), *Edan* "from house," Akkadian *e*, Turkic *ev* "house."

- 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 *Ee* perhaps "master" (x. 9), Turkic *ey* "possessor" "master."
- 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 *Een* "of word" or "saying" (vi. 103, xi. 50). See *E*. Compare *Eidda* "spoken" (x. 21, 22) and *eena* MES "words" (iii. 96).
- 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 *Eena* with *ANMES* prefixed "gods." See *Ee* and the Turkic *eye* "god."
- 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 *Ela* "sanctioning" (x. 37). See *Elippi* "the sanction" (x. 35). Compare *el* "holy" in Akkadian.
- 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 *El* "holy" (iii. 109). See *Ellienin* (iv. 28) "sanctioned," *Eltiipi* (vii. 44) "sanction speaking," *Ellaman* (viii. 62; xi. 54, 56) "made sanctioned." Perhaps means "binding," Turkic *il*.
- 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 *Ema* or *Eema* (viii. 64; vi. 111; xi. 54, 57). Perhaps "news," Akkadian *me* "to speak."
- 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 *Eenippi* (v. 86, vii. 64, xii. 98) and *Eniipi* (iii. 95, 113) "The God." See *Eena*.
- 𐎶𐎶 *En* "as" occurs frequently.
- 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 *Enna* "thus" (see xi. 71), and *Ennaan* "thus it" (vii. 45), Akkadian *Enna* "thus," *Ennakkien* (vii. 42) "in exchange making," Akkadian *Enna* "for."
- 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 *Enna* "make say," probably (v. 84, vii. 45). See *E*.
- 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 *Eniin* "those things" (vii. 16; viii. 49; x. 42, 43), Akkadian *Ene* "they."
- 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 *Erassena* "may they will" (iii. 87), Turkic *Er* "will."
- 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 *Erus* "will" (iii. 108). See preceding.
- 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 *Esietalan* perhaps "pardoning" (viii. 45), Turkic *as* "to pass over," Akkadian *esu* "pardon."
- 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 *Essi* "due" (ii. 68), see (xi. 68) and *Esi* (xi. 55, 58), Turkic *es* "belonging."

- 𐎶𐎵 <<< <𐎶- *Eessi* "ordering" (vi. 102). Compare *Eesippias* below.
- 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *Eeseni* perhaps "multitudes" (ix. 125), Akkadian *es* "many."
- 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 <𐎶- 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 - 𐎶𐎵𐎶 *Eesippias-dan* "great chief," i.e. Suzerain (iv. 11, x. 16), Akkadian *esseb* or *issip* "prince," Turkic *ıccı* "Lord." The word occurs in Hittite personal names (see *dan*).
- 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *Etaman* "made"? (xii. 117). See the next.
- 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 <𐎶𐎵 *Eti* "making" or "doing." A common verb. Turkic *et* or *it* (in various dialects), *etii tanna man* (xi. 46), apparently "made must be."
- 𐎶𐎵𐎶 *gamma* "conquering" (x. 7), as in Akkadian.
- 𐎶𐎵𐎶 *gan* precativ prefix (vii. 44), as in Akkadian. *Gidda* perhaps "far," but the text is broken (ix. 100).
- 𐎶𐎵 *Gili*as, proper name of the Minyan Ambassador.
- 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵 <𐎶𐎵 *gielti* "thy concubine" (vii. 43), Akkadian *giel* "a female slave."
- 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 <𐎶𐎵 *gihusu* perhaps "in reply" (iii. 97). From *gi* "back" and *hu* a "letter." See *Lus*.
- 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 <𐎶𐎵 *gienusa* preceded by *maan* (xii. 107), Akkadian *gi* "to be far" and *nû* "to rest" or *nu* "prince." Probably "who dwells afar" or "rules afar."
- 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 <𐎶𐎵 *gipaanu* (iv. 16, 20; xi. 61, 68, 69, 74). Compare *gipaanie* (v. 73), *gipaanieta* (v. 64), *gipani etaman* (xii. 117) "decree" from *gi* "to make" and *paan* "law" in Akkadian.
- 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵 *gip* "like" (v. 63), Akkadian *gib*, Turkic *kep* "like."
- 𐎶𐎵 *gis*, probably pronounced *is*, as it occurs in the name of Egypt. See under *is*.

- 𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗 *guli* apparently "come" "go," Turkic *guel* "to come" (vi. 116; vii. 21, 27; viii. 60).
- 𐎗𐎗𐎗 *gulu* "speech" (iii. 91, vii. 5), Turkic *Kul* "sound," Akkadian *gu* "to speak."
- 𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗 *guru* apparently "all" "full," Turkic *Kur* "full," but perhaps the Akkadian *gur* "to become." In vii. 46 *guruúut* is apparently "back send," Akkadian *gur* "to return," and *út* or *hut* as in Medic *hutto* "to send."
- 𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗 *guúe* or *guhue* (ix. 123) "greatly"; see the next. See *guúa* (iii. 89).
- 𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗 *gukara* (v. 68) "greatly." See the next.
- 𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗 *gákara* (v. 96) "muchly," Akkadian *Kuga* "high," Turkic *Kuk Kúch* "much" "strong" etc., with the adject. termination in *ra* as in Medic, etc., Medic *gik*.
- 𐎗𐎗 *I* "clear" commonly occurs, as in Akkadian.
- 𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗 *Iaalaan* "lying" (v. 83), Turkic *yal* "to lie" "extend."
- 𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗 *Iaala an* (vi. 102) "only if"—conjunctural.
- 𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗 *Ialla* a verb occurs several times, Turkic *yal* "to shine" "be visible."
- 𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗 *Ialli* a verb occurs several times, Turkic *yal* or *yel* "to hasten," *yol* "to go."
- 𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗 *Iame* "strange" (xii. 91). See *Iamma* (vii. 18, 24) "foreign," Turkic *yam* "hostile" "foreign" (Vambery, Wörterbuch, p. 108).
- 𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗 *Iatilaan* "extending" (v. 84), Turkic *yat* "extend."
- 𐎗𐎗𐎗 *Ib* or *Ip* a frequent auxiliary prefix (compare *Be*), Akkadian *ib* "to create."
- 𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗 *Idda* "giving power" (iv. 7; viii. 52, 53; x. 2), Akkadian *id* "power."

- 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 *Itti* "send" (x. 23, 53), Turkic *It* "to send forth."
- 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 *Iddu* "making power" (x. 11). See *Iddukaara* (i. 21, xii. 110) "an ordering" from *Kar Medic*; *gar* Akkadian "to cause."
- 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 *Iddumi* perhaps "completing" (iii. 101).
- 𐎠𐎠𐎠 *Id* (x. 12) apparently "sole," as in Akkadian.
- 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 *Iiemeni* (v. 72), perhaps Turkic *yañ* "sort" "manner."
- 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 *Iiena* (vii. 21) apparently "freshly," Turkic *yena*. Compare *Inna* (xi. 72) "again" "freshly" and *Iiin* (xi. 48) "again" (cf. iii. 82, 83).
- 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 *Iis* "how" (vii. 16), Mongol *yasi* "how." Compare *Iisi* (v. 69) "how," *Isi* (ix. 93) "how."
- 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 *Iiummi* (vi. 109) "wholly," Turkic *yum* "gathered together," *yümi* "all."
- 𐎠𐎠𐎠 *Ikkhibin*, proper name of a city (iii. 94). Perhaps the present Kaban Maden in Dusratta's country.
- 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 *Illa* (vii. 23, 29) "agree," Turkic *Il* "understanding" (see ix. 116).
- 𐎠𐎠𐎠 *Im* "region" (v. 69, x. 16, xii. 95).
- 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 *Imma* "this same" occurs frequently, Akkadian *ma* "this," Mongol *ime* "such an one."
- 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 *Inna* occurs frequently as a verb, Akkadian *in* "mastery," Turkic *yeng* "conquest."
- 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 *Innaamaman* "it is hoped" (xii. 110), Turkic *Inam* "trust" "hope."
- 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 *Inu* "master" (x. 3). See *Inna*. Akkadian *Enu* "Lord." See vi. 133, 135 and probably i. 13.
- 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 *Ipri* (iii. 93; ix. 115; xi. 48, 72; xii. 104, 105, 120) apparently "friend."
- 𐎠𐎠𐎠 *Ir* "him" "it," incorporated particle, as in Akkadian and Medic, frequently found.

- 𐎗𐎗 𐎗 *Ieni* (x. 14) apparently "if."
- 𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗 *Iesi* (xi. 61) perhaps "here," Mongol *Isi* "here."
- 𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗 *Istanippi* occurs often. Perhaps *Ista* "thereto" and *innippi* "to be able," as in Medic.
- 𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗 *Istaniasa* (ix. 129, xii. 110) "as far as going" or "to the utmost."
- 𐎗𐎗 *Is* (vi. 103, x. 7) probably means "proclamation."
- 𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗 *Iskhiin* "briefly" (viii. 49), Mongol *eske* "to cut" or perhaps *giskhiin*, Turkic *Kis* "to be small," Akkadian *Kis* "short."
- 𐎗𐎗 *Ka* "all" as in Akkadian, occurs several times; *Ka* "voice" "speech" as in Akkadian, occurs several times.
- 𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗 *Kateiddai* "my son-in-law" (xii. 99) or perhaps "brother-in-law," Turkic *Kütüo* "brother-in-law," Mongol *Kadem* "father-in-law."
- 𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗 *Katiin* (xii. 101) "wife," Turkic *kat*.
- 𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗 *Ki maan* "home" (viii. 58, 60), Akkadian *Ki* "place" and *ma* "country," Turkic *man* locative case.
- 𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗 *Kü* (vi. 124) "together with" as in Akkadian (see *Ki*, viii. 63), *Kü* "as" (vii. 38); Akkadian and Turkic *ki* "as."
- 𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗 *Kim* (vi. 97) "explain," Akkadian *Kimmu* "explanation."
- 𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗 *Kinna* (iii. 111) "message." See *Kinni* (ix. 116). *Kin* in Akkadian.
- 𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗 *Kinna* (iii. 105) "bearing," Akkadian *gi* "to carry."
- 𐎗𐎗 *Kuu* (iv. 14) apparently "record" as in Akkadian, perhaps *duru*.
- 𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗 *Kusa* (vii. 40) apparently "throne," Akkadian *gusa*.
- 𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗 *Kuzusi* (viii. 46) perhaps "delayed," Mongol *Khozem* "late."

𐎲𐎠𐎫 *KUGI* "gold" (v. 63, vii. 50, xi. 67), Tartar *kin* "gold."

𐎲𐎠𐎲 *KUR* "country" D. Prefix. The countries mentioned are *Khar* or Phoenicia (i. 11, 19), *Minsi* the Minyan land (frequently); *Misri* or *Masria* or *Musri* Egypt, and *Saanni* (ix. 95) Zoan.

𐎲𐎠𐎫 *Kha* "this" (vii. 43), as in Akkadian. See *Khai* "which" (x. 30), Turkic *Khaya* "who" (interrog).

𐎲𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎫 *Khakhani MES* (xii. 113, 118) "Princes." The Turkic *Khakhan* a "King of Kings," Akkadian *Kha* "Prince."

𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎫 *Khaallan* (vii. 29) "remaining," Turkic *Khalan* "the rest."

𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎫 *Khallan* (vii. 23) "remaining." See preceding.

𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎫 *Khalli* (iv. 12; xi. 49, 51) "haste," Akkadian *Khal*.

𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎫 *Khalki* (v. 83, 84; x. 5, 6) followed by *ma* "land." Apparently Chalcis, near Aleppo, which was conquered by Thothmes III. (Karnak List, No. 140).

𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎫 *Khanii* (x. 24, 27) apparently "Royal." See *Khakhani*.

𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎫 *Khars* "writing" (xii. 119), Turkic *Khir* "to cut," *ser* "to write" Akkadian; *Sar* and *Khir* "to write" "engrave," occurs often in infin. act.; *Nikhari* "to write"; *Kharrien* (iii. 101) "of writing" or "written"; *Khariman* "made written" (x. 15).

𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎫 *Kharattaman* "decided" (iv. 8), Medic *Kharta* "to decide."

𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎫 *Kharru*. The Phoenicians (i. 14, x. 6) also *Khar* (i. 11, 19; v. 92; ix. 127), followed by *u* "race" or preceded by *KUR* "land."

- (𐎧𐎫𐎷) 𐎧𐎫𐎷𐎠𐎵 *Kharanu* (x. 18) "a city," probably Harran.
- 𐎧𐎫𐎷𐎠𐎵 *Khasa* "how much" (ix. 110), Turkic *Khas* "how much." See *Khaasra* (ii. 69), apparently "to how much."
- 𐎧𐎫𐎷𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵 *Khasaasi* "together" (vii. 23, 29). See *Khasaasipi* (vii. 20, 26) "comrade," Turkic *Khos* "pair" "company."
- 𐎧𐎫𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵 *Khasien* "when" (iii. 121, iv. 13, xi. 49), *Khasi* (x. 40), Turkic *Khasan* "when."
- 𐎧𐎫𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵 *Khasusa* "together" (iv. 7). See *Khasasi*.
- 𐎧𐎫𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵 *Khattan* "speeding" (iii. 103), Turkic *Khat* "quick."
- 𐎧𐎫𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵 *Khaati* Hittite (x. 16) followed by *ma* "land."
- 𐎧𐎫𐎠𐎵 *Khe* frequently occurs, apparently means "whole." See *Khe* (ix. 121), *Kheman* (xii. 113), *Khena* (v. 69), *Khenieppi* (i. 11, 14), *Kheepi* (vii. 16). Perhaps to be read *gan*, Akkadian *gan* "all," *Khe* "abundance."
- 𐎧𐎫𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵 *Kheenniman* perhaps "all said" (vii. 11) or "produced," Akkadian *Khe* "to produce."
- 𐎧𐎫𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵 *Khiarukkkha* "married" (xi. 73, 77; xii. 90, 93, 99, 106). See *Khiirukkkha* (xi. 66), Turkic *Khiar* "coire."
- 𐎧𐎫𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵 *Khilli* "making" or "made" (iii. 92, 101). See next.
- 𐎧𐎫𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵 *Khillu* (vii. 11, 24, 45) "doing," Turkic *Khil* "to do" or "make."
- 𐎧𐎫𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵 *Khillusi* occurs frequently "making see" or "explaining."
- 𐎧𐎫𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵 *Khisi* (see vi. 125; xii. 85, 89, 95) "appearing" "perceiving." In Akkadian *Khis* appears to mean "see."

- 𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 *Khisuú* perhaps "earnest," occurs with the preceding, Turkic *Khis* or *Khis* "warm" "zealous," etc. *Khisuú Khisiaen* might also mean "showing my zeal," but this is difficult in the sentences in question.
- 𐎠𐎠 *Khu* "this" (iii. 110), as in Akkadian.
- 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 *Khubbu* (iv. 22). See *Khublu* (iv. 23), perhaps "rolled up," Turkic *Khub* "to close up" "bind" "cover" (Vambery, p. 16).
- 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 *Khulu* "hearing" "heard" (iii. 108, xii. 96), Turkic *Khul* "hearing."
- 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 *Khusi* (v. 62; vii. 33; xi. 67, 70) "urging," Turkic *Khov Khus* "to drive" "hunt."
- 𐎠𐎠 *La* "give" "present" (v. 59, vi. 114, viii. 45), *Laaku* (v. 70), *Laap* (v. 88), *Laman* (xi. 65), Akkadian *la* "gift."
- 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 *Latakhkha* "conquering" or "conquered" (x. 17), Akkadian *lat* "conquer."
- 𐎠𐎠 *Lik* "as to" (vi. 113, 116; vii. 23, 29; xi. 64), Akkadian *liku* "as regards."
- 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 *Lus* "letter" (iv. 23, xi. 59), Akkadian *lu* "letter" (-s nominat.).
- 𐎠𐎠 *Ma* "Land" (iv. 8; v. 79; x. 5, 6, 16), as in Akkadian. See *Maka* (v. 64, 80) "all the land," *Maaniin* "to this country" (xii. 115), *Maana* (ii. 77, 81) "from here" or "of land," Turkic *man*, locative appears to occur as *Ma-an*.
- 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠 *Ma* "is it not" (xi. 58), *Maa anni* (vii. 13, viii. 60), Turkic *ma* interrogative negative. See *anni*.
- 𐎠𐎠 *Ma* "to make" (x. 5). See *Maa* (iii. 101) and *Maan* "making" frequently. As a prefix it is a collective, as a suffix the causative. See *Manti* "make give" (iii. 85).

- 𐎲 𐎶 → 𐎶 𐎶 *Maanna* "first" "previous" (iii. 117 ; v. 91, 95 ; xi. 63, 65), Turkic *mañ* "first" "foremost" "preceding."
- ◀ *Man* "King," e.g. *KUR MAN Mini* "Land Royal" (i.e. Kingdom) *Minyan*. See *Maninni* "ruling" (v. 82), *Mantiman* "commanded" (viii. 53, 55), *Mansa* "is ordered" (iii. 82). But *Manulla* (vi. 97, 99, 102), *Manullan* (x. 25, 32), *Manullasa* (xi. 73) seem to come from *maan* "make." See *Medic van* participial termination.
- 𐎲 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *Maradu* (x. 10) "expedition," Akkadian *mar* "path," *du* "go."
- 𐎲 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *Mariana* (x. 32) "marching." See preceding.
- 𐎲 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *Masseni* (x. 8) "hereafter," *Medic mas* "after," *masne* "then."
- ✧ *Masria* (i. 8 ; v. 78, 81 ; ix. 97, 128 ; xii. 117), *Misri* (iii. 93, xii. 105), *Musri* (x. 1) Egypt, *Medic Musri* "Egypt."
- 𐎶 *Me* "when" (ii. 60), Akkadian *me* "when."
- ◀ 𐎶 *Mi* "west" (x. 6), Akkadian *mi* "sunset."
- ✧ *Miini* "Minyan Land." The country west of Lake Van. The *Men* in Egyptian texts of this age dwelt East of North Syria.
- ✧ *Mitani* (xii. 104). Part of the same region—the later Melitene.
- ✧ *Mu* "as to" (iii. 100 ; viii. 47 ; xi. 54, 57) ; Akkadian *mu* "as regards," *MU* (x. 42) perhaps the proper reading, Akkadian "throne."
- ◀ 𐎶 *NA* (x. 40) much defaced, but meaning "throne," according to Dr. Sayce.
- 𐎶 *na* plural. See iii. 107, Akkadian *ene*, Mongol *na* plural.

- 𐎠𐎵 *na* "it" "he" "she" (iii. 102, vii. 64, viii. 32, xii. 101). See *Napi* (vii. 7, 15; x. 8) "what," *naan* "the it" (vii. 61), *Na* "to say" (iii. 92, iv. 13, vii. 20, x. 23, xi. 60), *Medic Na* "to speak."
- 𐎠𐎵 𐎶 *Naa* "to go forth" (x. 10, 13), Akkadian *na* "go forward."
- 𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *Nakkase* (xii. 103) "made" from *ak* "to do," *Nakkassa* (xii. 106).
- 𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Na akki* (v. 2) "they knowing." See *ak*.
- 𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Nam* "state of" (see *Anam*). See *Namman* (viii. 70) "concerning," *Namrinan* (ix. 104).
- 𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Ni* "it," *niepi* "that which," *nün* "it," *nie* "it" occurs often. It is also prefixed to form the infinitive active of verbs.
- 𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *Nii* (xii. 98) "great" or "royal" or "holy," Akkadian *ni*.
- 𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Niespies* (ii. 72).
- 𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Nippi* "self" (iv. 14, v. 64), Akkadian *niba* "self." *Nikhari*. See *Khar*.
- 𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Nierippi* (viii. 62). Some female relative "wife" ? Mongol (*ike*) *ner* "wife" compounded with *ike* "mother."
- 𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Niiri* (vi. 105, x. 43) "to come," Mongol *ire* "to come."
- 𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Niuru* (ii. 63, 66, 78; vii. 5, 6, 38, 66) "to explain," from *i* "clear" and *ru* "to make."
- 𐎠𐎵 *Nimmurias* (iii. 92, ix. 121, xii. 104), *Immurias* (xii. 106), Amenophis III.
- 𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Niriaria* (iv. 14) "to show," causative of *ri* "shine."
- 𐎠𐎵 *Nu* "not" frequently found.
- 𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Nuâte MES* "ruling" (xii. 113, 118). Compare Akkadian *Nu* "prince."

- 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *EN Nuukhkha* (iv. 10, 11) "ruling" or "ruled place."
- 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *Padaan* (ii. 60) perhaps "openly," Akkadian *bad* "open."
- 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *Pakhe* (vii. 13) perhaps "care," Turkic *Bakh* "to observe" "obey."
- 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *Pakhi* (ii. 68, 69) "bound" "obliged," Turkic *Bag* "to bind."
- 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *Palda* (vii. 23), spelt *Pa al da* (vii. 29), "severance," Turkic *balt*.
- 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *Paldu* (x. 48) "become sworn," followed by *Paand* "we bind," Turkic *paa* "bind," Akkadian *pal* "oath," *du* "make."
- 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *Pala* "work" (xii. 91, 93), Akkadian *ba* "make," Medic *balu* "work."
- 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *Palla* (viii. 56, 59, 65), *Pal* "time" or "judge," as in Akkadian.
- 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *Paan* "highly" (ii. 59, ix. 93), Akkadian *Pa* "high."
- 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *Pa nu* "sure not" (vii. 16), Turkic *ba* "bound" "firm."
- 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *Panamimaan* "certified" (vi. 108, 111) from *Pa* "sure," *nami* "condition of," *maan* "made."
- 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *Passarippi* "conductor" (viii. 54), Turkic *basar* "to lead."
- 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *Passi* "to lead" "conduct," Turkic *bas*, occurs frequently.
- 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *Passidkhippi* "envoy" (Dr. Sayce's rendering) connected with the preceding, occurs often.
- 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *Passu* (ii. 73; vi. 118, 119; vii. 39) apparently "chief," Turkic *Pasa*.
- 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *Patia* (xi. 46, 47) "sign" "signature," Turkic *bälia* "mark."

𐎗-𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗 < 𐎗𐎗 *Pasutumu* (ix. 97, 99) perhaps "expedition,"
Turkic *basut*.

𐎗 𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗 *Paataa* "binding" "obliging" (vii. 5, 6;
xi. 48), *Patii* (xii. 121); Turkic *bat* "to drive"
"press" or Akkadian *bat* "finish" "settle." See
Pati.

𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗 *Patara* "follow" (v. 61), Turkic *bat*
"follows," *batar* "make follow."

𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 *Pati* (viii. 67, 68) "surely" (see *Pa-nu*), *Patitipi*
(vii. 33) perhaps "settlement"; Akkadian *pat*.

𐎗 𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗 *Pa tise* (xi. 51) "following," Turkic *batis* "follow."

𐎗 𐎗𐎗 *Pasa* "also" "again" frequently found, Turkic *pasa*
"anew."

𐎗 𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗 *Pazani* and *Pazana* often found "again," Turkic
posne "also."

𐎗𐎗- *Pi* "which" "the" as in *Medic*, frequently found.

𐎗𐎗- 𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 *Pi id ra* "which hand to" (v. 27) appears
to mean "either" as in Turkic, *bätära* "this side."

𐎗𐎗- 𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗 *Pikhri* (vi. 12) "showing," Turkic *Pikh*
"see."

𐎗𐎗- 𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗 *Pikhru* (ii. 68, iii. 89) "making see" or
"making strong." See the preceding and Turkic
pek "strong."

𐎗𐎗- 𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗 *Piira* "all" (iv. 18, 31). See *Pirippi* "wholly"
(vi. 104), *Medic Pirru* "all," Akkadian *bar*, Turkic
bari "all" (also *berai*). See *Piru* (vi. 108).

𐎗𐎗- 𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 *Pirate* (x. 26, 31) perhaps "command,"
Turkic *berat*.

𐎗𐎗- 𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗 *Pirieda allan* perhaps
"being taxed" (x. 18), Akkadian *Biru* "tribute."

𐎗𐎗- 𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗 *Piriäsa* (xi. 73) "will go" or "be sent,"
Turkic *pir* "to go."

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Pirieta* also *Piriita* "sent," Turkic *pirat* "let go."

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Pirikku* "disputing" (x. 9), Medic *Pirra* "quarrel."

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Piruma* perhaps "tribute" (ii. 80), Akkadian *Biru*.

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Ra* "to" "towards" occurs often.

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Raratti* "made write" (vi. 99), Akkadian *raa* "to impress on clay" "write."

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Ratta* "written" (vi. 100). See preceding.

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Ras* (x. 51) "road," apparently an Akkadian word.

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Ria a anni* (x. 7). Perhaps from *ri* "servant."

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Ru* "to give" "to make" or "do," occurs often as in Akkadian; and *Ru* "to go," Turkic *ru*, Akkadian *ru* "go" (i. 9).

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Sa* "he" "man," occurs often as in Akkadian, also *Saa* "heart," *Saa* "gracious," *Saa* "say," not easily distinguished as only one S sound is used.

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Saa ú* apparently "my child" (iii. 123; xi. 50, 51). Compare SAL *saa* (xii. 90) from *sa*, *se* "seed."

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *SAL* "woman," D. Prefix (viii. 52, 62, 65; ix. 89; xi. 54; xii. 90, 103) with *i* prefixed it seems to mean "pure woman" "maiden."

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Sallukkhka* (ix. 121) "handmaiden," from *lu* "to bind," *lukk* "to serve" in Akkadian.

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Saala* "favoured" (x. 35, 37; xii. 104; cf. ii. 55, 59; ix. 93).

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Saalippi* (xi. 76), perhaps "the generator," like Akkadian *Saalal*. See *Saa* "child."

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Salana* "sending" (ii. 64), Turkic *Sal* "to send."

- 𐎗𐎗𐎗 *Saanni* "Land of Zoan" (ix. 95), now *Sân*.
- 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 *Sapti* "haste" (iii. 87), Turkic *çap* "haste."
- 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 *Sarri* "king" (iii. 15, 109; x. 3), Akkadian *Sar* "King."
- 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 *Saarusa* (x. 1, xii. 91) "region in," Akkadian *Sar* "to extend." See *Saarillie* (ix. 124) "increased."
- 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 *Sata* (viii. 62) "resolved," Turkic *Sata* "to mean." Compare *Saata* (xi. 51).
- 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 *Satti* "all that which" (v. 84), *Saat* (xii. 108), Akkadian *Sati* "all which" (cf. ii. 72).
- 𐎗𐎗 *Se* "to give" and "gracious" occurs frequently.
- 𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗 *See* "obeying" (iii. 92, 97, 99; vii. 12; x. 3) "receiving," Akkadian *Sea* "obeying."
- 𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 *Senippi* frequently found applies to the King of Egypt; *-ippi* is a case ending. The word *Sen* may be the Turkic *ini* "younger brother." In Egyptian *Sen* means "brother" and "ally." It may be an Egyptian word.
- 𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 *Seikhra* (xi. 59) and *Seikhras* (ix. 119) "safe." It appears to be an adjective. See Akkadian *Sakh* "prosperous."
- 𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 *Seirriepi* "gold" (ii. 70, xi. 67) with KUGI following, Mongol *Sara* "yellow."
- 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗 *Süa* (iii. 100) "seeing," Medic *Siya*, Akkadian *Si* "to see," *Sii* (ii. 62), *Siiüli* "seen" (vii. 43).
- 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 *Süddaan* (vii. 9) "by give seeing?" "carefully."
- 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 *Silakhu* "brilliant" (vii. 41, 61), Akkadian and Turkic *Sil* "to shine."
- 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 𐎗𐎗𐎗 *Sillan* "long" (i. 9), Akkadian *Sil* "long."

- <N> 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 *Silipi* (xi. 64) "deciding," Akkadian *Sil*
 "to direct."
 <N> 𐎠𐎠 *Sini* "anew" (ii. 57, v. 69), *Sinie* (ix. 117), Mongol
sine "anew."
 <N> 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 *Siin* (v. 69) "alike," Mongol *siini* "like."
 <N> 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 *Sipiku* perhaps "clearly visible" (xi. 46)
 from *Si* "to see" and *i* "clear."
 <N> 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 *Siipi* "gathering" (vii. 10), Akkadian *sib* "to
 hold" "gather," Turkic *seb* "sweep."
 <N> 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 *Sippi* (viii. 61, x. 23), Medic *sip* "court."
 <N> 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 *Sira* "ordering." See *Siraas* (vii. 34, xii. 96) "an
 order," *Sirapies* "make thou order" (x. 3), *Sirieda*
 "having ordered" (x. 15), *Siri* "ordering" (vii. 44,
 x. 34), *Siraan* "order" accus. (x. 14), Medic *Sera*
 "order."
 𐎠𐎠 *Su* "hand" (ii. 79, iv. 4, viii. 51), as in Akkadian. See
Suu (v. 88, xi. 60) "giving," *Suassena* (v. 70) "let
 be given" (or "taken"), *Sumansa* "will be
 given" or "ordered to give" (ii. 75).
 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 *Sua* (vi. 106) "news," Turkic *Sava*.
 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 *Suus* (v. 62, 86; ix. 118) "word," Turkic *söz*
 "word."
 𐎠𐎠 <N>𐎠 *Sunpi* "the same," frequently found. Turkic
su "this," Akkadian *suu*.
 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 *Suú* or *Suhu* "take," a common verb from *su*
 "hand."
 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 *Sue* "people," frequently found, Akkadian *su*
 "multitude," Turkic *soi* "race."
 <V> 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠 *Suggani* (v. 94; vii. 32; x. 54, 56; xii. 114, 118)
 "agreed," Akkadian *Sug* "to settle." See *Sugguú-*
addu (v. 80, xii. 108).

𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗 *Suggu* (vii. 1, xi. 49, xi. 75) perhaps "full" "complete," Mongol *suk* "together" "gather," Turkic *sok* "end."

𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗 *Suka* (viii. 52, 53); *Sukaan* (iv. 15) perhaps "at the same time," Mongol *Suka*.

𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗 *Suukku* (iv. 12, v. 78, xii. 111) the same as *Suggu*, as appears from the context.

𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗 *Suggheni* (x. 30) "fighting," Turkic *Sokh* "fight."

𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗 *Sulla* "finishing" (ix. 114), Akkadian *suul* "finish," Mongol *sul* "end."

𐎗𐎗 *SUR* (iii. 109; vi. 113; vii. 24, 16, 17) "servant," as in Akkadian.

𐎗 *Suttarna* (ii. 55), proper name of Dusratta's father, "Set judges."

𐎗𐎗𐎗 *Sutta* (iii. 93) "far," Akkadian *Sud*.

𐎗𐎗 *Ta* "to thee" frequently found. See *Ti*.

𐎗𐎗 *Taa* "so," Turkic *ta* frequently found.

𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗 *Taallaman* (vi. 104) perhaps "intelligible." See *Talami*. See *Taallan* (viii. 64).

𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗 *Tadukhep* (ix. 89, xii. 103), proper name of Dusratta's daughter, "all sweet" (Turkic *tat* "nice").

𐎗𐎗𐎗 *Taia* (iv. 5), *Taii* (ix. 124) "besides," Medic *Daie* "other."

𐎗𐎗𐎗 *Taka* (vi. 112) "the rest," Akkadian *taka* "remaining."

𐎗𐎗𐎗 *Takhhha* (ix. 130) "make" "establish," as in Akkadian.

𐎗𐎗𐎗 *Talama* (vii. 7, 5) "translation." See *Talame* (v. 85; vii. 3) "interpreter," *Talami* (vii. 37, x. 4) "interpreter"; Turkic *Tilmes* "interpreter."

𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 *Talimtena* "rendering greater" (xii. 120, 121), Turkic *Talim* "great" and *te* "to render."

𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 - *Taanas* "know thou" (vii. 15), Turkic *tani* "to know."

𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 *Taanilli* "being understood" (iii. 117). See *Tanillaman* "recognized" (xi. 47), Turkic *Tanla* "to prove."

𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 *Taanu* "information" (vii. 10). See *Taanusi* (vi. 123), *Taanusaussena* (ii. 81). It occurs frequently. See *Tanas*. *Tan*, see *Dan*; the syllable has either sound apparently.

𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 *Tais* "was" (vii. 50), as in *Medic Das* "was."

𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 *Tarütēnan* "stopped" (x. 30), perhaps Akkadian *tar* "to fix."

𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 *Tarasise*, perhaps "arranges" "fixes." See *Tartippi*.

𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 *Tartippi* "judgment" (iv. 18, 31), Akkadian *tar* and *tarta* "judge," Turkic *tart* "to weigh."

𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 *Taassa* "to bear." See *Tassellan* "borne" (iv. 22), *Tasaman* (vii. 47) "to be carried," *Taassena* "let carry" (ix. 100); Turkic *tas* "to bring."

𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 *Tase* "because" (iii. 93, 96, 98, 100), *Medic tas*.

𐎲𐎠𐎵 *Te*, a common verb. See *Tea*, *Teen*, *Teenan*, *Temanna*, *Telan*, *Teenna*, *Teeidda*, *Teepi*, *Tees* and *Antees*. Akkadian *Te* or *De* "to give" "render" "offer."

𐎲𐎠𐎵 *Ti* "thou" "thee" "thy" commonly used. *Medic ti* affix 2nd person, Mongol *ta* "you." It occurs in several Turanian living dialects as Lenormant has pointed out.

𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 *Tia* "taking" (iii. 82). See *Anti*.

- 𐎶𐎵𐎶 *Tii* "say." See *Tii* "word" (x. 24, 27), *Tiie* (vii. 19), *Tieallan* "spoken" (vii. 16), *Tiima* (ix. 120) "word"; Turkic *die* "say," *dia* "word."
- 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 *Tiikka* "full" "enough" (viii. 49; x. 8. 22), Akkadian *dikh, takh* "full" "complete," Turkic *tokh* "full."
- 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Tilan* "all" (iii. 85, x. 17), *Tiliae* (ix. 130) "completing"; Akkadian *til* "complete," *Antillaman* "to be completed" (vi. 132).
- 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Timme* (vii. 18) "as," Akkadian *dim*, Turkic *tiñ* "like."
- 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Tipi* "message" occurs often, Medic *tippi* "sending," *Tipiena* MES (see v. 83) "message words" "messages." See *E*.
- 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Tissan* "quick" "quickly," Turkic *tis* "brisk" "quick."
- 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Tissi* (vii. 12) "at length," Turkic *tis* "to extend."
- 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Tisippi* (v. 65, 113; xii. 86, 95) "the King," Akkadian *tis*.
- 𐎶 *U* "and," occurs e.g. vii. 11, x. 9.
- 𐎶 *U* "people," e.g. i. 11.
- 𐎶 *U* "battle" possibly xii. 122. *U Rirasa* "battle raising."
- 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶 *U* or *Hu* "I" "me" "my" as in Medic, occurs often.
- 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 *Ub* "which" (x. 64), *ubbi* (vi. 123, viii. 46), *ubbu* (vi. 101); Medic *appo*.
- 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Uddan* or *huttan* apparently "brings" (v. 60, vii. 41, xi. 71) or "sends," Medic *Hutto* "to send."
- 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Uddukman* "promoted" (i. 11), Akkadian *udda* "to rise."
- 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Ukka* (x. 17) or *Mannukka* "the collection of people."

- 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 *ukkia* (xi. 60) "to people," Akkadian *uggi*, *uku* "people."
- 𐎧𐎺𐎠 *Uku* "person" (x. 8), Akkadian *ug* "man."
- 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 *Ukku* "right" "law" (x. 8, xi. 60), Medic *ukku* "law."
- 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 *Uggu* "Law" (vi. 113), *ullukhuruggu*.
- 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 *Uia* (ii. 60, viii. 46), Turkic *oi* "to think."
- 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 *Ullan* "glad" occurs often, Akkadian *ul* and *Khul*.
- 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 *Ulli* (ii. 67, vii. 16, xii. 95) "being," Turkic *ol* "to be," cf. *ullu* "become" (vi. 113), *ululli* "to cause to become" (xi. 63). *Ūmun* "Lord." The text is doubtful.
- 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 *Uri* or *Huri* "announce" (iii. 116, vii. 31, viii. 56, x. 33, xii. 95), and in the passive "hear," Akkadian *urias* "hearing."
- 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎧𐎺𐎠 *Ūrukku* apparently *ú* "this," *ru* "doing," *ku* "for" "therefore," occurs several times.
- 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 *Usee* and *ussa* frequent, Turkic *us* "think" "understand."
- 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 *Ussaanas* "border" "extent" (x. 1) from *us* "long." See *Ussena*.
- 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 *Ushkena* (iv. 21) "previous," Akkadian *us*, Turkic *Eski* "old."
- 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 *Uskha* perhaps "exalted" (viii. 66), Turkic *üs* "high," Akkadian *us* "long."
- 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 *Ussena* "let extend" (x. 18). See preceding.
- 𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 *Ustaman* "to make extend" (x. 2). See preceding.
- 𐎠𐎫𐎠 𐎠𐎫𐎠 *Zabe* (i. 25) "host," Akkadian *Zab*. *Zaal* incomplete word (v. 70).

- 𐎲 𐎠𐎵𐎹 𐎠𐎵- *Zalāmsi* (xi. 77, 90, 97, 99, 106); Medic *Zal*, *Zalmu* "image" and *si* "in sight of."
- 𐎲 𐎲 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 *Zaanni* (vi. 76, viii. 59) "think" "consider," Mongol *Zan* "to think" or "believe." Compare *Anzannukh* (i. 18; ix. 129; xi. 50, 51) "to be considered," Turkic *San* "think."
- 𐎲 𐎠𐎵𐎹 *Zaru* "afterwards" (ix. 105), Akkadian *Zar* "afterwards."
- 𐎲 𐎲 𐎠𐎵𐎹 𐎠𐎵𐎹 *Zasalusa* "shall appear" (vii. 14), Akkadian *Zal* "appear."
- 𐎠𐎵𐎹 *Zu* "know," *Zuga* "you know" (iv. 11; viii. 67, 68), *Zununiin* "made know" (x. 4); Akkadian *Zu* "know." Probably *Zulu* "known" (vi. 127, 134), *Zuusa* "he knows" (iii. 102).
- 𐎠𐎵𐎹 𐎠𐎵𐎹 *Zubia* "kind" (xi. 72), Akkadian *Zubu* "kindness."
- 𐎠𐎵𐎹 𐎠𐎵𐎹 𐎲 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 *Zubzanien* "kind thinking" "propitious." See the preceding and *Zanni*.
- 𐎠𐎵𐎹 𐎠𐎵𐎹 𐎠𐎵𐎹 𐎠𐎵𐎹 *Zutarkhippi* "decision" (viii. 61), from *Zu* "to know" and *tar* "to decide" "fix" "judge."

FRONT OF TABLET.

Left-hand columns.

(Assyrian.)

I.

- (1) . . . (ni) mu u ri i a
Amenophis III.
- (2) . . . ia na
- (3) (ra) at ta SAR
. . (Dus)ratta King
- (4) ana ia si sul mu
to me peace
- (5) ana NINMES ca
to ladies thy
- (6) GUMMES GAL ka D.P. KURRAMES
Princes thy horses
ca ana . . . MES ca
thy to thy
- (7) ana KUR ca va ana mimmuca dangirlu
to Land thy and to all thine greatly
sulmu
peace

(The remainder in native language.)

- (8) . . ma a an na al (la ma) a an at ta a ar ti ip pi as MES
being received the replies
- (9) a an se e ni ip pi ú e (na?) ta a du ka a
brother me so come it
ru si il la a an
long distance
- (10) al la ma an ka sa KUR Ma a
received of the
as ri a an ni e en
Land of Egypt

- (11) *en* *ud du u uk ma a an KUR Kharpi*
 promoted Land Phœnician
u khe ni e pi na
 race the whole of
- (12) *i ri* *in ma a an ni*
 is it not?
- (13) *pa (sut)* *al la a an*
 expedition with
i nu me ni i in
 Lord when of them
- (14) *du u ni (i)* *an KUR*
 Land
Kharru u khe ni e pi
 Phœnician race the whole
- (15) *du ru be i in ni*
 obedient ruling
-
- (16) *a ti i ni i in ma a an ni i im ma ma an*
 this is it not thus it is
- (17) *an du ru be i in nu uk ku*
 subject no law
- (18) *se e ni ip pi an za a nu u khu pi tis sa an*
 brother to be considered it quickly
- (19) *ka a is KUR Khar pi u*
 Land Phœnicia race
ni e (en)
 thereof
- (20) *ma a an KUR SAR Mi i ni e*
 being Land King Minyan
im ma ma (a) an
 thus being
- (21) *la an id du ka a ra a la (a) an*
 with an order it presenting
- (22) *an su e ni e*
 peoples

- (23) *a . . . ti is ta ni ip pi*
 as far as able
- (24) *an te e es su e*
 offer people
- (25) *lu ú pa za za a be la*
 I also with an host
- (26) *tis sa an*
 quickly

A gap occurs here of 22 lines.

II.

- (49) *ar*
- (50) *ta la an ú ru*
 (sent ?) therefore
- (51) *pa za na a an su ra a*
 also proceeding matter to it
- (52) *ta a na as ta a ú . . . e ta pa za na a . . .*
 so it desiring it I have sent also saying
- (53) *a an du { dub } ni en a . . . gu ru man . . .*
um }
 written as wholly ?
- (54) *ri en na a an a ru man sa*
 immediately it shall be done
-
- (55) *pi úe ¶ Su ut tar na pi . . .*
 (father) my Suttarna who
sa a la
 favoured
- (56) *ni . . man sa ma a an am ma ti ip pi úe ni . .*
 commanded friend, my
- (57) *a an si ni se e ni ip pi*
 anew brother
- (58) *i in su ú ta ma an . . . as su si*
 received as an embassy

- (59) *an sa a la pa an . . ti ip pi ú pa za na a ri*
favoured highly the I again at once
- (60) *ta ma an me su te mi pi u i a*
when the meaning understanding
khi il lu si ik pa da a an
explained plainly
- (61) *pa za √ Ma ni e da Pa as si i id khi pi ú*
also from Menes the embassy my
ta
to thee
- (62) *se e ni ip pi ú e na a se e si i*
brother me to it seeing
i e e
clearly speaking
- (63) *e ni i ru sa e a la se a ni i in*
to explain reply? this?
- (64) *u sa la a na at ta an su e ni . . . sa an*
and sending to go people very
tis sa an
quickly
- (65) *ta su e e en . . an ti*
people thus to take
- (66) . . . *ma a an ni i ru sa e ta a nu sa a ú*
to explain informed
-
- (67) . . . *su uk as . . . u ul li en √ Ma ni en Pa as si i id khi*
become of Menes the embassy
ip
making
- (68) . . . *a an kha a (as) . . . pa a khi i i pi pi ikh ru . . .*
how much the obligation { strengthening?
making see?
ni es si
due

- (79) . . *ir ip pi ra ta a ta us se na a su ra*
to so to thee let it reach it to hand
‡ *Ma ni e en . . la ma an*
of Menes being given
- (80) . . (*id*) *khi pi us pi ru u ma a al la a an*
the embassy the tribute? it receiving
- (81) *ma a na su e ni ti pi e e na ta a nu sa a us*
from here of people message their informing its let
se na
reach

III.

- (82) *i ta a ni i in i en ni se e ni ip pi us ta a ti a*
this again? my brother so taking
- (83) . . . *e ni i in i en ni Se e ni ip pi i sa as ta a ta ú*
again? brother order so to thee I
- (84) *a nam mi be la an . . te e es su pa as AN Sa us be*
in condition of fulfilling the god Rimmon the god Sausbe
AN A ma nu ú (ti?) la an
the god Amanu thy with
- (85) *AN Si mi i gi ni e . . . be la an AN Ea a sarrí nie*
The god Simigiz . . . fulfilling god Ea King { this
ti la an ma an (ti?) be la a an of him
all grant fulfilling
- (86) . . . *e e en na . . us ti si a sa an tis sa an tis sa an taa*
of the gods . . . being sped? very quickly so
ta as ti te en
to thee desire giving
- (87) *E ra as se na . . ma a an sapi al la sa bi su ub*
may they will it will be hastened they being
sa ni en tis sa an tis sa an
propitious very quickly

(88) is ú ú ra ú sa as se na a ma a an
to me I may order it to be

ti pi e e MES
messages words

(89) *Pi ikh ru pa za ni en is ta ni ip pi sa ag gu us*
making see? also it, as — far-as-able (that) honor
a gu ú a
great

(90) *e (ti?) i i ta ta a na as ti en ni i ru sa e . . .*
is done (made) so it desiring to explain (very)
tis sa an
quickly

(91) *Y Gi li i as sa a an pa as si i id khi pi us ti pi*
Giliias this man he the envoy a message
an ti gu lu man sa
to take to utter is ordered

(92) *ma a an na a an khi il li se e na pi sa an*
make proceed making duty the him of
Y Ni im nu u ri i as
Amenophis III.

(93) *KUR Mi zi ri e pi ni es ip ri is ta se ab sut ta*
Land of Egypt the of he friend because home distant
a nu u sa
it he rules

(94) *URU I khi be ni URU Si mi i gi ni e pi ni e*
city Ikhiben city of Simigiz which it
ma a an ú nu man sa
being I rule

(95) *AN Si mi i gi ni e pi ma a an e e ni i pi at ta i i si*
god Simigiz of who being god paternal
a ku u sa
is adored



- (96) *At ta a ar ti i pi* *na a ma a an* *su ú al la ma an*
the reply to be spoken being received
tase e e na MES
because words
- (97) *tis sa an tis sa an* *gi hu u su a* *sa ar ra ma a an*
very quickly in reply to be despatched
se e na a *ab be*
to duty whom
- (98) *KUR SAR Mi i ni* *si man si* *a ti i ni i in* *ta se en*
of Minyan land in presence of this because of
id du u us ta
I ordered
- (99) *Se e na* *(pa ?) an* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} e (ti?) \\ UN \end{array} \right\}$ *i e e* *im ma ma an*
duty high doing thus he is
ta se e ni e pi *pi ri i ta*
because of which sent
- (100) *Si i a* *ir ka a mu u sa ma a an* *tis sa an* ∇ *Gi li i as*
seeing him all as to ordered quick Gilias
ta se *ni e pi*
because which
- (101) *id du* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} dub \\ um \end{array} \right\}$ *mi ma a na an* *khi il li nu be e ni*
completing? make speak? making not fully
na an *kha ar ri en*
it to write
- (102) *na a zu u sa* *a ti i ni in* *AN Si mi i gi ni e pi ni e*
it he knows this God Simigiz self it
im ma ma an
thus is
- (103) *Am ma man sa* *sa bu ú* *kha a at ta a an* *tis sa an*
he is besought this my man speeding quickly
a ti i ni i in
this
- (104) *ta a* *an khi . . .* *ka du u sa* *i i al la a ni i* *in*
so to carry back voice he shall make to show

- (105) *se e ni ip (. . .) ú e ni e pi KUR SAR Mi i ni pi*
 my brother that which of the Minyan land
e ru us ki i in na
 the wish bearing
- (106) *e ti i . . ta a na as se na i i al li e ni i in*
 done so it let avail having journeyed
- (107) *se e ni ip pi ta se e ni e pi e ti . . ta ti pi e na MES*
 brother because which done messages
- (108) *e ru u us . . ta a nu u sa as se na ti la . . . a an*
 the wish (of) information let speak complete making
- (109) *SUR Si mi i gi . . . AN A ma a nu ú la an AN*
 servant of god Simigiz god Amanu with god
E a a Sar ri ni e el la a an
 Ea King the holy with
- (110) *se e ni ip pi . . a KUR SAR Mi i ni i pi al la a an*
 brother him Land King Minyan receiving
e ti i ta khu tan na
 made this must be
- (111) *be en ti en . . ir sa a al la a an se kin na a*
 done of thee he favoured of favour message it
al la a an
 receiving
- (112) *i i al la a ni i in se e ni ip pi us ta se e ni e pi e ti i ta*
 showing my brother because the same he made
- (113) *ti pi e na . . ta a nu u sa a as se na AN Si mi i gi ni e pi*
 messages information let speak god Simigiz of
E ni i pi
 god
- (114) *At ta i i pi e ti i ta an be la a an AN Si mi gi iz*
 paternal made to fulfil The god Simigiz
a ri e ta
 adorable
- (115) *se e ni ip pi ú a se e ni ip pi ú ul la a an ti sa*
 brother to me brother I glad by thee
a an na
 favoured

- (116) *ú ú ri a a as (se?) na ti pi e na MES su ú al la ma an MES*
 me let hear messages received
- (117) *ta a ni il li e ta a al la a an a ti i ni i in*
 to be understood word so receiving this
ma a an na al la ma an
 first being received
-
- (118) *a nu ú a ma a an ti pi e ni e pi se e ni ip pi khi su ú*
 at once what was sent brother earnestly
khu (be) u
 heard
- (119) *. a al li e se e ni ip pi ú e na pa as si i id khi . .*
 it received brother me he the envoy
- (120) *. . . na a úa . . . ú ma ni il bi khu sa . . .*
 to me
- (121) *. . . . i la e ni ip pi ú ul la an kha si en*
 brother I glad when
pi kha la
 what remains
- (122) *. . . il i an si i id khi ip pi en na a an*
 understanding to envoy speaking
pa as si i id khi ip
 envoy
- (123) *. . . . ku sa a ú ú na a al la a an se e ni ip pi ta*
 my child of me myself handed? brother to thee

End of the left-hand columns of Front of Tablet.

FRONT OF TABLET.

Right-hand columns.

The first three lines have been destroyed.

IV.

- (4) *sa a al la a an se e ni ip pi us su ra a*
with favour my brother matter to it
- (5) *tis sa an . . en ta i i a at ta ma an ta a nu si en pi ta a . .*
speedily as besides to be sent information as the thus
- (6) *se e ni ip pi ú e ni e pi as ti i i pi in na ma a ni . .*
brother me what desirous to make possess
- (7) † *Gi li i an † Ma ni en na a an kha su u sa ú id ta a as*
Giliás Menes them of together of me given
sa . . .
power
- (8) *ma az sa kha a at ta aan kha a rat ta ma an*
land distant to going being decided
se e ni ip pi ú
my brother (to)
- (9) *As ti i i pi ni kha a ri i ta ta a . . ú ru u li e pi a ú . . .*
desirous to write so I doing it I
- (10) *tis sa an tis sa an se e ni ip pi ú e ni e* $\left. \begin{array}{l} EN \\ en \end{array} \right\}$ *nu*
very quickly brother me it D.P. Province
ukh kha ti . . . nu ukh kha
thy ruled
- (11) *man lu be khe e pi a ti la an su ga e E si ip*
jointly race all to which completely you know Prince
pi as dan a a pi ad du ga
great to it you named

- (12) *se e ni ip pi ta a ma a an ti pi su uk ku (khal?) li*
 brother so being message full hastening?
se e ni ip pi us sa . . .
 my brother
- (13) *kha si en a ti i ni i in †Ma ni e na an se e ni ip pi ú . . .*
 when this Menes word telling my brother
- (14) *Pa as si i id khi ú ú na in na ma a ni i in ni ri a ri a*
 an embassy of myself to make possess to show
ku u . . .
 a record
- (15) *ú a du ra a an ni ma a an se e ni ip pi us (su ka?) a an*
 to me to be kept my brother at same time
ni ip pi . . .
 himself
- (16) *gi pa a nu u sa a as se in na ma a ni i in †Ma ni es a a . . .*
 a decree ordering to make possess Menes
- (17) *Bu uk lu sa a pa za na a an KUR SAR Mi i ni ip pi*
 in aid its also to his speaking the Minyan
ú an na ma . . .
 my ready
- (18) *Pi i ra tar ti ip pi la an dup pa as se na dub be*
 all judgment with may he serve the letter
khi il lu si . . .
 explaining
- (19) *†Ma ni e ta i i al li e ni i in se e ni ip pi us*
 Menes to thee making travel my brother
- (20) *su ú al la ma an gi pa a nu u sa a as se na i i al*
 being received a decree let order to be
li e ni
 made travel
- (21) *dup pa ku u us khe na MES su ú al la ma an*
 tablet in the previous things being received
se e ni ip pi . . .
 brother

- (22) *gi pa a nu u sa a as se na khu ub bu ta as sa a*
 a decree let order rolled up? being borne
al la a an
- (23) . . . *man li man mu khu ub lu lu us te la an*
 being ordered as to rolled up? the letter delivered
su ú
 to be received
- (24) . . . (*na?*) *a ku lu us te la an be te el la a an a . .*
 the letter delivered making . . giving sanction
-
- (25) *man sa a al la a an tis sa an ka na bu ú*
 favourably quickly. Voice of this I
us su im kha . . .
 understanding . . .
- (26) *khi il lu si i id ta a an KUR SAR*
 making clearly the
Mi i ni ip pi
 Minyan
- (27) *e ta at ta ma an pi id ra ta ar ti ip pi id . . .*
 made go either the judgment
- (28) *ta at ta ma an a a el li e ni i in*
 made go it sanctioned
- (29) *i na MES du be na a ma a an su ú*
 command make to be sent being
la ma an du u bu
 received
- (30) *e la an su ú al la ma an ú an na a an . .*
 sanction being received I preparing?
- (31) *KUR SAR Mi i ni ip pi ú a . . . ra*
 The Minyan to me
tar ti ip pi
 judgment

The tablet is here broken and a gap of 27 lines occurs.

V.

- (59) *la aú a i (dan) te man na e tis sa an*
 my gift it was to be delivered very
tis sa
 quickly
- (60) *a se e ni ip pi ú ut ta a an na a be li e*
 brother sending to it fulfilling
- (61) *as sa at ta ma an pa ta a ra a al la a an mi*
 sent being followed
- (62) *AN MES e e en na su us na ak ki du u pi en*
 D.P. of the gods word they observe being as
khi zu ú khu us
 earnestly urged
- (63) *Ai i in ip du li e pi gi ip se ma a an KUGI*
 it is, the make give like as received gold
se e ni ip
 brother
- (64) *Ma ka a an ni ip pi ú paza na gi pa a ni e ta an du*
 Land all it of self I again having decreed to give
ú a at ta a . . .
 I it send
- (65) *te man na e tis sa an tis sa an bi zu us te e pi*
 to be delivered very quickly two-fold gift
ti si ip pi an ma . . .
 the King of,
- (66) *Su e ni a nam { is } la a an pa sa du se e ni ip pi ta*
 people of understood also is made brother to thee
gu lu sa ú pa sut i . .
 it goes? I despatching.
-
- (67) *Pa sa du ma a an † Mani en na ma an se e ni ip pi ú e*
 To proceed of Menes as said brother me
pa as si i id . .
 embassy

- (68) *se e ni ip pi us sa ma an a gu ka ra as ti en*
 brother being understood it exceedingly desiring
a i la an na be . . .
 being to fulfil . . .
- (69) *du { dub } ni i i si im khe na si in si ni be e ru*
um }
 being written how all region alike anew making give
im khe na . . .
 all region . . .
- (70) *KUGI su as se na an zu su as la a ku u*
 gold let be taken an addition for gift
sa a an ni i . . . ú pi
 proclaiming
- (71) *ag gu dan ni kha a ar ri e dan ta la me ni e dan*
 by word of mouth } by writing } by explanation }
 it was said } it was written } it was interpreted }
an ku u
 to establish
- (72) *bi zu us ta te u na e tis sa an i i e me e ni*
 two-fold to thee to render quickly after this wise
- (73) *se e ni ip pi us gi pa a ni e ta a am ma ma an*
 my brother decreeing making prepare
an du ú e
 to give, me
- (74) *As ti i e e te u na e tis sa an*
 desiring to render quickly
-
- (75) *ti . . . e na a an is ta ni ip pi sa AN te es su (pa ?) as*
 as far as possible god Rimmon
AN A ma nu ú
 god Amanu
- (76) *ta MES u sa a as se na an za a an ni ú nu*
 witnesses, and let it be granted to consider I not
ú me e ni i in za al
 I until them

- (77) *ta a du ka a ri a nam mi be la a an sa a at ti*
 so assuring as regards fulfilling all that which
is ta ni ip pi sa
 as far as possible
- (78) *Is ta ni ip pi us be la a an su uk ku u ut (ti?)*
 as far as ability to fulfil full
- (79) *KUR Ma a as ri a a ni ma a an KUR SAR*
 Land of Egyptians first to Land of King
Mi i ni a nu ú ta ni
 Minyan
- (80) *. . ta ni a sa ma ka sug gu ú ud du u*
 as far as going land all settle . make
- (81) *. . te e en KUR Ma a as ri a an ni e pi*
 delivering the Egyptians
Mi i in ni e pi
 the Minyans
- (82) *se e ni ip pi en na a an (tin?) pi u khe ni e pi*
 brother as saying the Phoenician race all of it . .
man i in ni e pi
 ruling
- (83) *i a a la an ú ú khal ki KUR SAR Mi i in*
 lying I myself Chalcis Land King Minyan
an ni si
 in
- (84) *ia ti la a an ú ú khal ki sa a at ti . . ip pi ú as*
 extending I myself Chalcis all that which . . . I
- (85) *ai la an ti pi e na an ni ta la me na man*
 being messages not of interpreter ed
pa za na sa
 again
- (86) *As du ka a ar ri ip pi si AN MES e e ni ip pi*
 a record in confirmation D.P. the gods
su us ta
 word

- (87) *AN e (e) ni ip pi . . . se e en AN Te e es su u ub be AN*
 D.P. The god granting the god Rimmon the
A ma a nu ú e . . . in ni
 god Amanu
- (88) *be en . . nu ub pi (la?) a pi en na ma an at ta a ar ti*
 so being not which giving as said reply
 *su u pa za na*
 giving again
- (89) *ta a du ka a ru si ik ki i i e e en man li*
 so become it made find clearly as commanded
za e na a an
 also
- (90) *ti pi e na MES su ú al la ma an e ti ip pi sa*
 messages received what to do
ma a an
 being
- (91) *a ti i ni i in ma a an na al la ma an KUR SAR*
 this previously taken Land King
Mi la a u e . . id ta
 Minyan giving to
- (92) *e ti ip pi . . la a an i e . . . i a as an . . ta a . .*
 what to do it with so
ri . . . la
- (93) *KUR SAR Mi i in na su ú al la ma an se e ni ip pi ú*
 of the Minyans being received brother I
 *an*
- (94) *sug ga ni e pi an ti pi e pi an e ti (ni?) dan*
 the arranging to give word which of was made
 *ma an*
- (95) *ta a du ka a ar ri e a ti i ni i in ma a an na*
 so confirming this first
at ta ma an
 spoken (or sent)



VI.

- (96) *Ma ni en na ma an se e ni ip pi us a gu ú ka (ra) as ti en*
of Menes as said my brother it greatly desiring
. . . *a i i in*
is
- (97) *Dub bu u pa za ni ki im ra a at ta an be en du pa za . .*
this letter also to explain writing making give also . .
. . . *a ru u si man ul la a an*
gladly
- (98) *KUR SAR Mi i in na pa as si i id khe na su ú al la ma*
of the Land King Minyan embassy his received
. . . *an . . . nu . . . ri en na a ni*
. at once
- (99) *man ul la KUR SAR Mi i in na su ú al la ma an bu ú*
gladly of Land King Minyan received this I
ra rat ti pi dub be
made write which letter
- (100) *Ai dan a ú ú rat ta ma an a a al la li pa a úa*
was it for me written papyrus leaf to me
at ta ma an a i i in
sent being
- (101) *Ma ni en na ma an ma a an nu ukku a a ub bu ú*
of Menes as said { before } not right it which I
{ here }
usse bi i il la as ta a am ma ma an
understand knowledge so prepared
- (102) *i a a la an ta a na ú man ul la a pi e es si il la ma an*
(only if?) so it I with pleasure what being com-
a ti i ni i in
manded? This
- (103) *se e ni ip pi e en ta a du ka a ar ri is (Giz?) ú ú ra*
brother saying so confirm thou proclamation to me
khi is si mu na an
this ordering? as to thereof

- (104) *su ú al la ma an i i u ta a al la ma an pi ri ip pi*
 being received clear and intelligible altogether
-
- (105) Υ *Ma ni en na ma an pa as si i id khi ip ni i ri tis sa an . .*
 of Menes as said an embassy makes to come quickly
. . . . ú ru uk
. . . . therefore
- (106) *. . . su a a ni KUR SAR Mi i in na sa su ú ani sa a na*
. . . his news Land King Minyan of in reception its to be
ma ma an a nam mi
favoured as regards
- (107) *A ti i ni i in KUR SAR Mi i ni ip pi a an*
 this D.P. D.P. to the Minyan
Se e ni ip pi us
 my brother
- (108) *Pa nam i ma a an i i im ma ma an pi ru u sa*
 certified clearly thus being all he
(us ?) se
 understanding
- (109) *i i { dub } mi i im ma ma an KUR SAR Mi i ni ip pi*
{ um }
 wholly thus being the Minyan
ta a nu u sa a as . . . ir ru ku
 . . . let him give information
- (110) *se e ni ip pi us sa ma an \Upsilon Ma ni en te khu u sa an . . .*
 brother being understood of Menes as delivered
ú e ma a an ri
 me first
- (111) *Pa nam i ma a an i i im ma ma an ú ru uk ku i . . .*
 certified clearly thus being therefore
e ma a ni i ti pi
 message
- (112) Υ *Ma ni es se e ni ip pi ta ka be li e ta a . ma ma an*
 Menes brother the rest finishing so (begun ?)
pi ikh ri
 showing

- (113) *lik khi ma a an se e ni ip pi us sa an ki i (li?) . . . la a . . .*
 as to what being brother understands between
SUR (pi?) us si ik ki in
 the servant understood
- (114) *ullu khu ug gu ú pa za se e ni ip pi ú an*
 (become this law?) I also my brother
- (115) *su u pi an ti pi ip pi an gu li a'a*
 the same it giving which it coming
- (116) *lik khe e en pa za la gu li a a ma pa za . . . ma a an*
 as to all saying also gift coming also
lik kha guli a a
 as to this coming
-
- (117) *Pa za du ma an se e ni ip pi e en na as ni en*
 also said Brother word thus
ma an se e ni ip pi us
 here my brother
- (118) *Pa as su man sa khu ra a ma a an*
 chief, will rule protecting
e e ra
- (119) *Pa as su man sa ú a*
 chief will rule to me
- (120) *ú ú nu u us ta ma a an se e ni ip pi*
 of me extended brother
- (121) *Ma ni en na ma a an se e*
 of Menes as said brother
- (122) *Te man na e tis sa an tis sa an*
 to be delivered very quickly
- (123) *ta a nu si ub pi ú*
 informing which I
- (124) *Ki i pa as si ip pi ta a nu e*
 together with the leader so
- (125) *Khi si im du ú ú pa za ma as si ip*
 I also
-

- (126) ¶ *Ma ni e ra as si . . . ú . . . te na ta a*
of Menes being desired I (authority?) so
- (127) *ul la ma an im a a su lu*
gladdened it known
- (128) *ú e en khu ra a ti . . . su ú*
me protecting receive
- (129) *se e du ul la a an bi*
propitious glad
- (130) *A khu la ma an a a*
given
- (131) *ma . . . na al la ma an a ti i ni i (in)*
being received this
- (132) *an ti il la ma an ma a an nu { li } e pi a an ma a an*
to be completed not far
{ sut }
-
- (133) *i nu ú me e ni i in se e ni ip*
Lord I when of them brother
- (134) *Khu ra a a as si a a su lu*
protecting its to it known
- (135) *i nu ú me e ni i in se e du u ri*
Lord I when of them gracious

End of the Front of the Tablet.

BACK OF THE TABLET.

Left-hand columns.

VII.

- (1) *Ti pi (en) ma a an sug ku se e ni ip pi us*
Message as made filling My brother
se e ni ip pi ú a an
Brother to me he

- (11) *Tis sa an* *khe en ni ma a an* *gu ru* *khi il lu*
 quickly all { said } { every } making
 { produced } { all }
ar ki ú pa za *ni khi il lu si*
 effort & also to explain
- (12) *tis si at du i i* { *bar* } *a an na at an* *ka ti a*
 { *ra* }
 at length speaking clearly having been written, speech thy to
ma a an *se e ni ip pi* *se e na a* *an na e*
 here brother reception none
- (13) *ma a an ni i ni i* (*in*), *ti si an ti* *ú* *na a ni i in*
 is it not those things before thee to put I telling them
pa khe an ti a nam
 care to take as regards
- (14) *Khi il lu si is* *ka dup pa a ni i in* *ti pi an ti*
 explanation language { tablet } this of message to take
 { servant }
za za lu sa *e* *se e ni ip pi sa an*
 shall appear { word } brother his of
 { speech }
- (15) *KUR SAR Mi i ni i pi a a i i ta na pi ta la ma*
 Land King Minyan the what said which translation
e ti i ta *ta a na as du khu*
 made know thou fully
- (16) *Pa nu ú* *ul li* *e ni i in* *i i is khe e pi ti e al la a an*
 sure not I being of them how all spoken
SUR pi se e ni ip pi da
 the servant from brother
- (17) *ka ti ik ku* *se e ni ip pi da a ma a an* *a si en ni*
 in thy language brother having spoken given it
e ni i in *ti pi* *SUR pi*
 of them message the servant
- (18) *i i a am ma ma an* *ka ti li* *e pi* *su u pi ni e*
 foreign being: in thy speech the word the same it
e ti ip pi *ú e*
 what to make for me

- (19) *KUR SAR Mi i ni ip pi ú e ni e e ti e ti i e e*
 D.P. D.P. the Minyan me it making tell
se e ni ip pi ú ul la a an tim me
 Brother I am glad as
- (20) *a ú e na a am ma ma an kha sa a si pi a en a i la an*
 this preparing to speak comrade his as being
 † *Ma ni es* † *Gi li i a al la a an*
 Menes with Giliás
- (21) *gu li a a ma i i e na a ma a ni i in* † *Ma ni es*
 coming again preparing they Menes
 † *Gi (li) i a la a an ka be li ta*
 with Giliás all knowing
- (22) *su u pi ni e e ti ip pi ú e e KUR SAR*
 the same it what to make for me word D.P. D.P.
Mi i ni ip pi ú e ni e e ti e
 the Minyan me it making
- (23) *lik* { *khal* } *la a an pal da a la an kha sa a si il la a i*
 as to what remains disputed mutually making
 { *khas* }
ni il la a an Se e ni ip pi us
 to be agreed My brother
- (24) *a pi en na a ni i in gu ru su ú ú da i i a*
 what they are made say wholly receiving : to me speech
am ma ma an khi il lu li e pi
 foreign being. Done which
- (25) *se e ni ip pi ú e ni e e ti i e e KUR SAR Mi i ni ip pi*
 brother for me it word making D.P. D.P. The Minyan
ni e e ti i e e
 he word making
- (26) *Kha sa a si pi al li i il la a an ai la an* † *Gi li i as*
 comrade received being Giliás
 † *Ma ni e el la a an*
 with Menes
- (27) *gu li a a ma i i e ma a ni i in* † *Gi li i as* † *Ma ni es*
 coming again? being they Giliás Menes
sa a an gu li e da
 these having come

- (28) *Se eni ip ú e nie . . . e ti i e e* KUR SAR Mi ni ni pi
 Brother me it (word) making word D.P. D.P, Minyan
ni e e ti i e e
 of, word making
- (29) *Lik kha al la an pa al da a la an kha sa a si il li i i*
 as to what remains disputed mutually making
la a an
 agree
-
- (30) *Pa za du ma a an i i al li e ni i in ti pi e na MES*
 To proceed they having travelled messages
se ú al la ma an
 being received
- (31) *se e ni ip pi us ka . . . sa a as se na ú ú ri a a as se na*
 my brother . . . let order me let hear
an be la a an
 to be accomplished
- (32) *e e ma na a . . . am kha ta a (nu ?) sa a ú ti sa a*
 word thereof it is besought information this thou to be
ma a an se e ni ip pi ú e sug ga ni en
 favourable brother me agreeing
- (33) *Pa ti ti pi e ni en khi su ú khu si ub pi as ti i in*
 your settlement thereof earnestly urging, what wishing
se e ni ip pi ú e
 brother me
- (34) *a ru u sa ú se e ni ip pi ú e ni e en ti sa a an na*
 thereunto I brother me if so be thou favourest
si ra as se
 order receiving
- (35) *Pa za du u pa za | Ma ni e na an se e ni ip pi ú e*
 Besides also Menes him brother for me
pa as si i id khi pa za du u pa za
 an embassy besides also
- (36) *| Gi li i a na an | Ar te e es su pa na an | A sa a li in*
 of Giliias and Artessupas Asalis
na a an pa as si i id khi ip pi
 he the envoy



- (37) Υ *Gi li i a na an ta la mi* Υ *A sa a li in na a an*
 Gilias' interpreter Asalis him
dub sar ri ip pi ú pa sa ni
 scribe my also he
- (38) *ki i bu su ú us si se e ni ip pi da al la a an*
 as this my writing understanding brother speech with
ni i ru sa e tis sa an
 to make clear quickly
- (39) *Pa as su sa a ú se e ni ip pi ú ul la a an pi ri e e ta*
 Chief he this my brother I gladly have sent
-
- (40) *se e ni ip pi ú ul la a an pa as si i id khi ip pi Ku sa*
 brother I glad the envoy a throne
gus gi a en ?
us ti pi a en } *NA KUGI*
 gold
 covering its } *D.A D.A*
- (41) *se e ni ip pi ú ud da a an si la khu su us ti pi a en*
 brother brings (send) brilliant the gift thy it as
pa as si i id khi ip pi la an
 with the envoy
- (42) *se e ni ip pi us* { *(EGA ?)* } *en na ak ki en (MU ?) pi*
su (ra ka ti ?)
 my brother's gift a crown in exchange for the throne
a ab ta a an gu ru ú ut
 to thy house it back I send
- (43) *Se e ni ip pi ú e ma a an gi e el ti ni ri se kha*
 Brother for me one of wives thy to please this
si i i li
 being seen
- (44) *bi* { *kar* } *an ti is tin na a an tis sa an*
gan
 it let to take here from proceeding quickly
se e ni ip pi ú e ni e si ri el ti i pi
 brother me it order sanctioning
-

- (53) *id da in na a an pa as si i id khi ip pi ra su ka*
 power gave (as) the envoy at same time
man li e en se e ni ip pi us
 ordered my brother
- (54) *Pa as si i id khe pa as sa ri ip pi a en* † *Ma ni en na ma an*
 an envoy as a conductor of Menes as told
pa as si en a i ma a ni i in
 to conduct preferring
- (55) † *Ma ni en se e ni ip pi us pa as si a a ma*
 of Menes my brother the conducting
man { sut } ma a an pa as se e e da
li }
 having ordered he has conducted
- (56) *ú ú ri ub pi pa za na a an se e ni ip pi*
 I announce what also there of brother
us sa ma a an pal la a en
 being understood { timely } as
 { desirable ? }
- (57) *u i a ma a an se e ni ip pi sa an* † *Ma ni en na ma an*
 considered brother ordering of Menes as told
pa as si en
 to conduct

- (58) *Se e ni ip pi ú e ma a an as ti an ni a ru u sa*
 Brother me desiring time? there unto
us se ta a ki ma a an an ti
 understanding so home to take
- (59) (*Ma { a } an ni ?*) *se e ni ip pi us sa a an*
za }
 is it not { so } brother understanding
 { think }
pal la en a i ma a ni in ma a nu pa a ta e
 time } as preferred is it not binding
 decision }

- (60) <<𐎗𐎗𐎗 (i?)e id da gu li e i d da ta a an (ki?) ma a an
 XXIII month to come so her home
 an ti ma a an ni
 to take is it not
- (61) tis . . an ma a an na a an se pi a an si ip pi ú pa za
 to be hastened this accepting court my also
 na al la a an zu tar kki ip pi al la ma an
 it with the decision taken
- (62) el la ma an sa ta a al la a an SAL
 sanctioned being resolved D.P.
 Ni e ri ip pi ú la an { (duk?) } i da
 { eti }
 (wife?) my with being { satisfied }
 { made? }
- (63) e . . (zu?) u sa I SAL la a an ab zu sa a
 the maiden deep to heart
 ul la ma an me e na ma a an ki ka e
 being pleased when of it? talking
- (64) (pi?) a as na e na a nu dan ta al la an AN MES
 who happy she news not { must } be said D.P.
 { can }
 e e ni ip pi al la a an pal la in
 with the gods the { decision }
 { time }
- (65) AN MES (dan?) ni al la a an se e ni ip pi ú e
 D.P. with the strong gods brother for me
 na pal la I SAL la ma an a i i in
 it deciding } the girl being told ?
 its time }
- (66) ki an nu ú pa za na si la a khu us kha
 whether I also her brilliantly exalted
 ir ni a i i in ni i ir sa e
 it to be not desiring
- (67) SAL a an na a za al ta zu ga pa ti
 the girl advantaged you know surely
 a i i in
 it is

IX.

- (85) *Ma ni es*
Menes
- (86) *i in*
- (87) *ni i in*
- (88) *na ma an . . . na a an*
- (89) *sa SAL Ta a du khe e pa*
D.P. Tadukhepa
- (90) *sa i su ú khu si i in*
taken alike
- (91) *us ta a an si i a ma a an*
being made see
- (92) *ú pa sa i su ú khu si ik ku u pa za na*
I also & also it
- (93) *ta ma an i si sa a la pa an*
how favoured highly
- (94) *e pi a ni i in KUR SAR Mi i in ni . .*
Minyan kingdom
- (95) *a ni la ú KUR Sa an ni ra sa . . .*
Land Zoan to she
- (96) *ta a du . . ri im mu ú us se ni e . . . a an*
I understanding
- (97) *pa { sut } u mu { sut } i in KUR Ma a . . . na*
 li } li }
expedition distant Land of Egypt
- (98) *an at ta a ar ti . . . ra MES*
reply
- (99) *{ sut } u mu u { sut } i in at ta . . . ip pi us*
 li } li }
expedition distant go
- (100) *gi id ta ar ti as ta a as se na*
far back let carry

- (101) *ta a as sa khe en ni e ma a ni i in*
 carries all as it
- (102) *ta khu si kha su u ma a al la a an*
 urging together
- (103) *khi il li ú bu u su u ti . . . in an be la a an*
 by making my to be fulfilled
- (104) *i in ki nam ri na an . . ti i pi an takh as su ú*
- (105) *a as ri a an (na?) sa za ru pa za ru a*
 (Land) Egyptian it in afterwards also making
ma a la an
 (dwelling?)
- (106) *khi i su sa a pa za na a an . . mi i pi an*
 also
e ti i tan
 was done
- (107) *ga an ti na a an . . . (na?) a an ni ti pi*
 to be taken is it not message
- (108) *ni ip pi us sa a an . . . la en i nu ú ma*
 understanding Lord I land
a ni i in
 to their
- (109) *ka be li e id khu . . . am ma ma an man la e*
 prepared
- (110) *ú ul la a an . . kha sa a si pi a en*
 I rejoice how much perceiving
-
- (111) *ip pi an man na an . . tis sa an pi ikh*
 quickly
ru { dub } me
 { um }
- (112) *ú ra ú se e ni ip . . en na an ip khu ub ti in*
 brother
- (113) *ru us be la a an ta . . du ka a is ti si ip pi*
 fulfilling say the king
sa an
 him

- (114) *us KUR SAR Mi i ni ip . . .* $\left. \begin{matrix} at \\ sa \end{matrix} \right\}$ *a an ka*
 D.P. D.P. the Minyan all
su u ul la in
 finishing
- (115) . . . *a ni khe . . . ip ri ip pi sa i e ni i in se ir*
 friend he by
ri e dan
 gold
- (116) .. (*e?*) *e en ni ip pi dan se kin ni khu dan ni ip pi*
 the gods by favour message . . . was the same
as sa a khu il li dan
 being it which was agreed
- (117) . . *a i be la an si ni e be la ma an . . . MES e e*
 fulfilled anew to be finished D.P. of the
en na su us na ak ki li en
 gods word observed
- (118) *AN* $\left\{ \begin{matrix} sut \\ te \end{matrix} \right\}$ *e es su pa as Ama a nu ú be la a an*
 D.P. The god Rimmon, Amanu fulfilling
ip ri ip pi su us at ta ip pi su us
 friend's word father's word
- (119) *se ikh ru us be la a an a ti i ni in ma a an na*
 safely fulfilling this before
be la ma an . . . be la a an
 to be fulfilled fulfilled
- (120) *la a an a ti i ma ni i in . . . ra a ti la an*
 it word their all
is ta ni ip pi . . . be la a an
 as far as possible fulfilling
- (121) *se e en . . .* ($\frac{tu}{ma}$) *kha khe sal lu uk kha a be la a an*
 all to handmaiden fulfilling
ta a du ka a ri is i nu ú me e ni i in
 confirmation king when I of them
- (122) *su an ma pi ri i ma in ta a ti a a nam mi*
 so giving as regards
be la a an is ta ni ip pi sa
 fulfilling as far as possible

- (123) *ka a ar ri e pi ag gu us sa a an a gu ú e*
 the confirmation strengthening it greatly
is ta ni ip pi sa an
 as far as is possible
- (124) *sa a ri il li e ta i i al la ni i in KUR SAB*
 increased besides showing D.P. the
Mi i in na MES
 Minyans
- (125) *al la ma an e e se ni dup pa as se na AN*
 received multitudes? let serve D.P. god
Si mi i gi ni . . . la a as se na
 Simigiz of let it be sanctioned
- (126) *a an su ú . . . la ma an e ti ip pi sa i i . . .*
 received which done
li e pi a nam { mil } la a an
 is }
 understood
- (127) *e pi ú (mun ?) Y Du us ra*
 Lord Dusratta
KUR Khar ti khe e pi ni e . .
 Land Phoenician thy all . . .
- (128) *im mu ri i an KUR Ma a as ri . . . ni e pi*
 Amenophis III. The Egyptian
ir ni a i la . . .
 him of being
- (129) *is ta ni a sa an za a an nu ukh kha . .*
 as far as going to be considered
in na al la ma . . .
 belonging
- (130) *a takh kha . . . ta a du ka a ri*
 making confirm
 . . . *ti la e tis sa an*
 completing quickly

End of the left-hand columns of Back of Tablet.

BACK OF TABLET

Right-hand columns.

X.

- (1) *Se e ni ip pi us sa a an as ti sa a ru u sa KUR*
 Brother thy border in region Land
pal Mus ri e
 opposite Egypt
- (2) *Pa za du ma a an a ru u sa ú ú pa za*
 also to proceed there unto I myself also
id da u us ta ma a an se e . . ip . . .
 being ordered to extend brother . . .
- (3) *i nu u pa za sar ri an ti sa e si ra pi e es*
 Lord and also King to take this, order thou
se e ni i in pi (a ?) . . an ni
 obedient
- (4) *su e an ti bi zu nu u ni i in ta la mi ta*
 people to take them making know by interpreter
takh khu li ik ku in na a an
 interpreted the possession
- (5) *a ti i ni i in ma a an ni i im ma ma i a a an ú ú*
 this is it not clear thus made be I myself
Kkal ki ma a na su e ni
 Chalcis land of peoples
- (6) *Khar ru mi KUR SAR Mi i ni i a an ú ú*
 Phoenicia-west of Land King Minyan I myself
Khal ki ma a na su e ni
 Chalcis land of peoples
- (7) *gam ma a as ri a a an ni KUR SAR Mi i ni*
 conquering whatever, is made subject D.P. D.P. Minyan
se e ni ip pi ú e GIZ as ti is
 brother for me proclaim thou
- (8) *se e ni ip pi ta ti i kha nu u ku ma a as se ni*
 brother's word enough no one hence forth
su e ni na pi uk ku ú pa za
 of people what my right also

- (17) *ma a an nu uk ka ti la an a a pi la takh kha*
 being people all whom conquered
se e ni ip pi ú a al la a an
 brother to me taking
- (18) (*URU*) *Khar a nu sa a us se na im pa za nu sa a*
 city Harran into it let reach region also of no King
ul la ma an pi ri e da a al la a an
 enjoyed being taxed
- (19) *se e ni ip pi us ú na a la an*
 my brother I am going forth
- (20) *se e ni ip pi ú e ti i kha ni (gis kha) la an*
 brother me fully it with this proclamation
ib su si i la an
 making to be founded
-
- (21) *Pa za du ma a an in na me e ni i in se e ni ip pi*
 To proceed these possessions of brother
ú e as ti ú ni e id da
 for me my desire it expressed
- (22) *in na ma ni i in se e ni ip pi da ti i kha nu u*
 the making possess from brother enough not
ul li e id da
 being spoken
- (23) *ú si ip pi ú pa za na ma a an su u pi ni e en na*
 I & my court also being told the same it as it
id ti tin ú si ip pi pa za na a an
 was sent my court also proceeds
- (24) *ti i kha ni tin se e ni ip pi us sa a an KUR SAR*
 by royal command My brother them? Land King
Mi i ni su ú an na ma an
 Minyan Land having made receive
- (25) *bu uk lu us ti en man ul la a an KUR SAR Mi i in*
 your aid it joyfully of the Minyan
na su ú al la ma an
 land accepted

- (26) *Pi i ra te e na a an pa as si i id khe na MES su u*
of authorization messages being
al la ma an dub lu la in
received by tablet
- (27) *ti i kha ni i tin na a an se e ni ip pi da ni kha a ri i in*
by royal command thereof from brother writing
- (28) *se e ni ip pi ú e ni e a a i e e nu te es ti tin su ú an*
brother I them it telling no grant by thee to be
na ma an
made receive
- (29) *in na ma a ni i in se e ni ip pi ú e ni e a a i e e*
of giving possession brother I them it telling
nu te es te e id da
no grant given
- (30) *ta ri i te na an sug khe ni e e tin khai e ni la an*
being stopped fighting by word which was spoken
Se ni ip pi us
Brother's
- (31) *pi i ra te e na su ú al la ma an (Pa_a?) as si i id khe na a an*
authorization being received of embassies
su ú al la ma an
being received
- (32) *man ul la a an KUR SAR Mi i in na su ú al la ma an*
gladly of the Minyan kingdom received
ma ri a na ar ti la an
marching back
- (33) *se e ni ip pi us ú ú ri a a as se na pi sa i na an*
my brother let me hear what desirable?
se e ni ip pi
brother
- (34) *be te es ti e na an ni kha a a ri si ri*
fully the grant thy of these things to write ordering
en na a an
thus thereof

- (35) *Pa za du ma an at ta ip pi ú e en sa a la e e li ip pi*
 to proceed the father me as favoured the sanction
ma a an ni im ma ma an
 is it not so it is
- (36) *dub {^{be}_{nu}} dub bi ma a an ni kha a ri i pi ma a an ni*
 this tablet is stamped to write which is it not
im ma ma an dub {^{be}_{nu}}
 so it is this tablet
- (37) *am ma (ti) ip pi ú e e en sa a la at ta ip pi ú e*
 friend me as favoured for me the father
e e la
 word-sanctioning
- (38) *ma a ni e im ma dub {^{nu}_{be}} dub bi ma a an ni*
 previously thus this tablet being stamped to
kha a ri i pi ma a an ni im ma ma an
 write which is it not so it is
- (39) *gu ru dub {^{nu}_{be}} a {^{bar}_{ra}} an ni e ni la an se e ni ip pi us*
 all this tablet it having caused to write, my brother
dub bi as
 a tablet
- (40) *si ni a se na a am ma ma an kha si e ni il la a an*
 anew? let be to make prepare when by words
su u pi ma a an dub {^{nu}_{be}}
 the same tablets of
- (41) *ni kha (a) ar ri e pi a ru u sa us se ni e pi a*
 what is written thereunto making understand it
bar } an ni en na ma an
ra }
 having caused to write
- (42) *se e ni ip pi us kha si en na an a la a te as e ni i in*
 My brother when speaking answer the things
ni kha a ri te a
 written

- (50) *se e ni ip pi e en at ta ar ti ip pi dan tis sa an na ma an*
 brother saying the answer must be hastened
an sa nu u khu sa a ú
 to be considered my child
- (51) *sa a ta { bar } as be (pa tis) e a nam ma a an*
ra }
 resolving, road which following concerning it
an sa an nu u khu sa a ú khal li ma a an
 to be considered my child being hastened
- (52) *i i al li e ni i in Ar ta ta a an am ma ti ip pi us*
 travelling Artatan your friend
at ta i ip pa
 to the father
- (53) *id ti i i ta tipi e na MES ta a (nu u ?) sa a as se na*
 being sent messages let give information
ir ru sa a an al la ma an
 her going being ordered
- (54) *i sal la a an sug ga ni e el la ma an pa*
 of the maiden the agreement being sanctioned the
as si khi ip pi e e ma na a mu sa a ú
 messenger word saying as to my child
- (55) *i i al la a ni i in at ta ip pi us pi e si e ti i pi*
 appearing the father what he ought doing
- (56) *ti pi e na MES ta a nu u sa a as se na an be la an*
 messages information let give to fulfil
sug ga ni e el la ma an
 her agreement sanctioned
- (57) *pa as si khi ip pi i sa as e e ma na a mu sa a ú*
 the envoy order thou word saying as to my child
i i al la a ni i in
 appearing
- (58) *am ma ti ip pi us at ta ip pi us at ta i ip pa*
 your friend the father to the father
pi e si ma (ka ?) a an na
 what he ought is it not saying

- (59) *gi pa a nu lu u us ta a as se na a ti i ni i in se ikh*
 decree letter let him bear this safely
ra a al la ma an
 being received
- (60) *bu ud du ú uk ki a su u pa za na a*
 confidence of me people to giving also said
al la a an su u pi na a su u pa za na ir nu uk ku
 being the same he it is giving also it is not right
- (61) *pi ri e ta a la an pa za du se e ni ip pi ú ul la*
 to be sent } moreover my brother pleased
 that it be sent }
ma an gi pa a nu sa us se na
 being decree let say
- (62) *se e ni ip pi ú a a nam mi id da ma an se e ni ip pi ú a*
 brother to me as authority being brother to me
- (63) *gi pa a nu ul ul li e pi a at ta a an a ti i ni i in*
 a decree to be made it coming this
ma a an na at ta ma an
 first sent
- (64) *a nam mi id ta ma an se e ni ip pi ra lik khu ub du si li pi*
 as authority being to brother as to what deciding
a nam mi id da ma an
 as authority being
- (65) *ta a du ka a ar ri e pi a ti i ni i in ma a an na la ma an*
 the assurance this first given
-
- (66) *Is si na a an se e ni ip pi us at ta a ar ti ip pi ú*
 here thereof my brother's the reply I
pa za na khi i ru ukh kha e
 also her to be wedded
- (67) *Ir nu u khu si a a ma se ir ri e pi i in KUGI*
 it not urging the gold D.P.
at ta i pi us am ma ti ip pi úa
 paternal to me your friend

- (68) *ú a du ra a an na gi pa a nu u sa a as se*
 to me making keep a decree ordering
pi e es sa a an at ta ip pi ú a
 what belongs to me the father
- (69) *ú a du ra a an na gi pa a nu u su u us te a*
 to me making keep decree this same delivering
at ta i ip be ni e dan
 father's child her from house
- (70) *ud an na ma an su u pi ma an se e ni ip pi us*
 to be sent the same here my brother
ir nu u khu si a a ma
 it not urging ;
- (71) *at ta ip pi ú e ni e en na gi pa a nu u sa a as se*
 me her father thus the decree ordering
se ni ip pi ú ud da a an
 my brother sending
- (72) *su bi a an ti en ip ri en na as sa ir i in na*
 kind it to take as of friendship { happy } of it again
 { enjoying }
ar ti ip pi ú a
 the return to me
- (73) *man ul la a sa KUR SAR Mi i in na a sa*
 let make glad D.P. D.P. Minyan she
pi ri a sa khi i a ra ukh kha at ta a an
 being sent } to be wedded going
 will go }
- (74) *te man na se e ni ip pi us gi pa a nu en pi ip*
 to be given my brother's decree as makes
id ta a an se e ni ip pi us sa a an
 authorize brother understand
- (75) *ul (li?) i ti pi ip pi suk ku ta a na as ti en*
 will be? the message settling so of it desiring
ti si ip pi en na a an
 the King as saying

- (86) *sa a ru si ukh kha ti si ip pi ú pa sa*
 in region (ruling?) I the king also
nu ukh kha si i
 ruling
- (87) *an za a an nu se e ni ip pi us at ta a ar ti ip pi*
 to consider my brother by reply
dan tis sa ni id . . .
 speedily
- (88) *zu bi a an ti e . . . se e ni ip pi us KUR*
 kindly to say (or take) my brother D.P.
SAR Mi i ni ip pi ú a pi ri . . . ta
 D.P. the Minyan to me sent
- (89) *e pi na a an se e ni ip pi us khi su ú khi si a en*
 thereof my brother earnest appearing
bar du ú a na an
 daughter my
- (90) *se e ni ip pi dan za lam si SAL sa a (ni?) ip pi*
 by my brother before the image D.P. the girl self
ú e khi i a ru ukh kha na pi
 for me being married which
- (91) *sa a ru sa a ú i a me e ni i in in . . e ti ip pi*
 in region this of strangers the doing
pa la a ú se e ni ip pi us
 this work my brother
- (92) *te man na e tis sa an tis sa an ta a ti a a a . . sa*
 making render very quickly so taking . . . she
ti sa a dan se e ni ip pi ú ma a an
 by thy son my brother let be
- (93) *gu ru KUR SAR Mi i ni i ta khi i a ru ukh kha*
 taken away from the Minyan Land wedded
 . . *pa la a ú a . . . in*
 work this it
- (94) *te a se e ni ip pi ú a ma a an pi ri i ta . . i i uk ku*
 delivering to my brother let be sent
pa za na ma an se e ni ip pi . . .
 again here brother

- (95) *ul li pi a en ti si ip pi . . . khi zu ú . . a en*
 to be, which as the king earnest perceiving
ú ri im bu ú us su ukh kha . . .
 announcement this region of me ruled
- (96) *na khu ul li im bu ú us su kha si ra a as . .*
 it hearing this region of me ruled an order
se e ni ip pi us a ri en si . . ma a an
 my brother at once
- (97) *za lam si si in ni be e ru . . khe se e ni ip pi us*
 before the image newly made my brother
a ri en nu ú me e
 at once
- (98) *URU NII Nu a a si AN Sa us si AN*
 city great Thebes before god Sausbe before D.P.
e e ni ip pi ú a a a ta
 the god to me adorable
- (99) *ka ti id da ú khi i a ru ukh khe ma a an za lam si*
 to my son-in-law? being married made before the image
su u pi a pi
 the same
- (100) *dub bu li e pi a ti i ni i in ma a an ni im ma ma an*
 by means of this letter this is it not so it is
 e
- (101) . . . *a pi ru . . . e ni i ra te e na ka ti i in na i*
 wife her
nu ul li e ni i in
 to become possessed
- (102) *e pi a ti i ni i in ma a an na al la ma an*
 this first being received
an ni i in
- (103) *ukh khe na ak ka se SAL Ta a du khe e*
 married being made D.P. Tadukhepa
pa an ma a an ni | Du us ra at ta a pi
 of is it not Dusratta who

- (104) *KUR Mi i id ta a an ni e pi* *ip ri i pi* *sa a la*
of the Land of Mitani friend favoured
‡ *Im mu u ri i a si*
Amenophis
- (105) *KUR Mi iz ir ri e pi ni e pi ip ri i pi as ti i in na*
D.P. the Egyptian what of friend desiring
a ru u sa a as se
thereunto consenting
- (106) ‡ *Im mu u ri as sa a an za lam si ta a . . sa*
Amenophis' son of before the image so her
khi i a ru ukh kha na ak ka as sa
married made
- (107) ‡ *Du us rat ta a pi ma a an gi e nu u sa ta a*
Dusratta who far off abides so
ta ra (as) is e
arranges (or disposes)
-
- (108) *sa a at ti la an* { *AN* } *nu tan su e ni tan is ta ni ip*
a n } all which completely by prince by people as far as
pi sa sug gu ú ud du u kha
able to be fulfilled
- (109) *ta a du ka a ri i be la a an te man na e tis sa an*
so assuring fulfilled to be rendered very
tis sa an KUR SAR Mi i ni ip pi sa a an
quickly D.P. the Minyan him
- (110) *is ta ni a sa bi id du ka a ra in na a am ma ma an*
to the utmost him ordering it is hoped
se e ni ip pi ú e
brother for me
- (111) *(du) ru be ú ru u pi en a i ma a ni i in sug gu u*
my subject acting as thought best fully having
dub } *ma ma an du ru be*
um } written the subject

- (112) *se e ni ip pi úa KUR SAR Mi i ni i ta pi*
 brother to me D.P. D.P. at the Minyan land what
se e pi pa as si na an se e ni ip pi
 graciously conveying brother
- (113) *su ú ú ta u ni pi u khe ma a an KUR SAR*
 having received the race the whole race D.P. the
Mi i ni MES kha kha ni MES nu ú ú te MES
 Minyans Princes ruling
- (114) *sug ga ni ma a an su e ni se e ni ip pi ú e ni e pi*
 having agreed this people my brother me which
du ru be i i pi
 subject
- (115) *E ti i ta . . bi in ú ru li e pi ma a ni i in gu ru*
 made seeing what I do to their country wholly
su man pi
 beneficial
- (116) *du u ru . . pi bi in na a am ma ma an ú ru u pi*
 subjects they seeing to to trusted I what do
en pa as se ti i id
 as brought
- (117) *se e ni ip pi ta gi pa a ni e ta ma a an Se e ni ip pi us*
 from brother a decree being (made?) My brother
KUR Ma a as ri a a an ni
 D.P. of Egypt
- (118) *KUR SAR Mi i ni MES kha kha ni MES nu ú ú ti*
 (and) D.P. D.P. the Minyan Princes ruling
MES sug ga ni ma a an su e ni du bi ip pi a
 having agreed the people's submission
- (119) *E ti i (tan) ú be e ti i i ma a an gu ru kha a ra*
 made I cause having spoken all being
a am ma ma an a as
 written
- (120) *si ni e il . . . in ip ri en na ta li im te na KUR*
 renewal . . . of friendship rendering greater D.P.
SAR Mi i ni
 D.P. Minyan kingdom

- (121) *ta li im te na du ru pa ti i be a ú pa sa ni ma*
 rendering greater service - obliged - race to I also if
a an an ni du ra
 be not obedient
- (122) *e ti i ta a u ri ra sa khu si a as se du ru*
 making; so battle shall levy being obliged the
be ip pi
 subject
- (123) *ú ru uk ku i i ri i in ip pi as sa a*
 therefore the hope of winning?
- (124) *ú ru uk ku pa sa na ma an { AN } nu tan su*
 therefore again here by a prince these
e ni e ip
 people make thou

End of the Back of the Tablet.

Southampton, 7th April, 1892.

ART. XV.—*The Mines of the Northern Etbai or of Northern Æthiopia. With a Map, Water-colour Drawings and Photographs by the Scientific Expedition to the Northern Etbai.* By ERNEST A. FLOYER, M.R.A.S.

By the Scientific Expedition to the Northern Etbai, despatched by his Highness the Khedive in the beginning of the year, that part of the eastern desert of Egypt which lies south of a line between Kina and Kosair and reaches rather below the twenty-fourth parallel of latitude, was rapidly examined and surveyed. The map is in the hands of the engraver of the Royal Geographical Society; the geology exhibited in a map and sections is before the Geological Society; and a map of the antiquities is attached to the present memoir. The country embraces an area of 23,000 square miles of mountain and desert, and is called by the inhabitants the Northern Etbai.

It was sought at first to trace a connection between Etbai and Etmur, the name for the broad plain of Nubian sandstone to the south. It seemed probable that Etmur might be the flat, and Etbai the mountainous country, but, while the pronunciation of the modern Abbadi inhabitant is difficult to catch, the weight of evidence shows that Etmur should be spelt اطمور, and Etbai ايتباي. There is little difficulty in accepting Etbai as the derivation of Æthiopia. The inhabitants of the country are strangers, who by their own account came from the south. They were met in latitude 24 N. by an immigration of the Maaza tribe, who came from Arabia probably round the head of the Suez Gulf, and with whom after many fights a boundary was agreed upon, running from

the Jiddama hills to Guai, a fishing village on the coast. The Maaza, an uniformly light-coloured race, speak a pure Arabic with distinct elocution. Not so the Ababdi, who are varied in form and colour, and who, to a capacity for all the Semitic gutturals, add a Nubian carelessness about the final syllable. The name Abbadi, plural Ababdi, belongs to the country and not to the people. It is probably derived from أَبْدَأُ, root بَدَأَ, with a general meaning of desert and desert dwellers, and means to lie open, as a panorama.

The Abbadi loves to climb a hill and name the peaks all round the horizon. The phrases are in constant use, "beyond that range the country is all Abbadi," and "such an hill Yabdi," i.e. is visible, "from that point." The Ababdi are not one, but many races. A straight-nosed, handsome type, with curly hair and a dashing manner, suggest that the offspring between a soldier of the Turkish garrison of Assuan and a negress or Nubian woman may have been among their ancestors. The most conspicuous type is one with straight hair and very large aquiline features. This type is a light yellow ochre in colour, and their young—they are much like antelopes—have beautiful skins and large brilliant eyes. A third type has a short round head and an insignificant nose. All are Ababdi, and most of them live in the Nile valley. Some fifty families live at Legeita; the same number form a suburb of Kosair; and scattered among the mountains are again some fifty families. When settled they build villages of stone or mud. But in the mountains a scanty mat over three crooked sticks suffices them, and excites the contempt of the Maaza Arabs, who dwell in Arab style in goat's-hair tents. The expression used by the village Ababdi with regard to their mountain brethren is that they are كرحانيين; they are hermits from the Rif. The Rif is the term for the Nile valley, just as it is for the coast of North Africa. It has curiously enough been thought of as the origin of the English word ruffian.

The mountaineers are, to a great extent, merely the herdsmen of those in the valley. In the sale of their sheep, donkeys, and camels, they are much at the mercy of the Nile dwellers.



On the other hand, their solitary and independent life gives them freedom and dignity of manner; while their etiquette is elaborate and their courtesy profuse but barren. They are fed by grain from the valley, and the sheep are not their own. The sub-tribe of this region are called Ash'abab اشعاب, or ravine dwellers, from شعب, a ravine; and the "wasm," or mark on their camels, is the junction of two ravines—Y. It appears that these Ash'abab are approaching extinction. The intermixture of blood has spoiled them for the desert solitudes; the removal of oppression and the establishment of good government in the Nile valley tempts them thither more and more. All will join in the scramble for pence from steamers, and the proudest sheikh will fleece a tourist. On the other hand, means of livelihood for the flocks are gradually being destroyed. This may be traced to the introduction of the camel, still imported in large numbers every year from Arabia. There is more truth than appears in the Arab saying that the camel drove the lion out of Palestine. He consumed the food which sustained the antelopes on which the lion preyed. An antelope, when he has nibbled what is within reach, goes elsewhere. But the camel's owner chops off the branches. And when the tree has no branches he burns it for charcoal. It is difficult to fix the date at which the camel was introduced, but it is probable that their numbers were not large, and that they did not breed in the country until the Muslim conquest.

The Beja, who inhabited the country then, had in A.D. 850 some camels of their own, that is, brought from the south, and some Arabian camels. It seems clear that the camel, aided by his owner, will drive out all plain-grazing animals except the antelope, and that the camel has thus expelled the horse, the wild ass, the cow, and the ostrich from this country, and the elephant from the country to the south. He in his turn will be expelled by the charcoal industry, although a tree which will support two sheep for a year brings as charcoal but a trifling sum.

The tracing of an Arab people by its tribal name is a futile task. A new tribe arises whenever one woman

has, in addition to some wealth in camels, a numerous family of vigorous healthy sons. A prodigious pride in genealogy is the surest sign that there is no foundation for it. The facts are now what they were candidly admitted to be by the Beja, that the only sure descendant is the descendant of a daughter. The women own the camels and take them with them when they marry. And families provide against oppression by hastening to send a daughter in marriage to any one near who appears to surpass in vigour and wealth, and to be likely in the future to oppress them. Thus the Mahdi received hundreds of wives.

It is, however, some contribution to the ancient history of this country which will be here attempted. It is traversed in every direction by Roman roads—waggon roads, for the Ptolemies employed not camels, but rode in carts drawn by oxen. And these roads are often cleared of stones for many miles together. Some such waggon was employed as that in which Strabo journeyed from Assuan to Philae. At frequent intervals are old stations, large caravanserais for the supply of convoys, and small post houses for the fast-travelling royal scribes and mine inspectors. These latter were on the royal roads to which Euclid referred, when he told the Egyptian king "there is no royal road to learning," and they may appropriately be referred to by the Persian names of Caravanserai and Chapar Khanah, for the station of Abu Geraia might change places with the Caravanserai of Chal-i-Siah without annoyance to the travellers or the architects of either country, and the scenes which were enacted at the post house of Feisoli seventeen hundred years ago may be studied to-day at the Chapar Khana of Nou Gombaz.

It is not, however, proposed to speak now of the ancient roads across this country established by Psammetichus and other vigorous ancient Egyptians—roads which were post-housed by the Ptolemies and measured by the Antonines—nor is it proposed to describe the quarries whither the gentle Diocletian, who reversed the rôle of Cincinnatus, sent unnumbered crowds of faithful Christians there to labour with

an ankle seared with hot iron to prevent escape. The sparkling *lapis psaronius* of Mons Claudianus is surpassed by stone nearer home, and the still unique imperial porphyry can be bought from Mr. Brindley in London. Some account will be attempted of large mining stations not previously visited, and which are specially interesting as showing two distinct periods of mining industry. To the south of the quarries, where the country broadens out, the ridge of up-thrust which connects the peaks of Mons Porphyrites (Jebel Dukhan) with the *πεντεδάκτυλονόρος* (Jebel Ferayeg) ploughs up the earth's crust over a length of 250 miles, and exposes to man its mineral treasures in great variety. The broken surface is honey-combed by tentative shafts and dotted by mines, and by the towns in which dwelt the men who directed their working. Here alongside of the European barracks of the Ptolemies are the hut-clusters of a vanished race, a race whom Alexander was too late to see and whom Herodotus misnamed. An interesting description of mining in Æthiopia was written by Agatharchides about B.C. 113. This writer deplores the miseries of the miners, and wrote for a people susceptible of compassion. He drew a contrast between the wretched half-naked women who produced, and the royal voluptuaries who wore, the gold. Parallel contrasts have been drawn by those who have watched the weaving by squalid children of costly Cashmir shawls, the toil of diamond mining, or the slave-caravans of ivory. After describing the working this writer adds in free translation: "This method is of the greatest antiquity, for the earliest kings of the place had discovered the nature of this metal. It ceased to be worked when the Æthiopians invaded Egypt, and for many years held Egypt's towns, at which time the Memnonia were built, and again when the Medes and Persians possessed the land. Even in our time are found cutting hammers of brass, for in their time the use of iron had not become general, and human bones in incredible numbers, crushed possibly in those wide, thinly-supported galleries, so vast and deep that they reach to the very sea."

In this mention of human remains in the mines may

perhaps be found a clue to the name Troglodytes, given by the ancients to the people of this land.

It is difficult to explain cave-dwellers in this country otherwise than as mine-dwellers.

The old geographers were often strikingly exact in summing up in one word the characteristics of a race. The name Ichthyophagi, given by Alexander's generals, bold travellers and accurate describers, to the men of Mekran, is an instance. Any one who has voyaged along that coast during the matüt season will recognize this. For miles along the sandy shore are spread to dry millions of little fish like whitebait, called matüt. They are dried like hay, and made into stacks like hay. Poultry and donkeys are fed upon them; camels will break away at scent of them. It is a veritable harvest scene. The air is thick with gulls, which are caught in simple traps by the urchins who act as bird-scarers, and let fly to die of starvation with a quill feather twisted round their beak. Inland, the first eager question to a traveller is, "Have you fish for sale?" The date harvest is for the rich, and precarious, for they must often fight to reap it. The fish harvest is for all, and sure.

The name Ichthyophagi sums up this people in one word, and it was probably given by the Greeks.

The derivation of Mekran from Mahi Khuran, fish eaters, is not convincing. No Mekrani or Baluch would slur over the ah of Mahi, nor would he change the kh خ into ك. Nor does a race describe itself by its principal food, though, like the Baggara of the Sudan, it derives it from its principal occupation. Thus it may be concluded that the name Troglodytes had application. But throughout the country there are no caves, except at Kosair, where the exception is emphasized by the name λευκος λιμην, descriptive of the white limestone; the metamorphic or granite rocks approach close to the sea. There are no caves of any sort, except such as have been made in search of gold and precious stones.

It would seem that Troglodytes may best be translated by miners.

Linant de Bellefonds, who examined the country south of Assuan and Berenice as far as Korosko, describes the geological formation as similar to that of the Northern Etbai. Herodotus was probably the first to use the term Troglodytes, and it is interesting to note that he wrote before the Ptolemies re-opened the mines. Thus he was writing of a people known only by tradition, or at most by hearsay.

The Ptolemaic miners employed methods of great antiquity, and this may indicate that there was never any long total interruption of mining. The trade secrets how to fuse the ore were never lost. It is known that in one year the mines brought Thothmes 2400 lbs. of gold, or £137,000 in the value of to-day. Later again, in the time of Ramses the Great, 1200 B.C., work at the mines was very briskly pushed forward, though the great well recorded in the inscriptions was dug for the mines of Allaki, then called Akita, and attention was principally directed to the country south of that now under description. And it is possible that the miners of Ramses also used methods of great antiquity, for there are distinct and very interesting traces of Phœnician occupation of this land, whence they may have diverged, some to the Mediterranean and some to Zimbaye, where Mr. Theodore Bent is discovering traces of their presence. In the country limited, as described in the opening of this paper, there are four main drainage systems from the mountains to the Nile. Below Assuan is the Wadi Allaki, described by Agatharchides as containing gold mines, a long valley having its source in the lofty mountains of Elba, stored with myth and legend, and close to the Red Sea. North of this is the Khareit, springing from the mountains of Berenice. North again is the Wadi Abbad, in which stands a rock temple bearing hieroglyphic inscriptions to the effect that Sethos, father of Ramses the Great, had built a cistern and had discovered gold mines with the eye of a hawk. Golenischeff considers that the actual temple was built by the Ptolemies. North of the Wadi Abbad is the Wadi Zeidun, which springs from the Sabai mountains, and enters the Nile between Kos and Luxor. A great interest centres round this Wadi Zeidun.

It does not stand alone as a Phœnician name. The valley which springs from the emerald mines is the Wadi Ghadira, Ghadira being the Phœnician word for enclosure, and the same as Cadiz.

There was probably a fort or settlement at the mouth of the Wadi Ghadira. And there was probably a fort or settlement called Zeidun between Kos and Thebes, perhaps on the site of the modern Koft, which means Phœnician, perhaps at the Arab village of Legaita. What vigour to his pen this fact would have afforded Strabo when writing his earnest vindication of Homer's geographical knowledge.

Κύπρον, Φοινίκην τε, καὶ Ἄιγυπτίους ἐπαληθεῖς, Ἄιθιοπίας θ' ἰκόμην, καὶ Σιδονίους, καὶ Ἐρεμβούς, καὶ Λιβύην—Having wandered to Cyprus Phœnice and the Egyptians, I came to the Æthiopians and Sidonians, and Erembi and Libya.—*Odyssey*, Lib. iv. 83.

These are the lines which formed Strabo's great stumbling-block. Modern scholars have thought that the reference was to an Æthiopian colony in Palestine in order to explain the juxtaposition with the Sidonians. But it is not fanciful to suppose that the Tyre and Sidon of the Mediterranean were repetitions of Tor on the Red Sea and Sidon on the Nile, and that Homer referred to the Sidonians near Æthiopia, south of Egypt. There is much evidence to show that no European had entered Egypt until long after Homer's death. Yet Homer's mention of Thebes instead of Memphis is curious. There is no difficulty in identifying Erembi with Blemmye, when it is remembered that Sulpicius of Aquitaine wrote the latter "Blembi," and both probably used Sabaia spears made from the iron of the Sabai mountains, whence the Wadi Zeidun takes its rise. It is hoped that this matter will interest men more learned than the writer, and that some small addition may be made to our knowledge of the Phœnicians. That the Ptolemaic miners used mining methods of great antiquity is known from their historians. Nor is there anything known incompatible with the supposition that the miners of Ramses employed mining methods handed down to them by an older race.

It is to be regretted that while the quarries in the north and at or near Assuan (their position was of course dictated by the geological formation) are all dated by inscriptions, only two of the mines tell any part of their story in writing.

Quarrying and stonemasonry were the employment of noblemen, who used the best tools obtainable and rejoiced in their task.

Gold-mining was done by miserable slaves driven by cruel taskmasters, and the gold was only esteemed when it adorned a king. At the mines of Sighdit is an hieroglyphic inscription recording without date the visit of a royal scribe and a mine inspector, and at the emerald mines of Sikait, called by the Arabic historians Kharbe, or Gharbe, are Greek dedications over the rock-cut temples. Thus, in support of the statements that the mines are of two epochs, there is only the appearance of the buildings. It seems very clear that the Ptolemies, after studying all the existing mines, established workmen at selected spots. Here they built temples, caravanserais, houses for the overseers, and barracks for the workmen. Not far from these stations are found the remains of hundreds of stone huts of irregular outline. These stone huts are distinguished from the modern Abbadi huts, first by a uniform irregularity of outline, and secondly by their better construction. Not always, but generally, there is this difference. The walls of an old hut are built of two lines of large stone; the space between is closely filled by splinters. "Great without small makes a bad wall" observed the Greeks, and the Ptolemaic walls are constructed with the same precaution as the older huts. An Abbadi uses mud, mat, or rags to stop the crevices in a wall of a single line of stones.

The reasons for attributing these modern towns to the Ptolemies are not conclusive, in fact not much has been done hitherto beyond finding the mines, fixing them with some accuracy on the map, and copying all inscriptions that could be found. But the buildings are of distinctly European construction.

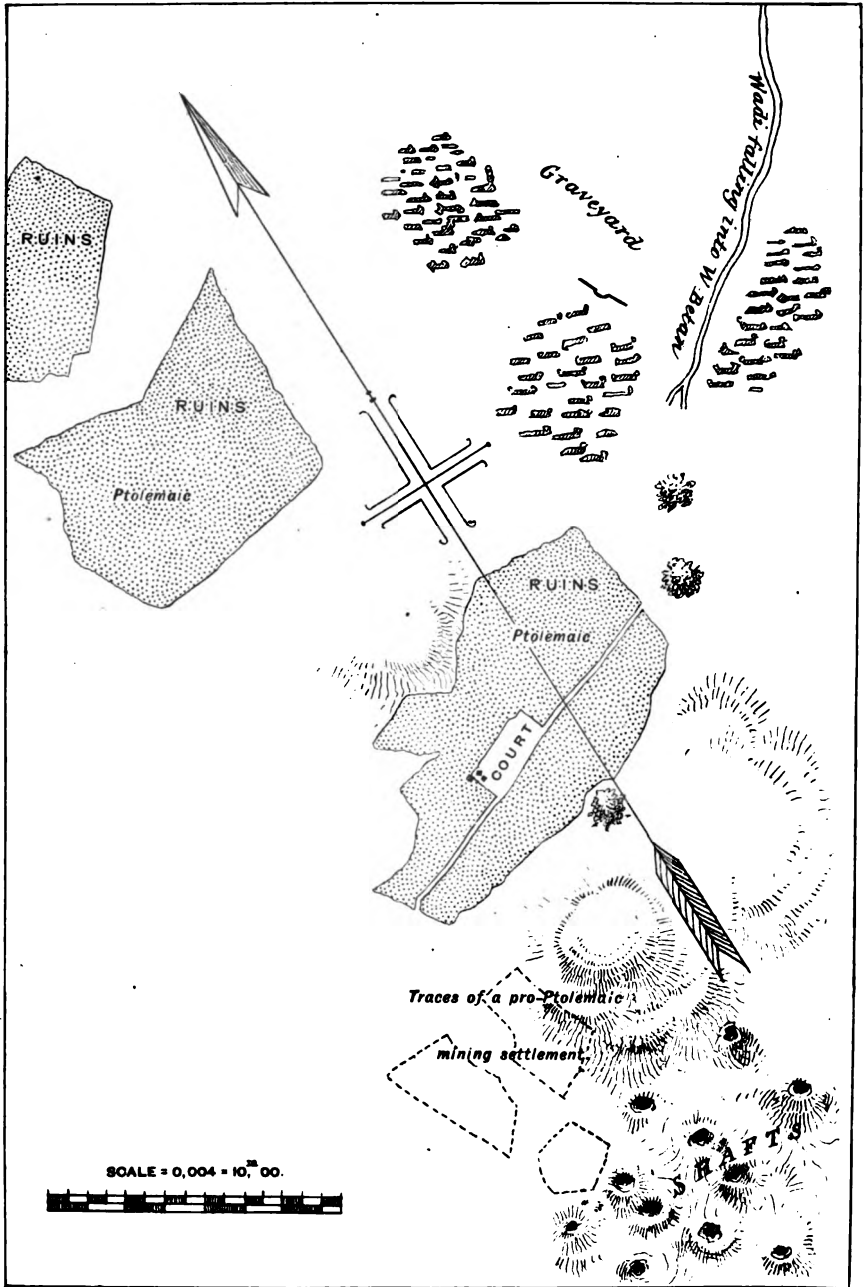
The quarries of Mons Porphyrites are dated by the in-

scription on a temple partly erected in Trajan's time. At Mons Claudianus, on the architrave of the temple, is read *τριανού*, the comma indicating *ἀδριανου* broken off. In the Wadi Abbad the temple bears inscriptions dating from the father of Rameses the Great. But Golenischeff ascribes its construction to the Ptolemies. The quarries in Hammamat bear dates from 2500 B.C. down to Ptolemaic times. The figures copied by Schweinfurth in the Wadi Jasus date from Psammetichus, but, excepting at Hammamat, at none of these places are there mines. Hitherto indications of date have been found at none of the mines. The mines of Sighdit, in lat. N. 25-28 and long. E. 34.5, are best approached from the Nile by following the Wadi Abbad, past the rock temple and into the Wadi Miah, and thence up the Wadi Sighdit. High up on the face of a steep rock, overhanging a copious well of sweet water, is scratched faintly the following inscription, copied several times in varying sunlights:—

The image shows a rock inscription in hieroglyphs, arranged in several lines. The characters are stylized and appear to be scratched into the rock surface. The inscription is as follows:

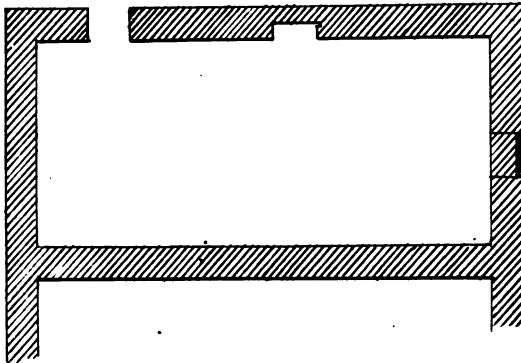
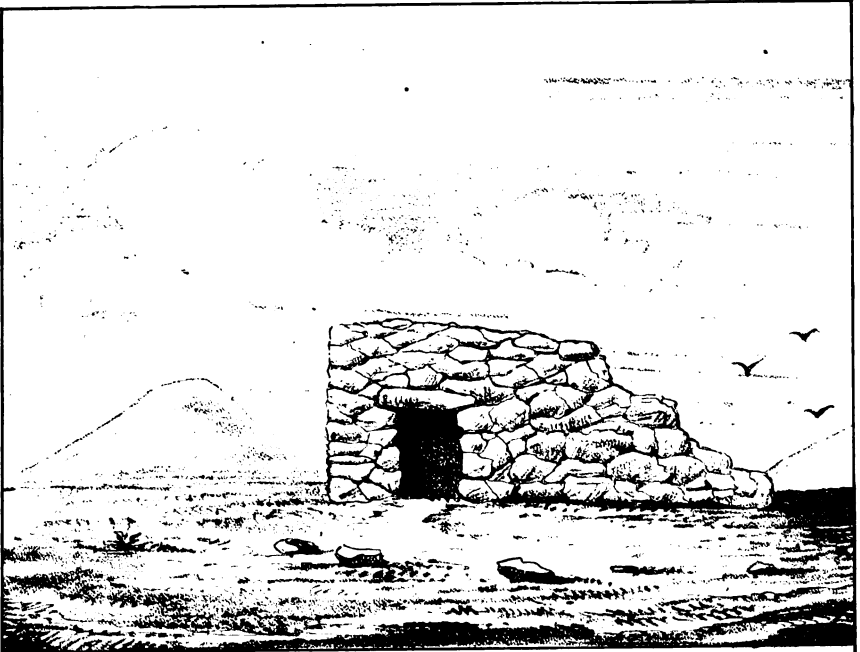
𓆎 𓆏 𓆐 𓆑 𓆒
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This is the inscription referred to above, which appears to record the visit of a royal scribe and a superintendent of the mines. More cannot be said until one learned in hieroglyphics goes and reads it *in situ*. The country round is what is called by the Abbadi a "ginna." The Abbadi are intelligent geographers, and indeed geologists so far as naming seven different rocks. Unlike the Greeks, who used *μαρμωρ*



GENERAL PLAN OF THE MINES OF UM ELEAGHA.
 Y. Zeheklan, Artist Scien. Exp. Northern Etbai.

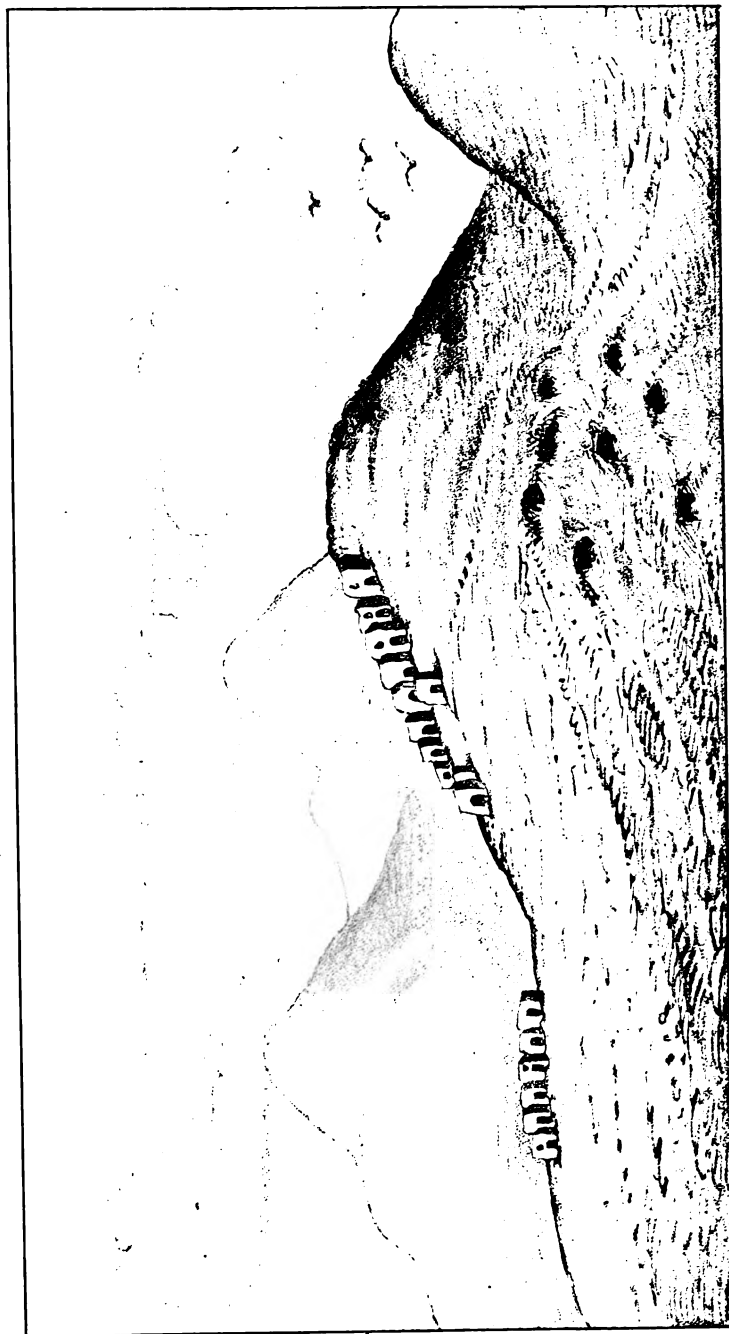




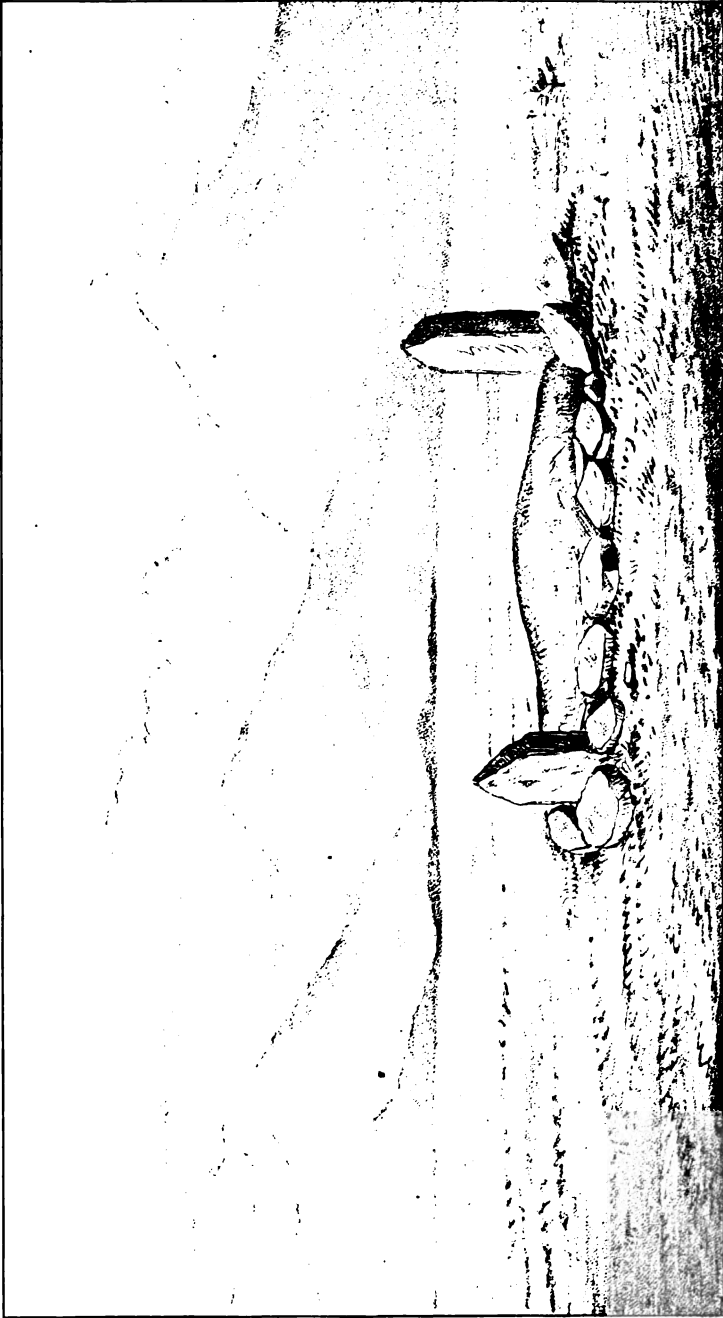
PLAN.

MINES OF UM ELEAGHA. TYPE OF HOUSE AND PLAN.

Y. Zehehian, Artist Scien. Exp. Northern Etbal.



MINES OF UM ELEAQA. VIEW FROM SOUTH-WEST.
Y. Zekalian, Artist Scien. Exp. Northern Etbai.



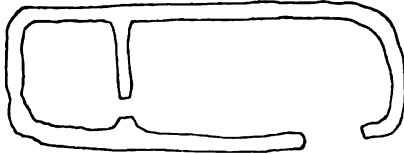
MINES OF UM ELEAGHA. GRAVE.
Y. Zehekan, Artist Scien. Exp. Northern Ebai.

for both, they employ different words for quartz and limestone. What they call a "ginna" is an area of cushion-shaped or mammillated hills of metamorphic rock. It is in such places that, near the Wadi Khashab, topazes are searched for. Near the well, clustered along each side of the valley, and climbing up each ravine, are some five or six hundred small stone huts. About three miles to the west is the "robat," or square enclosure of a caravanserai, the raised platform of a temple, and numerous square European-looking houses. All are in absolute ruin. The vein worked is above the caravanserai. Here it seems probable that the western station was built long after that on the wells. The former looks comparatively modern against the latter. And the supposition that the masters lived in the west, while the workmen lived on the well, is met by showing the danger the masters would run of being cut off from water.

Going south are found, in the broad Wadi Hamesh which forms part of the drainage system of the Khareit, the Hamesh mines in lat. N. 24·40 and long. E. 34·10. Here the remains are purely European. There are no small huts, and yet the excavation made represents many thousands of tons of rock removed. The work is scientific compared with the burrows at Um Roos. Pillars of ore are left to support the roof, and the quartz, which lies in heaps about the mouth of the mines, has a burnt appearance, and is very brittle to the hammer. Though every house was examined and potsherds innumerable were scrutinized, no vestige of inscription was discovered.

The large mining district in lat. N. 25·27 and long. E. 34·35, near the mouth of the Wadi Imbarek, is clearly either *νεχρεια* or what led to the construction of the Port of *νεχρεια*, placed by Ptolemy in lat. 25·30. The town is distant only five miles from the sea. On the coast no ruins were observed. But after the difficulty experienced in finding the ruins of Berenice, great caution must be used in stating that no ruins exist on the sandy sea coast where every erection invites the burying sand-drifts. Here at a place now called Um Roos, over a space of some five square miles the surface quartz veins have been burrowed away by a people who lived

in hundreds of stone huts, of which the plan is almost uniformly that given below.



Commandingly placed in the valley is the modern Greek town, of which some 300 ruined houses remain. One of the shafts here is remarkable. A thick vein has been cut away, making a broad low cave, sloping steeply to a depth of about 100 feet, where is a large pool of crystal water. This has the reputation of causing those who drink it to swell up. But it supplies a fishing village, and the number of huge shells used for filling waterskins which strew the edges of the pool may form a topic for the geologist of the future.

The name of this place, Um Roos, has probably given rise to the name Jebel Rusas, mountain of lead, which has long appeared on the map, but of which I could hear nothing. In the general Arabicising of the old Hamitic names, I think the Hamitic "yam," "water," has often been changed to the Arabic "um," "mother of." Though I do not yet know the meaning of Roos, I think the name Hamitic, and that it makes reference to the very singular water supply.

It was while studying the extensive but crude mining near the stone huts of Um Roos that the following theory suggested itself. It would seem probable that the Etbai was formerly peopled by a tribe of natural miners—a negroid tribe, perhaps the ancestors of those who now inhabit the mountains in the south of Kordofan, who work the copper mines Hofrat an Nahas; who forged the spears with which the Mahdi's followers were armed, and who, untouched by fanaticism, were the last to defend the Austrian missionaries, and the first to stem the flood of the Muslim revival. All the mountain summits of Durfur are peopled by a race of metal workers, who do not intermarry with the Arabs, who wander

in the valleys hunting ostriches and collecting gum. But the wanderers and the miners are necessary to each other. For the latter is, from the nature of his occupation, stationary, and, where agriculture is impossible, is dependent on the nomad Arabs both for his supplies and for the realization of his mining products. This dual occupation may explain why the so-called Troglodytes and the pastoral Blemmyes are described as inhabiting the same country.

To these negroid miners came the Phœnicians seeking trade. Something drove them south; perhaps oppression by the Egyptians. Sennaar was peopled by Egyptians, or by Æthiopians, if the derivation Esi-n-arti, river island, be accepted, who left Egypt in the reign of Psammetichus. Or perhaps the mines became exhausted. Or perhaps, again, the greater profit in the transport on the Nile—Red Sea trade routes called away the nomad Blemmyes.

The adventurous spirit of the naval Phœnicians when once they reached the Nile would carry them on to the west. Trade and not mining seems to have been their characteristic. It was at the mines of Um Roos that I first observed a kind of mining apparatus which has not been described. There lay near the town a large heap of long, heavy, hollow stones, each one a section of a massive granite cylinder. And it seems that here we have the original of a word which has hitherto had a doubtful meaning.

A somewhat detailed account of the gold-mining process employed in these mines is given by Agatharchides, from whom, as quoted by Photius, Diodorus Siculus, and probably all other ancient writers on Æthiopia, have copied more or less exactly. The following passages are freely translated from Müller's text. Near the Red Sea are places where are found plentifully metal-bearing rocks, which are called gold-bearing. They are intensely black, but among them is produced a quartz than which nothing can be whiter. Such as are ruined in fortune are led by kings into the most bitter slavery of the gold-diggings, some with their wives and children. Some without these bear their labours, which the author (Agatharchides) describes as the greatest calamity,

and he thus sets forth the way in which gold is found. Of these mountains those which are rugged and have an altogether hard nature they burn with wood. And when they are softened by fire they experiment on them and cut the loosened stones into small pieces with an iron chisel. But the principal work is that of the artificer who is skilled in stones. This man shows to the diggers the track of the metal, and apportions the whole work to the needs of the wretched men in the following manner. Those whole in strength and age break the places where shines the quartz with iron cutting hammers. They use not skill, but brute force, and thus they drive in the rock many galleries, not straight, but branching in all directions like the roots of a tree wherever the stone pregnant with gold may diverge. These men thus with candles bound on their foreheads cut the rock, the white stone shewing the direction for their labours. Placing their bodies in every conceivable position, they throw the fragments on the ground, not each one according to his strength, but under the eye of the overseer, who never ceases from blows. Then boys, creeping into the galleries dug by these men, collect with great labour the stones that have been broken off, and carry them out to the mouth of the mine. Next from these a crowd of old and sickly men take the stone and lay it before the pounders. These are strong men of some thirty years of age, and they strenuously pound the rock with an iron pestle in mortars cut out of stone, and reduce it until the largest piece is no bigger than a pea. Then they measure out to others the pounded stone in the same quantity as they have received it. The next task is performed by women, who alone or with their husbands or relations are placed in enclosures. Several mills are placed together in a line, and standing three together at one handle, filthy and almost naked, the women lay to at the mills until the measure handed to them is completely reduced, and to every one of these who bear this lot death is better than life. Others called Selangeus take from the women the powder thus produced. These are the artificers, in whom lies the power of carrying to the end this work of royal utility.

The method is as follows. They pour the quartz already milled on a table rather broad and polished, with a smooth surface, which however does not lie flat but has a slight inclination. On this table they rub with their hands the dust mixed with water, first lightly, and then with greater pressure. By this I imagine the earthy particles are dissolved and flow down the slope of the table, but that which is heavy and worth anything remains on the wood. And when the Selangeus has frequently rinsed the matter out with water, he handles the quartz dust lightly with soft thick sponges, and pressing lightly from time to time he absorbs from the table and throws away that which is soft and light entangled in the web of the sponge. There remains to him separated on the table that which is heavy and shines, and which on account of its weight is not easily movable. In this way the Selangeus, after he has cleansed the grains of gold, transmits it to the cooks, who, immediately they receive it by weight, put it into a clay pot, and in proportion to its quantity they add a lump of lead, grains of salt, a little alloy of silver and lead, and barley bran. The pot's mouth being carefully covered and luted round, they cook it five days and five nights consecutively. On the following day, when the burnt materials are cooled, they pour them into another vase. They find none of the things which were put in together, but only a mass of molten gold, but little less than the original matter.

This passage has been carefully examined, to see if it was written by an eye witness or not. The words "I imagine," if they are in the original of Agatharohides, indicate that it was written from hearsay; though this evidence is inconclusive, still the probability is great that the writer had no personal knowledge of the matter under description. The word for table in the original Greek of Photius is *σῆραγξ*; thus, when the Selangeus is using the sponges, "*το μεν ἐλαφρον και χυνον εμπλεκομενον τοις ἀραιώμασιν ἀπο τῆς σηραγγος ἀναφερει,*" and the Selangeus is "*ὁ καλουμενος σηλαγγεος.*" Müller suggests that the Selangeus was he who worked at the Serangx, and there is no difficulty in accepting the connection between the two words.

The table, so far as it is described, is referred to as follows: "καταβαλλουσι την αληθεςμενην μαρμωρον ἐπι σανιδος πλατειας μεν και κατεξυσμενης εἰς ἐοθειαν τομην, οὐκ ἐν ὀρθῃ δε χωρα βεβηκουιας αλλα μικραν ἐχουσης ἐπικλισιν." And again, after the washing, "το δε εμβριθεις και στιλβον ἐπι της σανιδος ἀποκεκριμενον ἀπυλειπει." The word *σανίς* appears to have meant invariably something wooden, while *σῆραγξ* means a hollowed stone. In an old Greek lexicon *penes* Mr. Butler, of Brasenose, the word is given "a word of doubtful import, a hollow stone."

It is necessary to choose between a wooden and a stone table. With only the text in hand *σῆραγξ* takes preference over *σανίς*. Admitting the connection with *σηλαγγευσ*, the workman implies the tool. While *σανίς* is a general word of wide application, *σῆραγξ* is a special name for a special implement. One hearing of a *σῆραγξ* would ask for a description, and receive the general term *σανίς πλατῆια*. Against a wooden table may be urged that the country could not produce a broad slab, that if one were imported it would split and warp.

Lying about the mines are three kinds of stone implements. First there are mortars made of granite; a common stone for these is the *lapis psaronius*, or "starling granite," identified by Brindley as coming from the Mons Claudianus. Second, a flattish rounded irregular stone some eighteen inches broad by ten thick, smoothed on all sides by attrition. There are some hundreds of these in large heaps at the mines in the Wadi Imbarik at Um Roos. Their use cannot be satisfactorily explained. Third, a stone of which a sketch is given.



A hollow stone, part section of a cylinder, scored across the hollow surface by light chiselled lines.

This is probably the *σῆπαγξ* referred to by Agatharchides. It is a hollowed stone, the first meaning of *σῆπαγξ*, and it would well serve the purpose of the table for gold-washing. It would be interesting to trace the word back to some language older than the Greek.

It was most disappointing that beyond an occasional scratch on a broken water-vessel, no writing of any sort could be found at Um Roos.

The mines of Um Elaigher, name derived from the shrub *Vigna Nilotica*, extend over a wide undulating plain at the foot of the great ridge Abu Dhaher.

Here are evidences of two periods of working. The surface quartz has been burrowed out, and in the middle of some two hundred perpendicular shafts are the remains of a well-built settlement, very like the settlement at the quarries of Mons Claudianus. Roughly square in outline, it contains some 300 rooms, with a space in the centre where formerly stood a temple or place of assembly. It is not clear what was sought for in the pits. One shaft is driven a considerable distance in a hard, green granite. A plastered building was reported to exist here, but was not found, and remains to exhibit to some future explorer perhaps an inscription which will throw a flood of light upon this very curious mining district.

The quartz was worked for gold. But the mineral sought when sinking the small vertical shafts could not be guessed at. The drawings give almost all that could be learned about these mines.

Of the topaz diggings near Wadi Khashab in lat. N. 24°18' and long. E. 34°28' but little need be said. All the "ginna" hills of a soft, close-grained metamorphic rock look as if they have been ploughed. Every boulder has been turned over, and exposes an unweathered surface. This has a curious effect, for it is a feature of these rocks that they all weather a rich brown colour, though they are inside of a rich green matrix containing angular yellow blocks.

The old method of searching for topazes as described by Photius is curious as indicating the scarcity of metal tools,

which were owned only by the great men. The people searched at night, for the stone was lustrous only in the dark, and on finding a stone they placed over it a *σκαφίς* (conf. the *skep* of Lincolnshire) proportioned in size to the lustre. In the day workmen came and, cutting round the rim of the *σκαφίς*, removed the stone. To-day the Ababdi hunt for the topazes by turning over the stones.

The most interesting mines in the whole district are the emerald mines, which supplied the Cleopatras with jewels. One is mentioned as presented to Lathyrus, engraved with Cleopatra's portrait.

Idrisi, the geographer, after referring to the gold mines of Allaki, writes as follows: "Not far from the town of Assuan on the east bank of the Nile is another mountain, in the roots of which is a mine of emeralds. Nor is there found in the whole world a mine other than this one, which is indeed crowded with miners. And from hence the emeralds are distributed over the whole world."

Sir John Chardin writes of Egypt as "a country of fair emeralds," and it is probable that until the conquest of Peru in 1524 these were the only mines known, though occasional emeralds were brought from India.

The *Jebel Zabara*, as the emerald mines are now called, are a mass of green talcose schist, with veins of talc and quartz. They are some 1200 feet high, and spread over an area of some forty square miles. Both north and south sides have been attacked, and the mass is honey-combed with holes, from each of which streams a shining talus of mica particles. The hills have much the appearance of a great rabbit-warren. There are two main centres of activity; that on the south flank, whence springs the *Wadi Sikait* to join the *Wadi Jemal*, and that on the north, whence springs the *Wadi Ghardir* already referred to as possibly a Phœnician name. Here no pre-Ptolemaic remains were found, though in the rugged mountainous area they may easily have existed unobserved. The *Wadi Sikait* seems to have been longest occupied. Here are three rock temples hewn in the soft rock in very ruinous condition. Of one the three portals bear an inscription.

published in the *Athenæum* of the 8th of August, 1891, and, though long studied by Canon Wright, of Coningsby, indecipherable save for the dedication of the temple to Apollo and all the gods, and a mention of Berenice, which may refer either to a queen or the port 50 miles off. Later apparently than these and more costly in erection is a fine building of dry stone, of good proportion and imposingly placed on a rock jutting from the valley side. To this led up a handsome flight of steps. The stones are naturally squared. There is no roof to the body of the building, but the apsis is roofed with long shining slabs of schist, which look like beams of wood petrified. The body is filled with tumbled slabs. From the platform before the door a view is obtained of the watch towers perched on the hills where are the principal shafts. I have used the word apsis, for I believe the building to have been a church. The side window, the absence of portico, the niches in the wall, and the apse all suggest a church. Yet on this point I am not able to say more than that during the long periods of Christianity in the third and fourth centuries the mines were steadily worked, and that it would be as natural to look for a church here as for a temple built during the Pagan Greek occupation. Until 1358 the mines were worked by the Egyptians, who had here a staff of clerks and overseers. No remains however of their occupation were found. The houses of the Wadi Sikait are of European construction, and the non-discovery of modern Egyptian remains makes it impossible to say that pre-Ptolemaic remains might not be found on further search. The area of mountain and valley to be searched is immense, and no one central water supply was found round which all miners would be compelled to congregate.

Some ten miles to the north, where the many small affluents of the Wadi Ghadira spring from the foot of the mountain, are the broad deep shafts of the Albanian miners who worked under Cailliaud in Muhammad Ali's time. Here, however, nothing was found older than the nineteenth century. Yet it is probable that by following the Wadi Ghadira to the sea some interesting discoveries might be made. One, if not two, of

the watch towers on the hills seemed placed especially to look out over the sea, which is only some 25 miles distant. Some port would probably be found. For except Berenice, which is sheltered by a natural promontory, the ports of the Red Sea are opposite valleys which at once form a road into the interior, afford water, pasture, and firewood, and at the same time make a gap in the coral reef which lines the coast. For the coral insect dies under or avoids the fresh water which the valley from time to time carries into the sea.

The country examined by the late Expedition extends south only so far as lat. 23°30'. The map thus overlaps that of Bellefonds, engraved by the French War Office in 1852 from observations made in 1831-2.

It is to be regretted that the portion contained in both maps shows very wide differences. Accuracy must be adjudged to the newer map, constructed on many astronomical observations and plane-table bearings. Example may be taken of the *πεντεδακτυλον ὄρος*, which Bellefonds places in lat. 23°. The new map and the Admiralty chart place these hills in 23°30'. As a piece of geography this country must be done over again. But the map has a value as indicating the names of some twenty mines. Here are the mines of Allaki, described by Diodorus, and here are the mines for which that astonishing character Abderrahman el Omary fought and intrigued with the Christian kings to the south for thirty years of bloodshed and treachery.

In the history of gold-mining there can be no more astonishing episode than this of the ninth century, ending in the assassination by his own slaves of the bloody-handed adventurer. Towards the end of his career, when he had made a solitude and called it peace, 60,000 camels carried to his workmen provisions from Assuan. And this supply was exclusive of supplies of wheat received by way of Aidab in such quantities that Tulun, the ruler of Egypt, sought to stop the export from Suez, and only removed the prohibition from fear of El Omary's 100,000 men.

It was thought that this ancient port of Aidab had at last been definitely placed on the map.

Great interest attaches to the port of Aidab, which has been placed by Arab geographers both in Abyssinia and Egypt.

Jeddah, now for 400 years, has been the pilgrims' door to Mecca. The corresponding route from Egypt was from Kos to Aidab, and from 1060 to 1260 these towns thrived. Aidab was thought to be one-and-a-half day's sail from Jeddah. Yet with such ample indications it has never been found. Purday in 1878 approaching from the north marked a native town in ruins. But it was near Berenice, and he regarded it as a village in some way connected with that town.

In 1891 in the same neighbourhood I marked a Jebel Aidab, and thought the ruins must be those of Aidab town. But a further examination shows that the coast from here to Massowa has many mountains Aidab, which indeed may well be a word meaning "mountain" and connected with the "ida" of Morocco. The town of Aidab cannot therefore yet be placed with certainty.

In summing up the above notes there seems nothing known in contradiction of the following.

Minerals seem to have been always sought after by the early rulers of Egypt. The first mines worked were those of the Wadi Mughara in the Sinai peninsular by Senoferu, towards the end of the third or beginning of the fourth dynasty.

The earliest inscriptions in the mines and quarries of Hammamat date from the fifth dynasty. It may be presumed that as the third dynasty inscriptions have been preserved at Wadi Maghara, they would have also been preserved at Hammamat had the latter mines then been known. It is curious that the more distant mines should have been the earlier worked. Possibly those of Sinai were on a trade route older than that of Koptos. Possibly the Egyptians had known them on their march from Asia. Possibly the desert which was called the land of the gods was regarded with fear and distrust.

Hammamat bears inscriptions of the 5th, 6th, and onwards up to Ptolemaic times. The earliest paintings represent the first Egyptians as brown men and yellow women. This was remembered when we interviewed an old and very striking

Abbadi whose harim were yellow and whose lofty stature and massive features were reproduced in small in a family of most handsome yellow children. The children were noteworthy for the beauty of their skin and the brilliancy of their eyes.

Later the Egyptians become of a darker colour. It seems probable that they found the Nile valley inhabited when they arrived, and that they intermarried with the aboriginals, who were of a dark brown.

Such seem to have been the Æthiopians. It is not placing on etymology more than it will bear to say that the resemblance of the Æthiopian kings' names to modern Berber words indicates that the Æthiopians were the Berbers of to-day. The Æthiopians must be then regarded as a strictly riparian race. And it must be remembered that between the cultivated Nile border and the mountain pasture valleys and metal mountains is a belt of waterless desert with an average width of two days' journey. Life in the Nile valley is no preparation for crossing such a belt.

A third distinct race were the men of Kush. These were immigrants who entered Africa near Massowa and Suakin. Of their descendants are the Beja, and of the Beja are the Bishari of to-day. They have an instinctive horror of a mine or of entering a cave.

As a question of probability, we may dismiss as the pre-Ptolemaic miners the Æthiopians and the Kushites. The ancient Egyptians would have left inscriptions, as at Wadi Maghara and at Hamamat.

But only at Sighdit is found an hieroglyphic inscription. This one might judge to be Ptolemaic, and to belong to the more recent buildings. It is merely scratched on the rock, and is by no means the permanent and pompous record of an ancient Egyptian monarch. The mines of the country of the Wawat seem to be identical with those of Allaki, in the country now called the country of the Babs. This country had in the ninth century of our era a king to whom the Christian kings of Dongola and Suria (Khartum) sometimes fled for refuge, and this king became the Sheikh el Jebel,

which seems to give the origin of the "old man of the mountain." But the people of the Wawa were Kushites, Blemmyes, Beja.

There is much that points to an aboriginal mining race preceding or contemporaneous with, but unknown to, the ancient Egyptians. The clusters of little stone cottages were not inhabited by overseers, nor were they built for or by slaves and captives, with whose misery the language of 2000 years ago excites our sympathy. Herodotus heard that the country was inhabited by Blemmyes and Troglodytes. And the analogy with the dual occupation of Darfur seems the most probable explanation of the ancient mining towns and ancient mining methods which have been referred to.

ART. XVI.—On *Hiuen-Tsang* instead of *Yüan Chwang*, and the necessity of avoiding the Pekinese sounds in the quotations of ancient proper names in Chinese. By Dr. TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE, late Professor of Indo-Chinese Philology (University College).

Summary.—§ 1. Why hesitations on spelling the name of Hiuen-Tsang. 2. Chinese custom of Tabu-ing proper names of reigning dynasty. 3. Curious effects in numismatic books. 4. *Hiuen* 玄 substituted by *Yuen* 元 in 1662 in all reprinted works. 5. Spelling *Yuen* instead of *Hiuen* is yielding to a temporary superstition. 6. Modern sounds in Pekinese are much debased. 7. Instance of *A-yü* for *A-dzuk*=Açôka. 8. Two corruptions absorb one sixth of the Pekinese vocabulary. 9. Confusions in the names of dynasties. 10. *Tsang* is the right spelling of the alleged *Chwang*. 11. Conclusion.

1. The reasons which induce me to preserve the spelling HIUEN-TSANG instead of adopting the newly-proposed *Yüan Chwang*¹ are that the latter is erroneous and without any standing whatever, while the other, besides its long acceptance by European scholars, is more true to history.

¹ *Yüan chwang* or *Hiouen Tsang*? By T. W. Rhys Davids, above pp. 377-379.

[The learned writer has not quite understood the point I intended to raise in my letter. No two of the six European writers (all of them well-known writers on Chinese subjects) quoted in the letter agree in their method of representing in English letters the pronunciation of a name that has to be constantly used by Indianists. How then are they to pronounce it? As a first step I ascertained by the method set out in the letter, that the modern pronunciation of any ordinary person in Peking of the second of the two sets of characters used in China for the pilgrim's name would be represented (in the transliteration used by Indianists) by *Yüan Chwäng*. I expressed no opinion as to whether that pronunciation was erroneous or not, and distinctly reserved the further (and very important) questions as to what the pronunciation 'may have been elsewhere and in the pilgrim's time.' The sole object of the letter was to elicit the opinion of others competent to speak on those points.—Rh. D.]

We are told in the notice on the subject in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* of last April, that the name of the illustrious pilgrim to India appears to have been written 玄奘 (*Hiuen Tsang*¹) and 元奘 (*Yuen Tsang*), but the cause of this difference is not explained. As it is important in the discussion, let us see briefly in what it consists.

2. It has long been customary in China to consider as tabu-ed the personal names of the sovereigns of the reigning dynasty.² "So soon as a dynastic change has been effected, the Tabu, which has previously been in force, is removed, and thus at the present time only the personal names of the reigning Mandshu house are unwritable."³ Other characters near in sound but not fully homophonous were often employed instead of those temporarily disused. The practice is gradually becoming quaint and before long will be obsolete; for instance, when Tsung Hien, whose reign was styled *Yung Tcheng*, came to the throne (A.D. 1723-1735), his personal name was 胤禛 *Yn-tchen*, 'Inherited blessings,' and to express the same ideas, his subjects were directed to write 允禛 *Yun-tching*, 'Permitted felicity.' But when the reigning emperor, whose *nien hao* is Kwang-süü, began his reign, the symbols of his personal name, 載 活 *Tsai Tien*, remained in use, with the sole exception that the bottom line of the second character was dropped 活.

3. Now during the present dynasty a large part of the ancient literature has been re-edited and printed with due observance of this superstition, until recent years. For the unaware readers this might produce the most ludicrous effects and confusions. Let us take as an example a learned work

¹ *Hiuen Tsang* or *Hiouen Tsang* in French. Sir Thomas Wade himself is quoted in the above paper as preferring *Hiouen* to *hiüan* or *guan*. Morrisson wrote *Heuen Tsang* (with the first *e* for *i*); Edkins writes *Hiuen Tsang*.

² The following works contain interesting information on the subject:—Liu-hia, *Sin lun*, kiv. 6 (a special paper written by a Chinese author of the VIth cent.). Hilderic Friend, *Euphemism and Tabu in China*, Folklore Record, 1881, vol. i. pp. 71-91. R. K. Douglas, *On Tabu-ed Characters*, Chinese Manual, 1889, pp. 372-376. T. de L., *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, 1889, vol. iii. p. 219; *Catalogue of Chinese Coins from the VIIth Cent. B.C. to A.D. 621, Including the Series in the British Museum*, 1892, p. xxxvi.

³ R. K. Douglas, *l.c.*

on numismatics, the *Tsiuen she* 泉史, in sixteen books, published in 1833, which I happen to have on my table. The author claims to reproduce in *fac-simile* the coins he describes. We remark that *Shun* 淳 (personal name of the last emperor and altered into 淳), is reproduced without alteration; it shows that the author wrote before 1862. But the legends, 清寧通寶 *Tsing ning tung pao*, issued in 1055–1065, 弘治通寶 *Hung tche tung pao*, issued in 1503, are reproduced as 清山通寶 and 弓治通寶,¹ because *Ning* 寧 and *Hung* 弘 were the personal names of Sivan Tsung (*Tao Kwang*) and Kao Tsung (*Kien lung*) of the present dynasty, contemporarily and before the author's time.

4. Applied to the reproduction of proper names of ancient times, in the new editions of olden texts, the results are disastrous. Let us come nearer the object of the present note. When Sheng Tsu (*K'anghi*) ascended the throne in 1662, one of his personal names was 玄 *Hiuen*; henceforth the symbol was altered into 玄, but more commonly substituted altogether by 元 *Yuen*.

*Tcheng*² 鄭玄, a famous commentator of the Han period, was henceforth quoted as *Tcheng Yuen* 鄭元, and became liable to confusion with a writer of the latter name of the Yuen dynasty.

In reprinting the Buddhist Records, wherever a *Hiuen* 玄 occurred, an *Yuen* 元 was reprinted in its place. *Hiuen tchiu*, *Hiuen T'ai*, *Hiuen Hao*, etc., all Buddhist pilgrims, who went from or through China to India in the seventh century, were reprinted *Yuen Tchiu*, *Yuen T'ai*, *Yuen Hao*, etc.

The name of the great pilgrim *Hiuen Tsang* 玄奘 did not escape the fate of the others. Previously to the *K'ang-hi*

¹ Cf. *Tsiuen She*, liv. 9, f. 23; 10, f. 3; 12, f. 8.

² I always write *tch* for English *ch*, because of the confusion otherwise possible with the French *ch* (=sh) and the German *ch* (=χ).

reign, it had never been written with an 元 *Yuen*, as shown by the ancient editions of the Buddhist records, the ancient dictionaries, and the *K'ang hi tze tien* itself.¹

5. Therefore spelling *Yüan* or *Yuen* the name *Hiuen* of the pilgrim would be unscholarly and give way to a temporary superstition, which as far as we know may have disappeared within a few years hence. Not a few modern scholars have ceased to pay attention to it with reference to ancient proper names.

Should any of my readers select to write the name of Hiuen Tsang in modern *Pekinese* according to the convenient Wade transliteration, it is not *Yüan Chwang* which he must write, but HSÜAN CHWANG.²

6. The sounds of modern *Pekinese* are much debased and entirely unfit for the quotation of ancient Chinese names without the characters in European literature. The number of distinct syllables, once available for the transliteration of foreign proper names, has dwindled down considerably, and the effect of this shrinking of material is also troublesome for the native names in history. Let those who favour the use of *Pekinese*, in quotations of ancient literature, attempt to read thus an ancient transliteration of Buddhist words. We have already enough difficulties to overcome in Chinese re-researches without increasing them with the *Pekinese* corruptions.

7. For instance, the name of *Açoka* was transcribed 阿育 *A-yü*, which would have been rather wide of the mark, and without *raison d'être*. In the ancient Mandarin represented by our dictionaries, instead of *yü*, we find *yüh* (cf. Basile, Medhurst, Wells Williams, etc.). The final *-h* shows that a consonant at the end was fading away; we recover it in the dialectal pronunciation *yok*, of Canton, Amoy, Shanghai, etc. With *A-yok* we are already one step nearer of the original pattern. Now, if we refer to the most archaic of the Chinese dialectical sounds, those of the Sinico-Annamite,

¹ Cf. *K'ang hi tze tien*, s. v. 元.

² On some doubts about *chwang*, cf. *infra* note.

which branched of 200 B.C.,¹ we see that the ancient sound of *yüh* was *dzuk*.² Therefore the name of *Açoka* was transcribed *A-dzuk*, and should we not know the antecedent of the Chinese transcription, we might have easily recognized it in *A-dzuk*, but not in the Pekinese *A-yü*.³

Of course I will admit that this is an exceptional case, and that giving up Pekinese would not have led us farther than *A-yüh*, but there the survival of a final was suggestive of a further enquiry. We cannot expect to be able to drive home Chinese transcriptions in every case, but we may ask not to be compelled to accept as usual renderings sounds which are emaciated, and take us far away of any possible identification.

8. For instance, the modern Pekinese *chi* (*tchi*) conceals the ancient Mandarin *kih*, *ki*, *tshih*, *tsi*, *tchih*, and *tchi*, which themselves recover the former *kik*, *kip*, *kit*, *tsik*, *tsip*, *tsit*, *tchik*, *tchit*, preserved in the Archaic dialects; and the modern Pekinese *hsi* conceals the ancient Mandarin *hi*, *hih*, *si*, *sih*, which themselves recover the *hik*, *hip*, *hit*, *sik*, *sip*, *sit*, preserved in the dialects.

Thus, the two modern Pekinese syllables *chi* and *hsi* are the present decay of TWENTY-FIVE syllables all formerly distinct, and still represented by TEN distinct syllables in the ancient Mandarin. Albeit all the vocabulary is not so bad as that, I think that the instances quoted, which throw disorder in more than *one-sixth* of the whole,⁴ are sufficient to show that the adoption of Pekinese in European sinology for historical researches is far from being desirable.

9. There are several names of Chinese dynasties which are easily confused in Pekinese; such as *Ts'in* 秦, *Tsin* 晉, and

¹ Cf. The chronological table of Chinese dialects in my work on *The Languages of China before the Chinese*, 1887, § 205.

² Cf. P. Legrand de la Liraye, *Prononciation figurée des caractères Chinois en Mandarin Annamite*, Saigon, 1876, p. 297.

³ Stanislas Julien, who was not aware of the archaic sounds preserved in the dialects, could only state that 育 represented *çó* in *Açoka* (while it represented really *çok*). Cf. his *Méthode pour déchiffrer et transcrire les noms Sanscrits qui se rencontrent dans les livres Chinois*, 1861, No. 2265.

⁴ In Wells Williams, *Syllabic Dictionary*, 217 out of 1150 pages; in G. Stent, *Pekinese Vocabulary*, 110 out of 643 pages.

Kin 金, which are transcribed *Ch'in* and *Chin* (*Tch'in* and *Tchin*), and in the *Sacred Books of the East*, *Khin* and *Kin*, where, unfortunately for the non-specialist scholars, the peculiar system of transcription adopted in the collection happens, in the Chinese series, to be complicated with the Pekinese sound. Perusing some days ago a recent work by a well-known scholar, not a sinologist, I met therein a vague quotation from this learned collection, where a curtailed reference was made to a K'in dynasty. I have not yet found which of the three dynasties, mentioned previously, is there referred to. So much for the advantages of the Pekinese sounds.

10. In the name of *Hiuen Tsang*, the second symbol is pronounced *chwang* (*tchwang*) in Pekinese. I do not see any advantage in adopting it except that of a useless complication. The Imperial dictionary of K'ang hi¹ quotes four previous dictionaries which give the pronunciation by the well-known *fan tsieh* method. They are:—

1°. The *Kwang yun* of A.D. 1008.

2°. The *Tsieh yun* of A.D. 1039.

3°. The *Yun hwēi* of A.D. 1300.

4°. The *Tcheng yun* of A.D. 1375.

The initial is marked by 𠄎 *ts(u* in the first; by 在 *ts(ai* in the fourth, and again by 才 *ts(ai* in the second, third, and fourth; this 才 spelling is given with special reference to the name of 芝 𠄎. Moreover in the first case, 臧 *tsang*, and in the second case, 葬 *tsang*, are given as being homonymous of 𠄎,² whose pronunciation is therefore settled to be *tsang*.

11. Such are the reasons which justify the spelling of *Hiuen-Tsang* for the name of the great Chinese Buddhist, pilgrim of the seventh century, and the avoidance of Pekinese sounds for the historical names.

¹ Cf. *K'ang-hi tze tien*, s. v. 𠄎.

² In Pekinese, these two words *tsang* are still at present pronounced *tsang*, and it may be asked if the diverged sound *chwang* ought to be applied to 𠄎 in a proper name.

ART. XVII.—*A Babylonian Ritual Text.* By C. J. BALL,
M.R.A.S.

(4 R 23. No. 1.)

THE original of the document here translated (K 4806) is unfortunately much injured, and the text presents great—Dr. Jensen has said insuperable—difficulties to the translator. Dr. Sayce has attempted a version of Col. I. in his *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 495. Dr. Jensen has made some good remarks on the piece, and given a version of Col. I. 8–15 in his *Kosmologie* (pp. 91 *sqq.*). A closer study of the entire text reveals important points of contact between this document and others, published in the same volume of inscriptions, from which I have attempted to extract a connected sense elsewhere (*Glimpses of Babylonian Religion*, P.S.B.A., Feb. 1892). These will be noticed in due course. In general, it may be said that, in spite of a few still enigmatical expressions, it is clear that we have in this interesting relic of Babylonian religion an Office or Liturgy, in which rubrics or ritual directions are interspersed with prayers and invocations of gods. The purpose of the whole appears to be the consecration of a graven image; not as Dr. Jensen thinks, of a new city. It is true that $\text{𒍪} \text{𒍪} \text{𒍪} \text{𒍪} \text{𒍪}$ may be read *du gal ešši*, “sons of the new city.” But it is also true that $\text{𒍪} \text{𒍪} \text{𒍪} \text{𒍪} \text{𒍪}$ might be read *šihir*, as elsewhere; while $\text{𒍪} \text{𒍪} \text{𒍪} \text{𒍪} \text{𒍪}$ may be *Sin innamar* “the moon is visible,” or the like (cp. 3 R 51, No. 8, 1; 58, No. 12, 1. 2). This is the more probable, as the purport of the opening lines seems to have been to fix the time astronomically for the rites which follow.

*Transliteration.*COL. I. *Obverse.*

- Dingir E-barra lag' du ud xxx gan (ud)na-a-an
 5 *Nusku mar šalašē bubbulum*
-
- VII. dingir meš du d. Emme-šarra zi dub-dubbu meš
-
- XII. dingir meš za-bar ana šag liliš za-bar šub-ma
 liliš za-bar *tekil*
-
- Gu gal gu mag' šam KI-UŠ azagga
 10 *gugallum gumahḫu kabis rite ellitim*
 ša-gub (?) dib-diba ḡe-gal da-galla
ibtah kirbiti murim ḡegalli
 Dingir Du-šarra urua agar ḡilia
eriš il. Nirba mušullilu agar
 15 šu mu lag-lagga ši zu bal-bale
qataya azag meš iqqā maḡarka
-
- Ka zu-ab ša šag ge 2. gu ša zag ša liliš za-bar a rami
ina gin sag kud gin dugga turahḫaš
-
- Gu ilitti il. Zi atta-ma
 20 *ana parši kidudē našuka*
ana dariš il. Ningišzidda šbrika
 [XII. ? dingir] meš gal meš ḡiš-ḡar meš ušuri
[kibit Belu mu] šim parši ša šanē u iršitim
 [ana šu ¶¶ dingir] ḡa-lum ḡippaqid-ma
 25 [sig alam nē] *ana il. Belu liqta'ēš*
-
- [ka zu-ab ša šag ge 2. ḡ]u ša gubu ša liliš za-bar a rami
-
- [gu mulu] na elum mulu na li-ku ban-na
 [gu ša] *šallu bekum ša šallum adi mati šakil*
 kur gal ā dingir Mul-lilla mulu na li-ku
 30 *šadū rabū abu ilu ¶¶ ša šallum adi mat*
 siba nam-tar tarra mulu na li-ku
ri' u mušim šimāti ša šallum adi mat
-

COL. II. *Obverse.*

tu (or mu) galgal . . .
labiṣ ṣu[bāti] . . . ina tu (or mu) . . .
 gana gal-galla . . .
ša miriṣti . . .
 ina bu . . .

ki-šù-bim . . .
 ana šag liliš za-bar . . .

- Siba zidda siba [zidda]
 10 *riu kinu riu [kinu]*
 En-lilla siba [zidda]
 En-lil *riu [kinu]*
 umun tig kala-ma siba [zidda]
 bel napḥar māti riu [kinu]
 15 umun tig d. Igigi siba zid[da]
 bel napḥar il. ¶¶ riu ki[nu]
 umun tig dargul siba [zidda]
 bel tarkulli ri[u kinu]
 umun māni giš-garra umun mā[ni giš-garra]
 20 *belum muṣṣir . . .*
 umun māni giš-garra [umun māni giš-garra]
 belum muṣṣir . . .
 munga malla [munga malla]
 makkuri šakna[ta makkuri šaknata]
 25 gil-sā malla [gil-sā malla]
 šukutta šakinta [šukutta šakinta (?)]
 dur azagga . . .
 šubta ellitim . . .
 ki azagga . . .
 30 *ašru ellum . . .*
 ki-na azagga . . .
 tapšaḥa ellum . . .

COL. IV.

[ki-šù-bi]m ša ašib kun nišiddu sadadi
[dugga ma] tu (or mu) šiddu šabat

-
- [šu lagga me]n šu lagga men
[qatika mi]si qatika misi
5 [šu lagga me]n d. Enlilla men
[qatika misi ilu 𐎶] misi
* * *
10 [qata-kunu (?)] mi]sā
* * *
17 . . tilla bi (?)] gulla men
. napharšunu lihduka
[dingir en-lil-la]l lugal zu ku ni-gab mara-b
20 [ilu en-li]l ana šarrika paṭrata rišišu
d. Merra lugal zu ku ni-gab mara-b
ilu 𐎶 ana šarrika paṭrata rišišu

ki-šù-bim ša ašib našē dugga-ma
ašib ina il-la (4 R : ma) šiddu tunah

-
- 25 enuma gu ana bit mummu tušeribu
nipiši NAM UŠ KU ge
kurra bi dim absar a-an ban-uddu

Translation.

.
(When) the Shepherd of Ebarra on the thirtieth day^a
keepeth holiday, and
The seven^b gods, the sons of Emmesharra, are pouring
out the grain :

[*Rubric.*] The twelve brazen gods into the brazen tripod^c
 put, and
 The brazen tripod thou shalt cover.^d

[*Prayer.*] Great Bull, lofty Bull, pure trampler^e of the
 pasture (*Ass.* trampler of the pure pasture),
 Enter the ploughland,^f increasing plenteousness,
 Planting the god Dusharra (*Ass.* Nirba),^g making
 glad (*Ass.* fertilizing) the field!
 My pure hands have poured a drink-offering before
 thee.

[*Rubric.*] Into the mouth of the Deep,^h between the ears of
 the bull on the right of the brazen tripod, pour water.
 In a head-lopped reed thou shalt drench sweet reeds.

[*Prayer.*] The Bull, the offspring of Zū, thou art;
 For the decrees, the statutes, they brought thee.ⁱ
 For everlasting did Ningishzidda carve (?) thee;
 The twelve (?) great gods did grave the graven work,
 At the bidding of Bel that ordaineth the decrees
 of heaven and earth.
 Unto the hands of Ghalum^k let it be committed, and
 [This image] unto Bel may be present!

[*Rubric.*] Into the mouth of the Deep, between the ears
 of the bull on the left of the brazen tripod, pour
 water.

[*Prayer.*] Bull that liest down,^l Lord that liest down,
 how long wilt thou be lying down?
 Great Mountain, Father Mullil, that art lying down,
 how long?
 Shepherd, ordainer of destinies, that art lying down,
 how long?

COL. II.

Clad in splendid attire

The great garden

. . .

[*Rubric.*] The prayers^m
 Into the brazen tripod

[*Invocations.*] Faithful shepherd, faithful shepherd,
 Ellil, faithful shepherd!
 Lord of all the earth, faithful shepherd!
 Lord of all the spirits of Heaven, faithful shepherd!
 Lord of the Helm (of the world), faithful shepherd!
 Lord, Graver of gravings, Lord, Graver of gravings,
 Lord, Graver of gravings, Lord, Graver of gravings,
 That createst wealth . . .
 That makest goods
 In pure abode (thou abidest);
 In a pure place (thou dwellest);
 On a pure couch (thou liest)!

COL. III.

Spirit glorious (or created, produced) . . .
 Lord Ea, king . . .
 Lord Merodach . . .
 Lord (and) Father Rimmon . . .
 Lord, hero Shamash . . .
 Lord Nin-ib . . .
 Exalted Lord Dapinu, father . . .
 My hands direct, my hands direct thou!
 My hands direct, my feet direct!
 This utterance direct, this utterance direct!
 The brazen tripod, the utterance thereof, direct!ⁿ

[*Rubric.*] The prayers say, the brazen tripod (uncover P?).

Before (the god) Ghalum, and the brazen tripod,
 Reeds abundant (or gross, luxuriant) thou shalt
 place; a knot thou shalt tie °;
 Twice (?) pour (a libation) °; honey, curds (or ghee ?)
 thou shalt set on;
 Grain of wheat pour out; a lamb offer;
 Flesh broiled,^a flesh roasted, flesh sodden, thou shalt
 present;
 Fragrant herbs (?) and pulse thou shalt pour out.

* * *
 * * *
 * * *

COL. IV.

[*Rubic.*] The prayers of (unto) him seated behind^r the
 riding-litter (? or ark)
 Say, and take the riding-cloak (or, take off the veil
 of the ark).

[*Invocation.*] Wash thine hands, wash thine hands,
 Wash thine hands, thou Ellilla !

* * *
 . . . your hands wash ye !

* * *

[The gods thy brethren ?] may they all rejoice at
 (or with) thee !
 Ellilla, unto thy King thou hast given large room,^s
 Merra (Rimmon) unto thy king thou hast given
 large room !

[*Rubic.*] The prayers unto him seated on high (lit. lifted
 up) say, and
 Seated on the top of the ark thou shalt leave him.

When thou bringest a (the) bull into the House of Mammu.

Function of the servants (of the Sanctuary).

[*Scribe's Note.*] Like its original, written and sent out (from the scriptorium).

NOTES.

- ^a Lit. *a son of the 30th day*. Cp. the Heb. idiom בן יום, "a day old," used of the moon; but especially the Aramaic בר יומיה, כה מוטא, eodem die. ud-na, *day + lie down*, is "rest-day," and "to keep rest-day": see Jensen, *Kosm.* p. 106. The Assyrian rendering is "Nuzku, a son of thirty, is withdrawn." With *babalu*, *bubbulu*, cp. בָּבָל, בִּבְבֻל, Isa. lx. 20; Joel ii. 10.
- ^b Emmesharra ("Lord of Plenty") was a Chthonian deity and god of vegetation. Adar (𐎠 𐎡, šeggar, *grain + put?*) was the month of reaping and sowing; and "the Seven, the great gods" presided over this month (4 R 33, 47a). JENSEN thinks that they may be the Pleiades: see his *Kosm.* p. 92. The Chinese formerly believed that the seven stars of the Corn Measure (*Teu*), i.e. Ursa Major, marked the courses of the seasons. On the other hand, they call the sun, moon, and the five planets the "Seven Directors," or rulers of the times and seasons.
- ^c The Accadian liliz, liliš, appears in Assyrian as *lilisu*, S^b 260. The general sense of our text requires that it should mean some kind of vessel or receiver. The form of the word suggests that it is a reduplication of liš; liš-liš=liliš=liliš. Now 𐎠 liš (=luš), dil, *idgurtu* (cp. *adaguru*), seems to denote a vessel in (*giš*) Liš-

BIZ "oil flask (?)," (*giš*) LIŠ-NI-SĚŠ, *napěaštu*, do.; Brünnow, 7753 *sq.* We may also compare 𒂗𒍪 dug, lud, the determinative of goblets, tankards, cups, etc. The Chinese *lik*, *li* is "a tripod or incense caldron," holding six or ten pecks (the 193rd key or radical). Perhaps the *liliš* was a "brazen laver."

^d *tekil*=tekkil, fut. qal of 𒀵𒀺; whence *eklitu* "darkness." The text certainly seems to say that the twelve "gods," that is bronze idols, were to be put into the *liliš* and shut in; probably a lustral rite.

^e 𒂗𒍪 𒀵𒀺 𒂗𒍪 may be a single group, denoting "to trample down grass," like the Chinese *p'ut*, *p'o*, Chalmers, No. 94. Otherwise, the order of words in the Accadian indicates the rendering given above. Cp. line 15, where *šu mu laglagga* is taken in the Assyrian as equivalent to *šu-laglaggā-mu* "my pure hands," though it would rather mean "my hands are pure."

^f *kirbitu*: cp. 𒀵𒀺. (I had identified this term independently of JENSEN.)

^g This recalls the American planting of the maize-god "the friend of man, Mondamin," in Longfellow's *Hiawatha*. With *šatalu* cp. 𒀵𒀺𒀵𒀺 embryo, Deut. xiv. 7, Jon., and perhaps 𒀵𒀺, semen genitale. The Acc. *gili* is *kuzbu*, *uḷṣu* "joy," "pleasure."

^h I suppose that the *liliš*, or brazen caldron, was flanked by two brazen bulls (cp. 1 Kings vii. 23 *sqq.*). Between the ears of each bull was an orifice, with a pipe to carry off the holy water poured into it, either down into the earth, whence it was called a "mouth of the Deep" (which is underground), or else perhaps into the *liliš*.

The thrice repeated Ψ is clearly the relative particle, and not a verb as SAYCE takes it. The gin sag-kud is, I think, a truncated reed, used as a bucket. The gin dugga are "sweet canes," or edible reeds. Various kinds of reeds were used in lustral ceremonies and for offerings: see 4 R 25, 34b. SAYCE renders the two lines: "The mouth of the deep ('the sea') which is between the ears of the bull is made; on the right is it made; a rim of copper I found. On a reed whose head is cut thou shalt press a good reed." He evidently transcribed *tulahḥaṣ*, instead of *turahḥaṣ*, "thou shalt steep, or plunge, or soak."

- ¹ The Accadian of this second prayer or hymn is unfortunately not given. The line *ana parši kidudē našuka* may perhaps mean "They have brought thee, in accordance with, to satisfy, the sacred Law"; or even "to have the sacred laws graven upon thee." For the expression *parši kidudē*, see LEHMANN, Šamaš-šum-ukin, Bil. 12. (In Bil. 23 Lehmann leaves the name of the castle of Sippar unexplained. Bad BAR . UL . RU . SA . A, or rather bada Utu ulu ru sã, is "the castle called 'the Sun, the Maker of Joy'" = Šamšū ban or *epiš ulši*. Cp. Gudea E. col. 9, 1 *sqq.*, which may be transcribed thus:

nin mu ba ziggi
 nam-ti ba
 ud sag daḡ ni-ru
 mu-ku mu-na-sã

"My lady, the righteous giver,
 The giver of life,
 Maketh double the sum of days,
 For a name he called it.")

Ningišzidda was a "throne-bearer (*gusalū*) of Earth,"
 4 R 1, 44b; Gudea B. iii. 4.

I have taken *ibri* as aor. of 𒀭𒌷 (cp. Ezek. xxi. 19, pi.). Might it rather be *ibtal*=*itbal*? Cp. 4 R 25, 41a.

I write *giš-gar*, because of the Chinese *k'ak* (=k'ar), *k'o* "to carve, sculpture, engrave."

^k *Lum-ga*, or *ga-lum* "monster fish," is a title of *Ea*, viz. of *Ea ša mulu UŠ-KU* (see col. 4, 26); 2 R 58, 61b. The sign 𒌷𒌷 had also the sound *ba-lag* (*ba-lang*), S^b 156, and this seems akin to *ga-lum*. We see *lum* "huge" in *da-lum* also. May not *balaena*, *φάλανα*, possibly be related to *balang*, *galum*?

^l The Chinese have certain festal rites which they call "waking the gods," celebrated in the spring of the year.

^m *KI . ŠÛ . BI . IM*. That this is a complete expression appears from its recurrence in cols. 3, 4. Cp. Chinese *k'it* "to pray," *pin*, *ping* "to supplicate" the gods. We might also transcribe *KI šubim* (=šūpi) "the splendid place" or "seat"; but it would not suit the context of cols. 3, 4.

The "great garden" or "plantation" (*merištu*) reminds us of 4 R 25, 24b.

ⁿ The "utterance of the brazen tripod," or caldron, is the prayer which is uttered beside or before it.

^o See 4 R 25, 25b.

^p See 4 R 25, 28b: *kalumma gim ašnan šani dea*, "dates wheaten grain twice (or again) pour out." Perhaps *ka-lumma* should be supplied here also.

^q *uzu zag*, *uzu me-gan*: cp. the Chinese sacrificial terms *chik*, *tsäk* "broiled," and *fan*, *hwan* (=kwan, kan) "roast." (Like the Accadian 𒍪 , *gan*, this old Ch. kan, pan, is also used with the ordinal numbers.)

The next line is restored from 5 R 25, 12b.

- kun = *arkat*, Br. 2041. *nšiddu* and *šiddu*, l. 24, are doubtful. I have thought of the Talmudic שֵׁרָדָה, a box-shaped litter or palanquin. The following invocation calls upon the new god to prepare for the banquet, as in 4 R 13, No. 2 (see P.S.B.A., Feb. 1892) ? *gunni šiddu*=tent of the ark.
- My restoration of the Accadian of col. 4, 19/20 agrees with the indications of 4 R². The Accadian *ni-gab*=*pitū* "to open," and 𒀭𒀭𒀭 = 𒀭𒀭𒀭, *pitū*; so that *ni-gab mara-b* is a compound like *gal-kida*, meaning "to open," "release," "set free," or something of the kind: cp. the Heb. הִרְחִיב יְהוָה לִנְנו Gen. xxvi. 22; also Ps. iv. 2. But we may perhaps understand a reference to opening the mouth of the idol; cp. 4 R 25, 47-50a. The "king" is then the new god.

With a final prayer the idol is now to be left, seated on his ark-like throne.

The Chinese dedication of a god consists in giving by blood the appearance of life to the eye and countenance of the idol, and placing it on its seat. This they call *kai kwang shing tso* "giving light, and raising to the throne" (Morrison).

The line "when thou bringest a bull into the House of Mummu" is perhaps only the catchword of the next tablet in the series. The expression *nipiši nam-uš-ku-ge* may probably be rendered "Function of the Hieroduli." See 2 R 21, 39, 40, and 43, where UŠ-KU is made a synonym of *mulu* "man," and *la-bar* "servant." *Nam-uš-ku*, therefore, is like *servitus* or *servitium* for *servi*. The pronunciation of UŠ-KU was possibly (*uš*) *tug*: cp. 5 R 12, 1e *tugga*, *zikaru*.

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS.

LONDON, 1892.

About 100 members assembled for the preliminary meeting on Sunday night, the 4th September, in the Whitehall Rooms of the Hôtel Metropole, where refreshments were served. The Chairman and some other members of the Organizing Committee received the guests.

The first, or opening meeting, was held on the following morning at eleven o'clock in the Theatre of the University of London, Burlington Gardens. About 200 were present, including delegates from the Governments of Austro-Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden, the N.W. Provinces of India, the Punjab, Burmah, Egypt, and elsewhere. H.H. the Gaikwar of Baroda was represented by his brother.

Delegates attended from the Universities and learned societies and institutions.

In the absence of H.R.H. the Duke of York, the Chairman of the Committee of Organization (Sir Thomas Wade) invited the Earl of Northbrook, President of the Royal Asiatic Society, to take the chair.

Letters of regret were read by the General Secretary (Prof. Rhys Davids) from H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, Sir Francis Knollys, the Belgian Minister, the Marquis de Casa Laiglesia, from the Ministers of China, Japan and Chile; also from Sir Henry Rawlinson, and a telegram from H.H. the Gaikwar of Baroda.

The General Secretary then read his report—

GENERAL SECRETARY'S REPORT.

MY LORD,—The Eighth International Congress of Orientalists, held at Stockholm and Christiana in 1889, left the selection of the next place of meeting to a Committee of former Presidents.

The Committee approved of London as the place of meeting, and were so fortunate as to secure for the office of President the illustrious scholar, Professor Max Müller, K.M.

The choice has been amply justified. In spite of adverse circumstances, the response to our invitations has been most cordial. The list of members includes many of the most distinguished Orientalists of Europe, and papers of unusual interest will be presented.

Eleven Governments, twenty-six learned Societies, and thirteen Universities have sent delegates; two invitations for future Congresses have been received, and the under-mentioned Princes of India have most generously contributed towards the expenses of the present meeting :—

H.H. The Gaikwar of Baroda, G.C.S.I.

H.H. The Mahārāja of Vizianāgram.

H.H. The Mahārāja of Maisur.

H.H. The Mahārāja of Travancore.

H.H. The Rao of Kutch, G.C.I.E.

H.H. The Thakur Sahib of Gondal, K.C.I.E.

H.H. Rangit Singh, Rāja of Rutlām, K.C.I.E.

H.H. The Rāja of Kapūrthala.

H.H. The Mahārāja of Kush Behár, G.C.I.E.

The announcement was made that H.M. the King of Sweden had presented to the Congress the drinking horn used at Stockholm to be the property of each succeeding President. His Majesty had further expressed his wish to give a gold medal for the best essay on some point (to be afterwards more definitely announced) of Aryan philology.

The President of the Congress, *Professor Max Müller*,

then read his *inaugural address*, in the course of which he said: "What we are assembled here for is to bring the East which seems so far from us as near as possible, near to our thoughts, near to our hearts." . . . "One of the greatest achievements of Oriental scholarship is to have proved that the complete break between the East and the West did not exist from the beginning." . . . "We must be satisfied with the general statement that the Consolidation of the Aryan speakers took place somewhere in Asia." . . . "The same holds good as regards the original home of the Semites." . . . "No history of the world can in future be written without its introductory chapter on the great consolidations of the ancient Aryan and Semitic speakers; that chapter may be called pre-historic but the (linguistic) facts with which it deals are thoroughly historical." . . . "At the present moment, when the whole world is preparing for the celebration of the discovery of America, let us not forget that the discoverers of that old pre-historic world deserve our gratitude as much as Columbus and his companions. The discoveries of Sir William Jones, Schlegel, Humboldt, and of my own masters and fellow workers, Bopp, Pott, Renouf, Benfey, Kuhn, and Curtius, will ever remain a landmark in the studies devoted to the history of our race." . . . "It is equally due to the industry and genius of Oriental scholars, such as De Sacy, Gesenius, Ewald, and Wright, if we can no longer doubt that the ancestors of the speakers of the Babylonian and Assyrian, Syriac, Hebrew, Phœnician and Arabic formed once one consolidated brotherhood of Semitic speech." . . . "The name of our letter Alpha in the Greek alphabet is a more irresistible proof of Phœnician influence than all the legends about Kadmos and Thebes." . . .

In connection with the last quotation Prof. Max Müller showed that although positive proofs (like those found in the Tel-el-Amarna tablets) of the *inter-relation* of the different peoples of the East were scarce, we have every reason to suppose that it really existed.



On the conclusion of this address a vote of thanks to the lecturer was proposed by Hofrath Professor Dr. Bühler and seconded by the Conte de Gubernatis.

The meeting then adjourned.

Afternoon meeting.—At three p.m. the list of books presented to the Congress was read. For these thanks were returned, and the following resolution, moved by Dr. Ginsburg and seconded by Mr. Delmar Morgan, was passed:—

“That the Congress expresses its grateful thanks to the several donors of the works presented to the Congress at this session, and that the Committee of Organization be authorized to hand these works to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland as additions to its library, and with power to dispose of surplus copies in such way as it shall think best adapted to further the purposes of this Congress.”

The following resolution was proposed by Sir Thomas Wade and seconded by Dr. T. H. Thornton:—

- “(1) That a Committee be appointed to consider the time and place of the next meeting of the Congress and the selection of a President, and for the further purpose of drawing up regulations for the organization and conduct of the same, based upon the practice of past sessions of the Congress.
- (2) That the Committee be selected by the President of the Congress in concert with the Chairman of the Committee of Organization (Sir Thomas Wade), the General Secretary (Professor Rhys Davids), the Treasurer (Mr. Delmar Morgan), and the Delegates of Governments and Societies.
- (3) That the proposals of the Committee appointed as aforesaid be submitted to the Congress for ratification.”

In accordance with the above resolution, the following were appointed to be members of the Representative Committee:

Italy	Count de Gubernatis.
Austria	Professor Bühler.
United States of America	Professor Lanman.
Germany	Professor Kielhorn.
Sweden	Professor Piehl.
England	Dr. Peile, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge.
Armenia	Professor Minasse Tchéráz.

To these were added the President of the Congress, the Chairman of the Organizing Committee (Sir Thomas Wade), the General Secretary (Prof. Rhys Davids), the Hon. Treasurer (Mr. E. Delmar Morgan), and Dr. T. H. Thornton. Power was reserved to add other members to this Committee.

The following resolution for regulating proceedings of the present Congress was proposed by Sir R. West, seconded by Mr. Percy Newberry, and carried unanimously :—

“That the proceedings of the present Congress be regulated, so far as possible, according to the practice observed at previous meetings. In the event of questions arising, the President of the Congress or Section, as the case may be, shall determine them, with power, should he think fit, to report questions of difficulty to the representative Committee appointed as provided in the preceding resolution.”

The meeting then terminated, and the various Sections met in their several Sectional Rooms.

The numbers attending the different Sections were about the same as in former Congresses, except that the Semitic section was smaller and the Indian (held in the Library of the University) more numerous. The following were appointed office-bearers of the various Sections :—

I. *Indian*.—Pres. Sir Raymond West ; Vice-Pres. Profs. Dr. Bühler and Lanman ; Secs. Profs. Leumann and Rhys Davids.

II. *Aryan*.—Pres. Prof. Cowell ; Vice-Pres. Profs. Ascoli and Kielhorn ; Secs. Profs. Deussen and Macdonnell.

III. *Semitic*—

(a) *Babylonian and Assyrian*.—Pres. Prof. Sayce; Vice-Pres. Prof. Hommel and Dr. Hayes Ward; Secs. Prof. Rogers and Mr. T. G. Pinches.

(b) *General*.—Pres. Prof. Robertson Smith; Vice-Pres. Profs. Karabacek and Kautzsch; Secs. Prof. Prym and Mr. Bevan.

IV. *Persian and Turkish*.—Pres. Sir Frederic Goldsmid; Vice-Pres. Prof. Darmesteter; Sec. Mr. E. G. Browne.

V. *China, Central Asia, and the Far East*.—Pres. Sir Thomas Wade; Secs. Profs. Douglas and Chamberlain.

VI. *Egypt and Africa*.—Pres. P. le Page Renouf; Vice-Pres. Prof. Reinisch; Secs. Prof. Piehl and Mr. Newberry.

VII. *Australia and Oceania*.—Pres. Sir A. Gordon; Sec. Rev. Dr. Codrington.

VIII. *Anthropological*.—Pres. Dr. Tylor; Vice-Pres. Prof. Darmesteter; Secs. Prof. Goldziher and Mr. Strong.

IX. *Geographical*.—Pres. Sir M. E. Grant Duff; Vice-Pres. Count A. de Gubernatis and Dr. C. Gilman; Secs. Rev. J. C. Casartelli and Mr. H. J. Mackinder.

X. *Archaic Greece and the East*.—The Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone; Sec. Mr. R. Brown, jun.

Inaugural Addresses of Presidents of Sections.

I. Sir Raymond West spoke on the Higher Education in India, its Position and its Claims (*Monday afternoon*).

II. Prof. Cowell treated (before the combined Sections I. and II.) of the Results of Aryan Philology obtained in the last decade, inserting some slokas of his own with English translation (*Tuesday morning*).

III. (a) Prof. Sayce read an address on Assyrian Discoveries and Investigations of late years (*Wednesday morning*).

(b) Prof. Robertson Smith delivered no formal address.

IV. Sir Frederick Goldsmid delivered an address on Translations from Persian (*Wednesday morning*).

V. There was no inaugural address in this Section (*Tuesday morning*).

I. No inaugural address in this Section.

- VII. Sir Arthur Gordon read a paper on Fiji Poetry (*Wednesday morning*).
- VIII. Dr. E. B. Tylor's address was upon the traces of the ancient stone age in the Oriental region, with the view of discovering the basis upon which later and higher stages of civilization were raised.
- IX. Sir M. E. Grant Duff delivered his address on Additions to our Knowledge of Asiatic Geography since 1869. (*Tuesday morning*).
- X. In the absence of Mr. Gladstone his address was read by Prof. Max Müller in the Theatre of the University of London on *Wednesday afternoon*.

Single Papers.

I. *Tuesday morning* (I. and II. combined). Prof. Kielhorn made a communication with respect to a Collection of Notes by Colebrooke in the University Library of Göttingen.

The discussion of Sir Raymond West's address was resumed by Profs. Bühler and Cowell, Messrs. Chintamon, Bhatt, Neil, and Taw Sein Ko.

Prof. Leumann contributed a short paper on a communication by Prof. Pullé concerning 350 Jain MSS. in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence.

Mr. Taw Sein Ko read a paper on Burmese Beliefs about Spirits.

Wednesday morning.—The Rev. Murray Mitchell treated of the Mahrathi Poets.

Mr. J. A. Baynes gave an abstract of his paper on the Language Census in India. This was followed by a discussion, in which Mr. W. E. Crooke and Prof. Bühler took part.

Prof. Rhys Davids delivered a *résumé* of the paper by Miss Foley, dealing with the Life and History of the Women members of the Buddhist Order, and read a portion of Mrs. Bode's translation of Buddhaghosha's commentary on the Anguttara Nikāya.

Wednesday afternoon (I. and II. combined).—Prof. Bühler produced Photographs of Jaina Sculptures from Mathura,

and explained the various curious details, especially a figure of *Negamesa* and representations of *Centaur*s.

Prof. Cowell read an excellent paper on the *Mahākāvya* called *Buddhacarita*. He showed that it had been imitated by *Kālidāsa* in the *Raghuvansa* and by the author of the extant *Rāmāyaṇa*. Prof. Cowell had published an edition of the work and distributed fifty copies to members of the Aryan Section.

Prof. Bühler gave an account of Mr. Pathak's paper on *Kumārila* in Jain Literature, and Prof. Rhys Davids read Surgeon-Major Waddell's Report on Excavations in Patna.

Thursday morning (I. and II. combined).—Prof. Bühler gave a brief abstract of Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's paper on the *Sūtras* of *Açvalāyana* and *Çāṅkhāyana*. The object of the paper, which is an exceedingly scholarly and valuable one, is to give an account of a lately discovered MS. entitled *Anukramanidhū*, and to show with its help that the two *Sūtras* are intended for the adherents of both the *Bāshkala* and the *Çākala Samhita*.

Mr. Vincent A. Smith then read his paper, entitled: "Observations on the Gupta Coinage," an abstract of which has already been printed and distributed. Prof. Bühler added some remarks.

Prof. Rhys Davids next read Mr. H. C. Warren's paper on "Buddhaghosha's 'Path to Purity.'" Dr. Morris and Prof. Lanman expressed the thanks of the Section to the author of the paper; Prof. Lanman adding that Mr. Warren had been engaged for some time on a complete edition of the Pali Text of the work in question, which will certainly be published, either in the Harvard series, or by the Pali Text Society, during next year.

Mr. C. B. Clarke, F.R.S., read an abstract of a paper by Mr. W. Brennand on "Indian Astronomy." Dr. Burgess added some remarks.

The thanks of the Section were passed to Mr. Malabari, to Mr. H. H. Dhruva, and to Prof. Wilhelm for the papers submitted by them; and to Mr. G. B. Tilak, B.A.,

for printed copies of the summary of his work called "Orion," which were distributed among the members of the Section.

Mr. Kashinath Trimbak Telang's paper on "Gleanings from Maratha Chronicles," was read by Dr. Burgess, who remarked that the paper was one of great value.

Friday morning (I. and II. combined).—Prof. Deussen read his paper on the Philosophy of the Vedas, distributing at the same time a prospectus of a new general history of philosophy to be published by him later on.

Mr. E. J. Rapson read Major-Gen. Sir A. Cunningham's paper on "The Coins of the Hūna Kings."

Mr. Stuart Glennie treated of "The Origin and Cradleland of the Aryan Race."

Prof. Ascoli read his paper, "Ueber die verwandschaftsverhältnisse der indogermanischen Sprachen." A discussion followed in which Prof. von Bradke and Prof. Rhys Davids took part.

Afternoon.—Prof. Max Müller submitted to the Congress the new edition of his Rig Veda, and moved a vote of thanks to the Mahārāja of Vizianāgram.

Hofrath Dr. Bühler seconded the vote of thanks to H.H. the Rāja, and handed in, in support of his contention, the following document:—

"The undersigned, while giving expression to their high sense of the obligation to H.H. the Rāja of Vizianāgram for the generous help given for the republication of Prof. Max Müller's edition of the Rig Veda with Sayana's commentary, venture to hope that an additional volume may be published containing a verbal index to the hymns."

The document was signed by the Sanskrit scholars attending the Congress.

Dr. Pavolini read a paper on the Mādhavānala Kathā.

Prof. Rhys Davids read an abstract of the Rev. Dr. Richard Morris's paper on "Jain and Sanscrit Etymology in the light of Pāli."

Prof. Bühler and Prof. Cowell discussed some of the points raised by Dr. Morris.

M. de la Vallée Poussin read two papers by M. Sylvain Lévi (1) on the early Cartography of India with facsimiles; (2) On two Chinese Versions of the Milinda-pañho, this paper being the joint production of MM. Specht and Lévi.

Mr. St. John spoke of "Some old Towns in Pegu."

II. *Tuesday morning, Wednesday afternoon, Thursday morning, and Friday* this Section was combined with I.

Wednesday morning.—Prof. von Bradke spoke on the pre-historic separation of the Aryan nations.

Prof. Kielhorn discussed the exact commencement of the Kalachuri era.

Prof. Colinet revealed the primitive nature of the goddess Aditi.

Dr. Schrupf lectured on the Progress of Armenian Studies.

III. (a) No report of this Sub-Section has been received up to the time of going to press.

(b) GENERAL SEMITIC SECTION.

Tuesday morning.—Dr. I. Goldziher read a paper, in German, entitled "Salih b. Abd al Kuddūs und das Zindikthum während der Regierung des Chalifen Al-Mahdi." He discussed the doctrines of the Zindiks (*i.e.* "heretics"), a religious sect which exercised much influence under the earlier Abbasid Caliphs. It was shown that in some of their writings there appear distinct traces of Buddhist ideas.

Prof. J. P. N. Land made some remarks on the earliest development of Arabic music. He distinguished between the native Arabic music of pre-Islamic times, and the later systems which were developed under Greek and Persian influence. Drawings were exhibited representing various kinds of lute or guitar in use among Arabs and Persians.

Tuesday afternoon.—Dr. H. Hirschfeld gave some account of his forthcoming edition of the *Dīwān* of Ḥassān b. Thābit, at the same time discussing the poet's history, and the genuineness of the pieces attributed to him.

Wednesday.—Prof. D. H. Müller presented his work, “Die Recensionen und Versionen des Eldad had-Dānī,” adding some explanations. “The Book of Eldad the Danite,” is a mediæval Jewish composition, describing an imaginary Israelite kingdom in the centre of Africa. By a comparison of the variants in certain passages, Prof. Müller has succeeded in establishing a genealogy of the various manuscripts.

Dr. M. Gaster described his forthcoming edition of the Aramaic Chronicle of the Hasmonæans, sometimes called “Megillath Antiochos.” This work, according to Dr. Gaster, was composed in the first century of our era. The Western manuscripts of it are less correct than those from South Arabia. The latter have the superlinear vocalization.

The Rev. G. Margoliouth read a paper on the superlinear vocalization, of which there are two varieties, the “simple” and the “composite.” The author rejected the notion that this vocalization is of Karaite origin, and also disputed its right to be called Babylonian. He argued that it was based upon a combination of the two systems of Syriac vocalization and was originally applied to Aramaic documents only, not to the Hebrew text of Scripture.

The President of the Section communicated two papers by Prof. E. Nestle, of Tübingen, the first dealing with some points of Semitic palæography, the second with the new Cambridge edition of the Septuagint.

An abstract was also read of a paper by the Very Rev. A. J. Maclean, describing his work on the living Aramaic dialects of Kurdistan and the neighbouring districts. These dialects are numerous and divergent; previous to Archdeacon Maclean’s researches only one or two types had been fully examined.

Thursday.—Dr. K. Vollers read a paper on “Arabic Phonetics.” There are two phonetic systems which, from about the end of the eighth century of our era, have been known to the native Arabic philologists. Both may perhaps be ultimately based upon Indian systems. Dr. Vollers pointed out the great importance of phonetic researches as

throwing light upon the relation between the different dialects.

Prof. J. Karabacek spoke, in German, on Arabic Protocols, *i.e.* first leaves of official rolls of papyrus, pointing out how the study of these furnishes a solid basis for the knowledge of Arabic diplomatic documents. The author exhibited photographs illustrating the various types and styles used in the early centuries of Islām.

Ahmed Effendī Zekī, Delegate of the Egyptian Government, gave an account of several works composed or copied by himself.

Sheikh Muḥammad Rāshid spoke, in Arabic, on the history and characteristics of the Cairene dialect, and presented his new Commentary on Ḥariri.

Colonel G. T. Plunkett read a paper on "The Study of Arabic by Europeans," suggesting the establishment of a Normal School in Egypt, to train natives in the art of teaching Arabic to Europeans. On the motion of Colonel Plunkett, seconded by Sir Francis Grenfell, the Section unanimously resolved to ask the Congress at its general meeting to take steps for impressing on the Government the importance of subsidizing the study of modern Arabic.

Friday.—Prof. D. H. Müller spoke, in German, on the proto-Arabic inscriptions, brought from Northern Arabia by Prof. J. Euting. These inscriptions are numerous, but mostly very short. They are written in a character nearly akin to the Sabæan, presenting, however, numerous palæographical difficulties. As regards their dialect, one very important feature is the use of the prefix H N as a definite article.

Prof. Ascoli communicated a paper by Prof. I. Guidi on the Hebrew text of Gen. ii. 19.

Sir H. H. Howorth read a paper in which he argued that at the end of the first chapter of Haggai there is a lacuna which may be supplied from Ezra iii.

Mrs. Lewis submitted photographs of some very ancient Arabic MSS. of the Gospels (tenth century) and Epistles (ninth century) from the monastery of Mount Sinai. The text differs considerably from any hitherto published.

At the suggestion of the President, supported by Profs. Karabacek, D. H. Müller, Dr. Goldziher, and Sir H. H. Howorth, it was determined that a meeting should be held on Monday at 10.45 to form a provisional Committee with a view to the organization of a group of scholars to undertake the compilation of an Oriental Encyclopædia.

Monday.—A list of 12 scholars, representing the principal countries of Europe, was drawn up to form the provisional Committee above-mentioned.

Wednesday morning.—A letter from Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, upon Excavations in Assyria and Babylonia, and the destruction of antiquities discovered there, was read by the Secretary, and in the discussion which ensued Dr. Hayes Ward moved the following resolutions:—

- “(1) That this meeting deploras the destruction of ancient monuments which takes place in the provinces of the Turkish Empire, and expresses the hope that the Turkish government will find means for checking it.
- “(2) That it is desirable that the learned societies and scholars of Europe and America combine to solicit the assistance of their respective governments to use their influence with the Sublime Porte to allow proper researches to be made by experienced explorers, either on their own account or on that of foreign museums, leaving the distribution of what would be discovered for future arrangement.”

Mr. Cope Whitehouse, Colonel Plunkett, and Mr. Delmar Morgan also spoke, and the motions were duly carried.

Mr. St. C. Boscawen then read his paper upon “Some Mythological Inscriptions from Tel-el-Amarna,” and Prof. Sayce made some remarks on the same.

IV. PERSIAN AND TURKISH.

Wednesday morning.—Mr. Ahmad Beg Akaeff read a paper on “The Origins of the Shiite Sect,” which he believed to be a rehabilitation of Zoroastrianism, and Dr.

Mills one on "The Zend MSS. recently acquired by the Bodleian Library." Facsimile pages of the reproduction of the Yasna MS. shortly to be published by the Clarendon Press were distributed to the members of the Section.

Thursday.—The Rev. L. Casartelli gave an account of the literary activity of the Parsees during the last ten years; and Miss Sorabji read a paper on the public and domestic life of this people, with special reference to the educational and social position of Parsee women.

Friday.—Mr. H. Weld Blundell gave an account of his recent explorations in Persepolis, illustrating his description by photographs and diagrams shown by lime-light.

Mr. William Simpson spoke on "Indian Architecture," tracing the origin of Muhammadan architecture back to the Sassanian, and showing the influence of primitive huts of bamboo on the later buildings of the Buddhists.

V. CHINA, CENTRAL ASIA, AND THE FAR EAST.

Tuesday morning.—The Section met in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, under the presidency of Prof. Sir Thomas Wade. Dr. Legge, of Oxford, opened the business of the day with an account of "The Comparative Merits of the Three Doctrines accepted in China," as represented in a work by Liu Mei, a Chinese Buddhist author, who flourished some five or six centuries ago. Liu Mei naturally ranks Buddhism above the systems of Confucius and Taoism; but Dr. Legge avowed a decided preference for the doctrine of Confucius and his followers.

Sir Thomas Wade spoke upon the same subject.

Afternoon.—The Rev. Dr. Edkins argued that Chinese is of an older type than any other known language. His view depends mainly on the theory that certain letters are more recent than others, and that Chinese is poorest in the latter and richest in the former sounds. Egyptian, Tibetan, and Tartar were placed next in the scale to Chinese; then the Semitic group, and lastly the Aryan, as the youngest of the great linguistic families.

Sir H. Howorth, who followed with some interesting remarks, suggested that the Semitic words, which Dr. Edkins had collected from Tibetan, might have been introduced into that language by such agencies as that of the Nestorians.

Wednesday morning.—Dr. T. de Lacouperie read an abstract of a luminous paper by Prof. de Harlez on “The Age and Composition of the *Li ki*.” After a few comments by the President, the Rev. J. C. Ball, M.R.A.S., treated of “The Accadian affinities of the Chinese writing and language.” By way of illustration, the characters for “parent” (*house + star*), and those for “reed,” “gold,” “sheep,” “righteousness” were shown on the black board to be ultimately identical in the two languages. A discussion followed, in which Prof. Legge, Dr. Edkins, Sir T. Wade, and Sir H. Howorth took part.

An essay on the *ku wen*, entitled “China’s ältester Culturzustand auf Grund seiner Schriftzeichen,” by Dr. Rudolf Dvorak, was laid before the Section.

Wednesday afternoon.—Some fine old Daimio swords were exhibited by Sir Henry Howorth.

Dr. T. de Lacouperie discoursed of “The shifting of the Names and Symbols of the Points of Space from Babylonia to China, as Evidence of the South-west Asiatic Origin of the Early Chinese Civilization.” It was alleged that the Sumero-Akkadian symbols for *north* and *south* have been interchanged by the “Bak families” who were the civilizers of China, while those for *east* and *west* have been retained in their original application.

Thursday morning.—Mr. C. J. W. Pfoundes read part of an exhaustive account of “Buddhism in Japan.” Incidentally it was pointed out that the designation “Esoteric Buddhism” was an absurd misnomer of so-called Theosophy. Dr. Georg Huth, of Berlin, presented a new work in Tibetan, and read a paper in German on “Hor chos byung, eine Geschichte des Buddhismus in der Mongolei und Tibetischer Sprache.” Dr. Ginsburg interpreted. Prof. Max Müller remarked on the superior value of Tibetan versions of Sanskrit texts. A letter from Miss C. F. Gordon Cumming,

about Mr. Murray's adaptation to Chinese of Braille's system of teaching the blind to read, was laid before the Section by Prof. Legge.

Thursday afternoon.—Mr. Walter Denning's review of "Modern Japanese Literature" was read by Prof. R. K. Douglas. The writer criticized Mr. Satow's article, "Japanese Literature," in the *American Encyclopædia*, and argued against discarding the native script in favour of the Roman character.

Mr. Dickens, who had sent Mr. Denning's paper, added also some remarks of his own in favour of Romanisation.

Dr. T. de Lacouperie presented a catalogue of the Chinese Coins of the British Museum.

A letter was received from Gen. Alexander on the peculiar structure of the Mongolian eye.

Friday morning.—Mr. E. Delmar Morgan addressed the Section on the subject of the recent discoveries in Mongolia. His paper was entitled "Reports on the results of the Russian Archæological Expedition to the valley of the Orkhon (Mongolia)." These Reports are written by Dr. W. Radlof and other members of the expedition. They are accompanied by a fine Atlas with Photographs, a set of which, received from St. Petersburg, was laid on the table.

Prof. O. Donner followed with "Die Inschriften am Orchon und die finnische Expedition dorthin 1890." Prof. Donner presented to the Congress a publication by the Société Finno-Ougrienne of Helsingfors, containing inscriptions from the valley of the Orkhon, brought home by the Finnish Expedition in 1890.

There are three large monuments, the first erected 732 A.D. by order of the Chinese Emperor, in honour of Kiue-Teghin, younger brother of the Khān of the Tukū (Turks). The second was also erected by order of the Emperor, in honour of Mekilikor (Moguilen), Khān of the Tukū, who died 733 A.D. Both monuments are covered with Chinese and "runic" inscriptions. The third is trilingual, the inscriptions being written in Chinese, Uigur, and "runic" or

Yenissei characters. The importance of these memorials, for the problem of the oldest forms of the Turkic dialects, is evident.

The Rev. H. Hanlon's paper on "The Folk Songs of Ladak" was read by Mr. Casartelli.

The Section did not meet on Saturday.

VI. EGYPT AND AFRICA.

Tuesday.—Papers were read by Professor Hechler on a newly discovered MS. on papyrus of a portion of the Septuagint, and by Dr. Flinders Petrie on recent excavations at Tel-el-Amarna. The Hon. Sec., Mr. Newberry, also read a paper by Mr. Ll. Griffith on "Fragments of Ancient Egyptian Stories."

Wednesday.—Papers were read by Dr. Karl Piehl on personal pronouns in Egyptian, by Dr. Ed. Mahler on the decree of Kanopus, and by Prof. V. Schmidt on the sarcophagi and funeral wrappings of the Egyptians.

Thursday.—Prof. Norman Lockyer read a paper on the orientation of Egyptian temples, and Col. Plunkett read a paper, by Major Windgate, on the rise and wane of Mahdism in the Sudan.

Friday.—Mr. le Page Renouf (the President) read a paper on "Vowels in the Egyptian Alphabet." Count Raimio D'Hulst read Prof. Naville's paper on "A king of the 19th Dynasty."

In the afternoon Prof. Mahaffy gave an account of the Flinders Petrie papyri, containing fragments of Greek texts; and proof plates of Mr. Percy Newberry's forthcoming work, "Memoirs on Beni Hasan and El Bersheh," were shown and explained.

VII. AUSTRALASIA.

Wednesday morning.—The President read a paper on "Fijian Poetry," giving translations of legendary, dramatic, popular and amatory songs.

The next paper was on "The Languages of British New Guinea," by Mr. Sidney Ray. In this paper he compared the grammar and vocabularies of twenty-one languages of New Guinea and the neighbouring islands. A resolution was proposed by Dr. E. B. Tylor urging the importance of further official research into the languages, religion, and customs of the tribes in the Possession.

Friday Morning.—The Rev. Dr. Mac Farlane read a paper on "New Guinea," describing from personal knowledge the country and the people. The Rev. J. E. Newell contributed a valuable paper on "The Chiefs' Language of Samoa," followed by an interesting discussion, in which Mr. Ray adduced for comparison chiefs' languages in the Loyalty and Caroline Islands.

VIII. ANTHROPOLOGICAL SECTION.

Tuesday morning.—A paper was read by Count Angelo de Gubernatis on "Le rôle du Mythe dans le Conte Populaire," which was followed by a discussion, in which the President, Prof. Darmesteter, Prof. Tchéraz, and Mr. Hagopian took part.

Prof. Tchéraz read a paper on "Armenian Mythology," in which he gave the results of his personal investigations among the people.

Wednesday morning.—The Section did not meet.

Thursday morning.—Prof. T. de Lacouperie read a paper, "Sur le Coco du roi de Yueh et l'arbre aux enfants," in which he sought to prove that the story of the cocoa-nut of the king of Yueh represented the primitive form of the legend found in Albiruni and the Mahābhārata of a tree upon which children or diminutive men grow like fruit. The paper was followed by a discussion.

Count Angelo de Gubernatis presented a paper by Signor Girolamo Donati, entitled "Una tavoletta augurale Indiana," in which the author identifies the god Maṅgala with Kārtikeya.

Prof. Kovalevsky read a paper on "Iranian influences in the Caucasus," which was followed by a discussion, in which the President, Dr. Gaster, Prof. Tchéráz, and Count de Gubernatis took part.

Mr. St. Chad Boscawen spoke extempore on "Pictorial Systems of Writing as evidence of Early Civilization and Prehistoric Times."

A paper on "Anthropology in India," by the Hon. H. H. Risley, in the absence of the author, was read by the Secretary. Attention was called to the excellent work done in Anthropometry and Statistics under the patronage of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and the hope was expressed that the Congress might see their way to giving influential support to the study of Anthropology in India.

Friday morning.—Mr. William Crooke, Bengal Civil Service, read a paper describing the work already done in connection with ethnographical research in Northern India. The paper was followed by a discussion.

A proposal was submitted to the meeting by the President and carried unanimously :—

"That the Anthropological Section of the Oriental Congress desire to express their sense of the political as well as scientific importance of the anthropometric and descriptive information collected under the orders of the Government of Bengal, and note their satisfaction that the Government of the North-west Provinces and Oudh has taken steps to promote ethnographic studies within its jurisdiction, and trust that this line of research may receive throughout India the countenance and support of other local governments and administrations. Sufficient interest exists among Indian officials to enable the investigations in question to be carried on without the necessity of applying to Government for a subsidy."

A paper was read by Professor Leumann on "Rosaries in use amongst the Jains." The President exhibited specimens of Vaishnava and Shaiva rosaries, and a discussion

followed in which Mr. Pfoundes, Professor Kovalevsky, Mr. Crooke, and Mr. Tau Sein Ko took part.

A paper on "The Marital Relations of the Nicobar Islanders," in the absence of the author, Mr. E. H. Man, was read by the Secretary.

The following proposal was made by the President, and carried unanimously :—

"That this Section desires to call the attention of the Congress to the importance of forming a collection of Oriental folk-lore on a systematic basis by the co-operation of Orientalists in each country."

IX. GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION.

Tuesday morning.—Dr. H. Schlichter read "Some Notes on the African Discoveries of the Arabs in Antiquity." He contended that the ruins at Zimbabwe are not merely of pre-Mohammedan date, but that they could not possibly have been erected in the 600 years preceding the Mohammedan era.

Mr. C. W. Campbell (H.M.'s Consular Service in China) read a paper on the "Discovery of Korea," in which he brought together, it is believed for the first time, the early notices of that land.

Wednesday morning.—Dr. W. H. Flinders Petrie read an excellent sketch of the action of "Causes and Effects in Egyptian Geography."

Mr. J. Theodore Bent gave an account of the more recent discoveries among the ruins of Zimbabwe and its neighbourhood. Dr. Petrie made some remarks on his paper.

Mr. Haskett Smith read a careful summary of "Syrian Exploration since 1886," the date of Mr. Besant's "Twenty-one Years' Work in the Holy Land." Mr. Guy le Strange commented on Mr. Smith's paper.

Thursday morning.—Prof. W. M. Ramsay read an admirable paper on "The Persistent Attachment of Religious

Institutions to Special Localities in Asia Minor." Sir H. Howorth took part in the discussion which followed.

Mr. D. G. Hogarth made some valuable suggestions for the "Future Exploration of Asia Minor." The abstract of a paper by Major Brown, R.E., on "Lake Mœris" was read, and was discussed by Mr. Cope Whitehouse.

This Section did not meet on Friday.

X. ARCHAIC GREECE.

Wednesday afternoon.—Mr. Gladstone's address. This was printed and copies distributed among members of the Congress.

Thursday morning.—Mr. T. S. Stuart Glennie spoke on the Oriental origins of Greek civilization, and Mr. Robert Brown made some observations on the same subject.

Friday morning.—Mr. Robert Brown, jun., discussed the astronomical statements of Aratos respecting the celestial equator, and showed their Euphratean origin.

CONCLUDING MEETING.

Monday, September 12th.—The concluding meeting was held in the morning, the President, Prof. Max Müller, in the chair. A letter and telegram were read from H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, and congratulatory telegrams from H.M. the King of Sweden, H.I.H. the Archduke Rainer, and H.R.H. Duke Philip of Saxe Coburg. A number of resolutions from the various Sections were then read and carried by the meeting. It was decided to hold the Tenth International Congress at Geneva in 1894, and a set of regulations for the conduct and organization of future Congresses were agreed to. Votes of thanks to the Universities of London and learned Societies which had lent their rooms to the Congress, to the Indian Princes who had contributed to its funds, to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and to the public bodies and private persons who

had entertained the members of the Congress, were passed. The Sheikh Mahomed Rashid recited an Arabic poem, the substance of which was interpreted in French by Mahomed Zéki Effendi. Professor Ascoli, Senator of the Kingdom of Italy, moved, and Professor Drouin seconded, a vote of thanks to the President, who, in response, declared the Ninth Congress of Orientalists closed.

Thus ended one of the most successful Congresses that has been held. The greatest efforts will be made to bring out the complete transactions as soon as possible. Meanwhile we may look forward to the Tenth Congress at Geneva in 1894, and wish to it also every success.

CORRESPONDENCE.

NOTE ON ANCIENT REMAINS OF TEMPLES ON THE BANNU FRONTIER. Communicated by Lala Hira Lal.

SIR,—Lala Hira Lal, a member of the Royal Asiatic Society, has communicated to me the following details of some old Temples in an unfrequented part of the Panjab frontier. In Edwardesabad, or Bannu, a little below Attock, is the small town of Kâlâbâgh, on the very bank of the Indus. The river is here not more than 400 feet broad, as it is confined between high banks on both sides. Just opposite to Kâlâbâgh is the small village of Mârî, the path from the river bank leading to which winds round the base of a hillock about 200 feet high. The hillock is called by the villagers Arjan Nângâ, and upon mounting this the remains of two Temples are reached. The villagers state that, after the Kerwâs had defeated the Pândwâs, the latter retired to this hill in order to spend their twelve years of banishment in seclusion. Their exile is supposed to have been passed on the spot marked by these Temples. A little higher up there are the remains of a third utterly ruined Temple, built of bricks of light porous clay, about one foot long, nine inches wide, and three inches thick. The villagers informed Hira Lal that the bricks of this ruin were made of leaves; and this statement induced him to break a few of the bricks. To his astonishment he found them all distinctly marked inside with the impressions of the leaves of trees. Several specimens of these broken bricks have been forwarded to me, and the veining of the laurel-like leaves is certainly very distinct upon them.

The presence of a petrifying spring at no great distance renders it probable that these bricks are made of clayey soil mixed with leaves, which has been under the influence of this spring of water. It seems, however, that no use is now made of this material in building. A large number of quartzose crystals are scattered over the hill and imbedded in the stones. These, it is asserted, are due to the curse of a Faqîr, who turned into useless crystals all the precious gems of which the hill was originally composed. The two Temples first spoken of are believed by the villagers to be five thousand years old; and they are undoubtedly of great antiquity. Their fronts appear to have been repaired in modern times. Lala Hira Lal is, unfortunately, not an artist; but he has supplied rough sketches which show that these are remains of Buddhist Temples of the tall, or conical, kind; but whether of the straight or bulged species it is impossible to say. The Buddhistic character of these remains is made certain by the eight-leafed lotus ornaments, which Hira Lal represents as the characteristic carving of the Temples. It is worth notice that the villagers of the neighbourhood of this hill use small stone bottles for ink, etc., which closely resemble small stûpas. They are *eight*-sided, just like ordinary Buddhistic pillars; and the zig-zag markings on each face also consist of *eight* points; while the edges of the faces are notched into *eight* divisions. Round the dome-like tops of these little stûpas are sets of *eight*-pointed zig-zags, and there are also notches arranged in sets of *eight*. It is, at least, remarkable that obscure villagers should be traditionally manufacturing these little stone objects so suggestive of a Buddhistic origin, marked all over with the mystic number *eight*, in contiguity to the remains of old Buddhistic Temples.

FREDERIC PINCOTT.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(July, August, September, 1892.)

I. CONTENTS OF FOREIGN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

1. ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT.

Band xxvi. Heft 1.

Goldziher (Ign.). Der Diwān des Garwal b. Aus Al-Hutej'a.

Bühler (G.). Beiträge zur Erklärung der Aṣoka-Inschriften. (fortsetzung)

Erman (Adolf.). Das Verhältniss des Aegyptischen zu den semitischen Sprachen.

Kohut (Dr. Alex.). Ist das Schauspiel im Talmud genannt, und unter welchem Namen?

Nöldeke (Theo.). Bemerkungen zu Geiger's Übersetzung des Pehlewi-Buches Jātkāri Zarērān.

Leumann (Ernst.). Billige Jaina-Drücke.

Fischer (A.). Zu pp. v-vii. meiner "Biographien von Gewährsmännern des Ibn Ishāq."

2. JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

Vol. xv. No. 11.

Bloomfield (Maurice). Contributions to the Interpretation of the Veda.

Easton (M. W.). The Divinities of the Gāthās.

Hatfield (J. T.). The Āuçanasādbhutāni: Text and Translation.



Jackson (A. V. W.). Where was Zoroaster's Native Place?

Oertel (Dr. Hanns.). Extracts from the Jāiminiya-Brāhmaṇa and Upanishad-Brāhmaṇa parallel to passages of the Ṣatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, and Chandogya-Upanishad.

Hopkins (E. W.). Problematic Passages in the Rig-Veda.

II. OBITUARY NOTICES.

Surgeon-General Henry Walter Bellew, M.D., C.S.I., was the son of the late Major H. W. Bellew, of the Bengal Army, born at Nusserabad in India, on the 30th of August, 1834, and died at Farnham Royal, Buckinghamshire, on the 26th of July, 1892. His father was Assistant Quarter-Master General attached to the ill-fated army of Kabul, of which only one survivor, Dr. Bryden returned, to tell the tale of the disaster. He entered in 1852 as a medical student at St. George's Hospital, where he was soon distinguished as an intelligent and painstaking scholar, and was a favourite pupil of the late Mr. Cæsar Hawkins, Sergeant-Surgeon to the Queen.

After finishing his professional studies, and being in possession of his diplomas, Dr. Bellew went to the Crimea in 1854; he returned from the seat of war in 1855, and obtained his commission as Assistant-Surgeon in the Bengal Medical Service.

His first appointment in India was to do duty with the Guides, but he did not stay there long, having been ordered to join Major H. B. Lumsden on the famous Mission to Kandahar, of which he published his first important work under the title, "Journal of a Mission to Kandahar in 1857 and 1858," full of information, not merely from a scientific, but also from a political point of view, and as a study of the character of the warlike hill-tribes. During the two years of the Sepoy Mutiny Dr. Bellew was doing duty beyond the frontiers of India, and whilst his corps was winning laurels in the campaign, and particularly before

Delhi, he was unfortunately absent on quasi-political duty, a circumstance he always regretted, as it cut him off from all chances of actively distinguishing himself, and thus losing the honour and glory more or less attaching itself to those who had been through the mutiny. Dr. Bellew and his companions, the two Lumsdens, were during that critical time in the country of the Afghans, and entirely at their mercy; when the news of the perilous condition of the English Raj in Hindostan reached Kandahar, the son of Dost Mahomed Gholam Hyder, the governor, actually asked his father, as to whether the three Englishmen should be put to death? That such an event luckily did not take place, was greatly due to the young Doctor Sahib's fame as a kind and skilful practitioner, who, as such, had done good service to the Afghans themselves whilst in their midst.

The experience which Dr. Bellew gained in dealing with the frontier tribes, enabled him to render important services to Government during the Ambeyla campaign, for which he received a medal; subsequently, when Civil Surgeon of Peshawar, a wide field of usefulness opened out to him, and his name became a household word among the frontier tribes whose language he spoke, and with whose manners and feelings he thoroughly sympathized. Bellew's "General Report on the Yusufzais in 1864," a work of great interest on the topography, history, antiquities, tribal subdivisions, government, customs, climate, and productions of that country, and the publication of a "Grammar and Dictionary of the Pukhto Language" supply ample proofs, if any were needed, of his untiring activity and political insight as well as of his linguistic zeal.

In 1869, during the Durbar at Ambála, Lord Mayo employed Dr. Bellew as interpreter with the Ameer Shere Ali; this potentate never ceased to speak of him with expressions of respect and warm friendship. Nine years later, when Sir Lewis Pelly met the Afghan envoy in conference at Peshawar, the envoy is reported to have said to Dr. Bellew, "I reckon you as our friend, and I know the Ameer esteems you as such."

In 1871 Dr. Bellew accompanied Sir Richard Pollock on a political mission to Sistan, where they were joined by Sir Frederick Goldsmid's mission from Bombay, and proceeded together to the Persian Capital; his valuable volume "From the Indus to the Tigris," is the result of observations on that interesting journey. It contains also a sketch of a Grammar of the Brahūi language, and other scientific matter.

In 1873 and 1874 he was selected to accompany Sir Douglas Forsyth's embassy to Kashghar and Yarkand, whose report on the same was largely written by Bellew. The graphic description of the people they visited, and an account of the neighbouring countries, includes several references to the "Kunjut" country as well, which, under the name of "Hunza" is now under the British influence; this specially valuable information is comprised in Dr. Bellew's work entitled "Kashmir and Kashghar." The account of this expedition is worthy of the study of all who desire to obtain an insight into the history and position of Chinese Turkestan.

When fresh warlike clouds were again gathering around Afghanistan, Dr. Bellew's well-known friendship with Shere Ali and his thorough knowledge of the frontier affairs, pointed him out to Lord Lytton as the most competent person for the post of chief political officer at Kabul in 1879. Illness unfortunately prevented Dr. Bellew from long holding the appointment; he was present at Shutur Gardan and all through the siege of Sherpūr; he succumbed to the severe cold and hardships which brought on fever and dysentery, and was obliged to leave his post. Sir Lepel Griffen took up the appointment, and the success and rewards which followed, would in all likelihood have fallen to Bellew's share, had his physical strength been able to hold out longer. Bellew's stay in Kabul, however, furnished him with material for another book, "The Races of Afghanistan," published in 1880.

Dr. Bellew retired from the service in November, 1886, with the highest rank attainable by a medical officer; still

full of energy and love for work, although with a broken down constitution, he loved to be busy with his favourite pursuit; during his retirement he read several Papers before the Royal Asiatic Society, of which he was an old member. To the last he was occupied with questions of comparative philology in connection with his theory of the relationship of the Greek and Pukhto languages.

Dr. Bellew was passionately fond of Oriental studies, for which he had so many opportunities, and acquired languages with great facility. His views on the history of those languages were, it is true, condemned by critical scholars. But the numerous works he wrote and the services he rendered to ethnography, grammar, and lexicography, deserve grateful acknowledgment. On medical subjects several treatises appeared from his pen; his work on cholera contains over 1000 pages; as Civil Surgeon of Peshawar he did good work in the direction of sanitary supervision and arrangements not only in his station but in his Province, the Panjab, generally, where he was best known. During his long cold-weather tours he visited, as Sanitary Commissioner, the small remote villages also; his usual custom being, when in larger towns, to assemble the members of the Municipalities, and to explain to them in a familiar style, the advantages of vaccination, the necessity for using pure water and practising general cleanliness. He published in the Panjabi a small treatise on vaccination, and notes on cholera, which could easily be understood by the people.

The medical establishment of India may well be proud of Surgeon-General Bellew, as one of those illustrious brother officers whose names will not be forgotten as long as that service lasts. His was a simple, kind, straightforward, and unostentatious character, a firm friend, beloved and esteemed by all who knew him. He spent his life in devotion to the public service, though it was hardly requited as it deserved to be. The gallant and famous frontier officer, Sir Charles MacGregor, was his intimate friend and companion of many years; his sister became Mrs. Bellew, who, with



two daughters and a son, a Lieutenant in the 16th Lancers, are left behind.

The following is a list of his works :—

1. Journal of a Mission to Kandahar.
2. Afghanistan and the Afghans.
3. From Indus to the Tigris.
4. Ethnography of Afghanistan.
5. History of Cholera.
6. Supplement to the History of Cholera.
7. Yusufzai.
8. Kashmir and Kashghar.
9. Grammar and Dictionary of Pukhto Language.

In addition numerous pamphlets on political and medical subjects.

T. D.

III. NOTES AND NEWS.

Indian Ethnography.—The following Resolution has been published by the Government of India :—

Naini Tal, the 28th June, 1892.

READ—

Letter from the Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, No. ^{27 Pub.}/₁₀₈₅ dated 20th October, 1891.

Opinions of the officers consulted—Messrs. W. Crooke, J. C. Nesfield, E. J. Kitts, V. A. Smith.

OBSERVATIONS.—In the letter from the Government of India, above quoted, the opinion of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor was asked regarding the desirability of extending to these Provinces the scheme of ethnographical research which has for some time been prosecuted in Bengal under the supervision of Mr. H. H. Risley. The scheme, as described by Mr. Risley, contemplates the appointment of a “Provincial Director of Ethnographic Inquiries,” who should be unpaid, but who should be provided with a clerk to carry on correspondence and

with an allowance for stationery and other contingent charges. The Director by circulating lists of ethnographic questions under the authority of Government to District Officers and other correspondents, and by means of monographs to be drawn up by him or selected correspondents, would collect information regarding castes, customs and folk-lore, which information after collation and verification would be printed by Government in a convenient form and distributed to learned societies in Europe and elsewhere.

2. The Government of India observes that the present is an opportune time for such inquiries, as the material procured at the recent census regarding caste, race and tribe would form a basis for the proposed investigation. The Lieutenant-Governor agrees in the desirability of prosecuting the inquiry at the present time; and has consulted several officers in these Provinces who have, by independent research, acquired special knowledge on the various subjects connected with ethnography. Mr. W. Crooke, at present Magistrate and Collector of Mirzapur, has already published several works of recognized value, and has for many years been engaged in collecting materials for a work similar in scope and arrangement to that compiled by Mr. Risley for Bengal. Mr. E. J. Kitts, now Judge at Moradabad, has devoted much attention to the collection of anthropometric data. Mr. J. C. Nesfield, at present Director of Public Instruction, has, during his long service in these Provinces, collected valuable notes on tribes, customs and folk-lore; and has published in part the results of his inquiries. Mr. V. A. Smith by his historical inquiries is also in a position to render valuable aid in the investigation which it is now proposed to undertake.

3. Mr. W. Crooke has offered his services to Government as Honorary Director of Ethnographic Inquiries, and the Lieutenant-Governor accepts with thanks the offer of his services. There are in these Provinces no societies formed for scientific investigation of this kind, but there are societies which can, as correspondents, contribute very



valuable information, and which doubtless will assist. A special branch of inquiry is the measurement of living subjects with a view to ascertaining the physical characteristics of different tribes. Mr. E. J. Kitts will be asked to undertake the direction of this branch, and in consultation with the Director to make proposals for the systematic record of measurements and the utilisation of the data already in existence. Mr. Nesfield and Mr. Smith will be asked to give the Director the benefit of their advice, to aid him in drawing up lists of questions, and to co-operate in other ways pointed out by their knowledge and experience.

4. Mr. Crooke has asked for an allotment of Rs. 1,000 for establishment and contingencies, including any preliminary printing that may be necessary. It is understood that a further grant will be required if Mr. Kitts undertakes anthropometric inquiries. The Provincial Superintendent of Census will be able to provide copies of tables of castes and sub-castes in September, 1892; the figures for any special caste could be supplied at an earlier date. The results of the inquiries of the Census Department in connection with classification of castes and civil condition will be placed at the Director's disposal. District Officers will be asked to render such aid as lies in their power, and to place the Director in communication with gentlemen who take an interest in the subject, and who from their own observation and inquiry can supply answers to his questions.

5. The Lieutenant-Governor fully recognizes how vast is the field to be explored and how inadequate are the arrangements sketched above for its complete exploration. The officers on whose assistance Government relies have their ordinary duties to perform, which at no time are light. His Honor is, however, of opinion that the experiment should be tried, that an effort should be made to gather up the scattered information now in existence, and to encourage those possessed of special knowledge to communicate it.

6. The Lieutenant-Governor and Chief Commissioner, having ascertained that all the officers above named who are now in India are willing to aid Government in the manner indicated, is pleased to appoint Mr. W. Crooke to be "Provincial Director of Ethnographical Inquiries" and to place at his disposal a sum of Rs. 1,000.

The Semitic Inscriptions at Sinjerli.—M. Joseph Halévy, the well-known French Orientalist, was deputed by his colleagues of the Paris Institute to go to Berlin and report upon the Semitic inscriptions which have been recently placed in the museum of that city, having, as already stated, been discovered by the German Oriental Committee which has been prosecuting its excavations in the comparatively unexplored region forming the boundary between Asia Minor and Syria. This region is formed by the two chains of the Amanus Mountains, the valley between them being traversed by the river Pyramus, which flows into the sea to the north of Antioch. It was upon the slopes of the southern range of the Amanus, at a place called Sinjerli, that the Berlin committee discovered an ancient city, buried beneath a number of mounds, with a number of statues bearing cuneiform inscriptions, Hittite inscriptions, and two long Aramean inscriptions, dating from the eighth or ninth century B.C., and engraved in raised characters upon the robes of two Royal statues. M. Halévy, who has been able to copy the inscriptions, states that the two Kings upon whose statues they are engraved were rulers of the land of Yadi, and reigned at an interval of about a century from each other. The first statue is that of Panémou, the founder of the dynasty, and the inscription relates his being placed upon the throne, the chief events of his reign, and the protection of the gods, this inscription being forty lines in length. The second inscription, a photograph of which has been published in M. Philippe Berger's new edition of the "Histoire de l'Écriture dans l'Antiquité," is, in the opinion of M. Halévy, that of a King who was a vassal of Tiglath-Pilezer, King of Assyria, and who relates in some detail the wars of his father with

the neighbouring tribes, his relations with the Assyrians, his defeats, and his victories, in which, as in those related upon the inscriptions of Mesa and of Byblos, the divinity plays the principal part. He then goes on to describe the history of his own reign, and terminates by invoking the protection of the gods. M. Halévy says that the language of these inscriptions is not Aramean, as was at first supposed, but a Phœnician dialect, very analogous to Hebrew, which was spoken by the people whom the Assyrians named Hatté—that is to say, Hittites or Hethæens. He adds that the current opinion as to their not being of Semitic race is quite erroneous, and that the hieroglyphics discovered in various parts of Asia Minor are of Anatolian and not of Syrian origin, the few texts of this kind found at Hamath and Aleppo being due to Anatolian conquerors, whose domination, however, was very temporary in character.

Marriage Customs in Ancient India.—Dr. Winternitz, now working in Oxford, has published an elaborate monograph in German on this important topic (*Altindische Hochzeitsrituell*, Vienna, Tempsky). He sets out more fully than has hitherto been done the regulations on the matter preserved in the ancient sects, with especial reference throughout to the *Āpastambīya Gṛihya Sūtra*. And he adds a number of very striking analogies he has discovered between the ritual of ancient India and that in use in other Aryan countries. The whole work is conceived and carried out in a thorough and scholarly way, and we congratulate him on the success of the special study he has made.

Indian Fairy Tales.—Under this title Mr. Joseph Jacobs has published a collection of some five-and-twenty Indian stories drawn from all kinds of sources. They are beautifully printed and illustrated, and would be an ideal gift book for Anglo-Indian children. In an introduction and appendix, which the children would skip, there is a clear *résumé* of the history of Indian story telling in its influence on the West; and older readers will find the interest of the stories much enhanced by the insight they may here obtain into

what is perhaps the most entrancing story in the book, the "Story of the Indian Stories."

Indian Scholars.—The following letter closes the correspondence printed on pp. 426–428 of this volume :—

India Office, Whitehall, 5th August, 1892.

DEAR SIR,—Mr. Wynn's letter of the 10th June will have informed you that a copy of your letter of the 27th May last would be referred to the Viceroy.

A reply to this reference has now been received, and I am desired by Lord Cross to communicate to you the views of His Excellency as expressed therein.

In regard to natives of India who may have distinguished themselves by proficiency in Oriental languages, it will be remembered that the honorary titles of Mahámahopádhyáya and Shams-ul-Ulama have been conferred since 1887; whilst the Order of the Indian Empire contains the names of a number of gentlemen who were appointed to it in recognition of their distinction in the same field; the policy of the State being to encourage Oriental scholars in their labours by the grant of honorary decorations.—I am, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

Robert Cust, Esq.,

THEOPH. HASTINGS.

Hon. Sec. of Royal Asiatic Society.

IV. NOTICES OF BOOKS.

AN AVESTA GRAMMAR, in comparison with Sanskrit. By A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, of Columbia College, New York. Part I, pp. 273, with an Introduction, pp. 38. (Stuttgart, 1892: Kohlhammer.)

A PRACTICAL GRAMMAR OF THE AVESTA LANGUAGE, compared with Sanskrit, pp. 312. By KAVASJI EDALJI KANGA, of the Moolla Feeroz Madressa. (Bombay, 1891: Education Society's Press.)

If we measured the advance of study by the increasing bulk of grammars, we should have to conclude that the study of the Avesta had been making gigantic strides

during the last thirty years. In 1862, when Haug published an outline of Avesta grammar in the first edition of his *Essays*, seventy octavo pages were considered sufficient for the purpose, and were certainly not more than an ordinary memory could retain. While Justi's grammar of forty-six quarto pages (about 115 octavo), published in 1864, though more comprehensive and methodical, at once passed the limits of memory and became merely a book of reference. Other grammars have followed, such as that of Spiegel in 1867, of de Harlez in 1878, of Geiger in 1879; and the latest Avesta grammars, now introduced to the reader, are already more than four times the extent of Haug's outline sketched thirty years ago, although the quantity of Avesta text, from which they are derived, is precisely the same as formerly.

The first part of Jackson's grammar treats of the phonology, inflection, and word-formation of the Avesta language, and is preceded by an introductory essay on the Avesta. The second part, which is already in the press, will treat of the syntax and metre. Throughout the work the correspondences and contrasts with Sanskrit are constantly pointed out, and the author endeavours to obviate some of the intricacies, arising from the completeness of the work, by printing such details as are either unimportant, or rarely wanted, in smaller type. He has also supplied excellent indexes, in addition to a detailed table of contents, by aid of which a careful student can readily find any detail he may require; and the more desultory reader will find some most useful "suggestions" on p. xxxix. Excepting single letters (when treating of the alphabet) and three short specimens of Avesta text, the whole of the Avesta words are given only in italic transliteration according to a system adopted by the author, and the Sanskrit words according to the usual system, as employed by Whitney, with two or three variations. That transliteration conduces to great saving of space is obvious to every one, and the system adopted by Jackson has been well considered and is not open to

greater objections than any older system. But he must expect to find it a vexation to printers to have to supply some eighteen varieties of rare or new type; and old scholars may perhaps find some difficulty in distinguishing between a few of the new letters, when they have to trust to their eyesight rather than their experience in reading. It is to be feared that every new system of transliteration is a fresh hindrance to the settlement of any universal system, as no system can become universal until it displaces all other systems, new as well as old; and this it can do only through previous acceptance by all parties, publishers as well as scholars. Regarding the main body of the work it is sufficient to say that it is practically exhaustive and thoroughly systematic, the declensions and conjugations are given in complete detail, and both the orthography and formation of words are fully considered.

Kavasji Edalji's grammar, completed seven months earlier, clearly shows the great progress made, during the last few years, by studious Parsis in the scientific examination of their sacred books. It is written in English, and the Avesta words are given in their original characters. The general order of the contents is much the same as in Jackson's grammar, and the book, which includes a chapter on syntax, is provided with a detailed table of contents, but no index. The author has evidently spent much labour on the collection and arrangement of his materials, and has fully succeeded in producing a thoroughly practical grammar, and one sufficiently scientific for Parsi students. It would, perhaps, be well if grammarians and students did not place too much reliance upon the minute details of Avesta orthography. Those who are aware how much and how often the MSS. vary, not only from each other, but also from themselves, in the spelling of words, will not lay much stress upon small variations, knowing, as they do, that much of the uniformity in our editions of the texts may depend upon the oldest MSS. being mostly of the same family.

E. W. WEST.



It is a pleasant task to call attention to a further instalment of the publications of the Archæological Survey of India, in the shape of Dr. E. Hultzsch's volume of Tanjore Temple inscriptions, being Vol. II. Part 1 of his "South Indian Inscriptions."

The Tanjore Temple has always been a subject of exceeding interest to students of South Indian history and Tamil palæography, owing to the presence thereon, on almost every outer wall, of the well-known band of deeply-incised inscriptions in eleventh- and twelfth-century characters, which fills the space between the upper and lower sculptures of the plinth. Several palæographers have essayed to publish portions of the text, and the late Dr. Burnell gave a substantially accurate account of its contents in more than one of his works, but it has remained for Dr. Hultzsch to publish the whole *in extenso*, in a form admirable in itself, and for the accuracy of which his own name is sufficient guarantee.

While it was well known that the inscriptions embodied a record of grants made to the temple by the powerful Chola Sovereigns, Rāja Rāja, Rājendra, and others, Dr. Hultzsch's research has brought to light a considerable number of new historical facts, has explained many doubtful points, and has in no inconsiderable measure enlarged our knowledge—hitherto very scanty—of the general system of revenue and taxation among the old Hindu Sovereigns.

This knowledge cannot fail to be of importance. Such is the state of ignorance regarding the Government of India in ancient times, even among the most educated persons, that it has hitherto been impossible for an Englishman, save by mere conjectures and inference, to reply satisfactorily to the utterances of irresponsible agitators at so-called National Congresses, or the relentless and lying slanders of the Native Press. Every sensible man felt certain that he was not exaggerating the case when he claimed for the British Government that it was the mildest and kindest that had ever existed in India, but there was no certain proof available, nothing that could be paraded before educated Hindus

as conclusively establishing the fact. Part of the necessary proof is now being presented to us by Dr. Hultzsch.

Most of these Congress gentlemen are filled with false ideas. They dream fond dreams of the country, having been formerly united under magnificent monarchs of stupendous power and dignity, the like of whom the world has never seen, who held the whole of India from the Hindu Kūsh to Ceylon in their imperial sway, and under whose benignant and enlightened government flourished all the arts and all the sciences in unparalleled splendour; and few are found to tell them that all this is a mere fabric of the imagination. When the truth becomes known to them it is certain that a great deal of the discontent undoubtedly at present existing will vanish from the land. It is built on false beliefs, but at present they are not known to be false—they are, on the contrary, passionately believed in, and therein lies the danger. For this state of things the Government is mainly to blame in that they did not, in bygone years, give more solid encouragement to the study of archæology and history. If the native student is kept in ignorance, the fault does not lie with him, but with his instructors; and by their parsimony in former days, by the convenient theory that all such studies are subjects for private persons, dilettanti, to work at and not for the State to encourage, by the fatuous argument sometimes raised that “we govern the living and not the dead,” the Government is responsible for the curious state of things actually existing, namely, that after 100 years of sound British rule, the leaders of native thought positively believe that the condition of the people under the Hindu Sovereignities was more satisfactory than it is at the present day. It is well, therefore, that publications like the present should be encouraged by the State, in the best interests both of the country and itself.

The inscription on p. 115, for instance, shows us that there was an excessively intricate and minute system of Revenue Settlement and Survey, while no less than four-and-twenty various taxes sucked the life-blood out of the ryot and the trader. Not only had a trader to pay a general tax on his

trade, but he had to pay a separate tax for the luxury of possessing a set of scales and weights; not only had the owners of all animals to pay taxes on them, but owners of elephants and horses were in addition compelled to pay dues to the State for stalls for sheltering them. The whole of this is abolished under the present Government. The system lasted into our own time under the name of "moturpha." A ryot who dug a tank or well for irrigation had to pay a tax on it. Our Government has not only freed him from this, but rewards him for his energy by refraining from making any charge for the use of the water, and leaving him in the full enjoyment of his improvements.

It may be noted that another inscription, the last in the volume, mentions, besides all these, another harassing tax, the "Prime Minister's Cess," which it may be believed was not small.

It has long been known that the great sovereigns, Rāja Rāja and Rājendra, raised the Chola kingdom to its highest pinnacle of grandeur. From being a petty kingdom, dividing with the realms of the Chūlukyas, the Pallavas, the Pāṇḍyans, the Cheras, and others, the Southern Peninsula of India, the dominion of the Cholas at this period of its greatness extended over the whole of the territories of these states, now become tributary.

The inscriptions now published record, for the most part, gifts made to the Tanjore Temple by these powerful chiefs. The first was engraved by order of Rāja Rāja about the year A.D. 1049, the twenty-sixth of his reign, to commemorate gifts made by himself, his elder sister, his wives, and others. A later record was in his twenty-ninth year (A.D. 1052). Part of the gifts made between the twenty-third and twenty-ninth year were taken from the treasures seized from the conquered Chēras and Pāṇḍyas on the western side of the Peninsula. Other details of grants follow, proving that at one time the Temple must have possessed enormous wealth.

Inscriptions Nos. 4 and 5 give details of grants of village lauds for the maintenance of the Temple made after Rāja

Rāja's twenty-ninth year, and Dr. Hultzsch has very cleverly worked out the profoundly confusing system of land-measurement, and embodied it on page 66 into a table. A glance at this will enable any unprejudiced reader to comprehend how vastly superior and more simple our present system is to that of the days of Rāja Rāja.

In inscription No. 6 we have gifts made by Rāja Rāja's eldest sister Kundavaiyār, the daughter of Parāntāka II.; while Nos. 7 and 8 contain a list of her charities down to the third year of the King Rājendra (A.D. 1067). These consist mostly of a large number of precious stones, many apparently not of great intrinsic value if we may note the description given of them. In one place 109 rubies and other stones are mentioned together, "including such as had cavities, cuts, holes, white specks, flaws, and such as still adhered to the one." The priests who drew up the inscription clearly looked their gift-horse well in the face!

No. 9 is dated in the sixth year of Rājendra Chola (A.D. 1070), while the next ten were all inscribed about the year A.D. 1074. From them much is learned regarding the system of village assemblies, or Panchayats. In A.D. 1083, the nineteenth year of his reign, Rājendra Chola caused the twentieth inscription to be engraved, and in that he mentions a number of names of places conquered by him during the previous seven years. One victory was secured by an attack by sea. Dr. Hultzsch considers it certain that no fresh conquests were made after Rājendra's nineteenth year.

The twenty-first and twenty-second inscriptions belong to the reign of Kōnērin-mai-Kondān, as his name must now be spelt; but it is very doubtful to what sovereign this title applies. He reigned for at least thirty-five years, and flourished subsequently to Rājendra.

The last in the book, No. 23, belongs to the reign of Tirumalai dēva, and is dated in the year A.D. 1455. The author considers it not improbable that Tirumalai dēva is identical with Timma—the founder of the second Vijayanagar dynasty, in proof of which he points to some of the fiscal terms being of Canarese origin.



The addition, in this volume of facsimile plates is very welcome, and altogether the publication is worthy of its accomplished and scholarly compiler. We can suggest only one improvement, but it is one which would greatly enhance the trouble and difficulty of publication. This is that the text should be transliterated into English characters, as well as given in the vernacular. At present the work is only epigraphically useful to those acquainted with the Tamil and Grantha characters. It would be rendered of far greater interest to scholars all over the world if they were enabled to determine the reading of the alphabet.

R. D.

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I N D E X

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I N D E X.

- Abbadi, 1892, 812 *et seq.*
'Abbās Efendī, treatise by, 1892, 438.
Adventures of a Japanese sailor in the Malay Archipelago, 1890, 157.
Agastya, the star Canopus, 1890, 425.
Aggālava, identification of, 1891, 338.
Agni Svishtakrit or Rudra, as Winter, 1890, 347.
Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn, life and works, 1891, 527; death, 549; restoration of Mosque by Lāgin, 551; Mosque turned into a poor-house, 554; inscription on, 554; repair of, 557.
Aḥmad, Sheykh, doctrines of, 1889, 888.
Ajoḍhya, probably a Gupta copper mint, 1889, 55.
Alberuni and Nakshatra month, 1890, 553.
Allen (H. J.), Chinese antiquity, 1890, 511.
Alphabet of Gupta coin legends, 1889, 34; development of, 1890, 608; Hellenic, 609; Nāgarī, 609; Latin or Roman, 610; Dravidian, 610; Sir W. Jones' scheme of, 620; Arabic, 633; universal in India, 1891, 138.
Altar, symbol for, 1890, 708.
Akkadian months and signs of Zodiac, 1890, 599.
'Alwāh-i-Salāṭīn, 1889, 953.
Amarāvati, identification of, 1890, 198 *et seq.*
Amr Mosque at Old Cairo, history of, 1890, 759.
Ancient India, map of, 1889, 526-527.
Andhrabhṛityā kings, inscription of, 1889, 1115.
— divisions of seasons, 1117.
Angīras, 1890, 527; priests of the Linga worshippers, 531.
Animal sacrifices, Pre-Aryan, 1890, 327.
Antiquities, Egyptian, 1892, 167.
Anurādhapura, 1891, 349.



- Anus, 1889, 239.
 Arabic, Omānee dialect, pt. i, 1889, 649; pt. ii, 811.
 Arbuthnot (F. F.), life and labours of Mr. E. Rehatsek, 1892, 581.
 Arch, first general use of, 1891, 540.
 Archæological excavations in India, methods of, 1890, 183.
 Archæology, Burmese, 1891, 352.
 Architecture, Indian, water pot in, 1889, 690.
 Ardochro, Goddess, on Indo-Scythian and Gupta gold coins, 1889, 126.
 Argo, voyage of, 1890, 451.
 Argus and its connections, 1890, 445.
 Arṇas, 1889, 189.
 Aryan influence on religious changes, 1890, 389.
 Appollo, on Seleucid coins, 1889, 24.
 Aprī hymns, 1890, 346.
 Askabad, description of, 1891, 582.
 Asmodeus and Šakhr, 1892, 43.
 Aššurbanipal, 1891, 457.
 Aššurbēlkala, 1892, 337.
 Assyrian sacred days, 1890, 557.
 Assyro-Akkadian calendar, 1889, 556.
 Aston (W. G.), adventures of a Japanese sailor in the Malay Archipelago, 1890, 157.
 Aṣvagōṣha, twelfth Buddhist patriarch, 1891, 334.
 Aṣvamedha, 1890, 415.
 Atharvans, 1890, 527.
 Athēnē, owl of, 1889, 23.
 Aureus, weight of, 1889, 40.
 Autumn as Barhis, 1890, 346.
 Avars, 1889, 721.

- Bāb (The), date of death, 1889, 511 *et seq.*; school of thought, 884; belief of, 930; contemporaries and successors, 939.
 Bāb's commentary on the Sūratu 'l-Baḳara, 1892, 493 *et seq.*
 — Sūratu 'l-'Asr, 1892, 637 *et seq.*
 — Sūratu 'l-Kawthar, 1892, 643 *et seq.*
 Bābī martyrs, 1889, 489, 998; customs, 498–9; belief in transmigration, 933; texts, pt. i, 1892, 259; pt. ii, 637, 27 MSS. 433, 637; epistles to Zoroastrians, 671.
 Bābis of Persia, pt. i, 1889, 485; pt. ii, 881; seals and writing, 498; in Turkey, 499; history of, 505 *et seq.*; chronological table of history, 521 *et seq.*

- Bābīism amongst Zoroastrians, 1889, 501.
 — antecedents of, 1889, 884–885.
 — literature of, 1889, 885–1000.
 — periods of, 1889, 888 *et seq.*
 Babylon, kings of, 1890, 585.
 Babylonian ritual text, 1892, 841.
 Baibars, mosque of, 1891, 538.
 Bālāditya, king, identity of, 1889, 114.
 Ball (Rev. C. J.), Babylonian ritual text, 1892, 841.
 Barhis, or sacrificial grass and autumn, 1890, 346.
 Bat'ang, people of, 1891, 124; products of, 272.
 Batuwantudava, cremation, 1892, 423.
 Bayan, chief of Avars, 1889, 732 *et seq.*
 Baynes (H.), collection of Kammavācās, 1892, 53.
 Behā, writings of, 1889, 942; letters of, 953 *et seq.*; chronological poems of, by Nabil, 983.
 Behā'is, 1889, 505.
 Behā'u 'llāh's Sūratu'l Mūlūk, 1892, 268.
 — Sūra-i-Heykal, 1892, 283.
 — selected precepts, 1892, 676.
 — death, 1892, 706.
 Beja, 1892, 813.
 Bel, as moon-god, 1889, 543.
 Bendall (C.), remnant of Buddhism in India, 1892, 140.
 Bertin (G.), Herodotus on the Magians, 1890, 821.
 Beyān, peculiarities of, 1889, 919.
 — Zoroastrian ideas in, 929; mirror of, 1892, 660;
 theoretical philosophy of, 685.
 Bhāratas, 1889, 279.
 Bhartṛihari, poet and grammarian, 1891, 323.
 Bhīma Sena, silver coins of, 1889, 135.
 Bhojas, 1889, 269.
 Bhṛigu and root bhṛi, 1890, 527; Bhṛigus, 527.
 Bhūridatta Jātaka, 1892, 77.
 Bible translation, progress, 1890, 832.
 Biddulph (C. E.), Russian Central Asia, 1891, 563.
 Bimbohana, 1892, 602.
 Bod, The great, 1891, 5.
 Bodleian Library, Gupta coins in, 1889, 60.
 Bokhara, description of, 1891, 564; inhabitants of, 570;
 Russian rule in, 572.
 Book of the Apple, 1892, 187.
 — of the King's son and the Ascetic, 1890, 119.
 — of Wisdom, was it written in Hebrew, 1890, 263.
 Borsippa, attack on by Babylonians, 1892, 350.

- Browne (E. G.), *Bābis of Persia*, 1889, 485, pt. i ; 881, pt. ii ; *Bābī texts*, pt. i, 1892, 259 ; pt. ii, 637 ; *catalogue and description of 27 Bābī MSS.* 433, 637.
- Buddha, as Christian Saint, 1890, 119 ; residences of, 1891, 339.
- Buddhacharita, 1891, 334.
- Buddhagayā mission, 1892, 165.
- Buddhism and Nāgas, 1891, 387.
- remnant in India, 1892, 140.
- Buddhists Sects of, 1891, 409 ; Nepal sects, 421 ; sects and Sāyana-Mādhava, 422 ; schools of belief, 1892, 1.
- Budha Gupta, inscription dated 165 G.E. at Eran, 1889, 8, 53 ; silver coins of, 134.
- Bühler (G.), *Mingai Sanskrit MSS.*, 1891, 689 ; letter on Buddhist sects in inscriptions, 1892, 597 ; southern Maurya alphabet, new variety of, 602.
- Bulgar tribes, 1889, 599.
- Bulgarians and Avars, 1889, 793.
- Bull, on Gupta, Valabhi, and Nāga coins, 1889, 29.
- Burgess (J.), temple of Kailāsanātha, 1891, 337 ; Prof. Kielhorn on the Vikrama era, 483.
- Burial rites, water pot in connection with, 1889, 689.
- Burmese archæology, 1891, 352.
- Butan, people of, 1891, 128.
- Capital of Gupta Empire, probably Pātaliputra, 1889, 55.
- Carian texts of Abu Simbel, 1891, 616.
- Casartelli (L. C.), *The Garuḍa*, 1891, 345.
- Cātaka, 1891, 599.
- Catalogue of Gupta coins in Bodleian Library, 1889, 60 ; of gold Gupta coins, 62 ; of silver Gupta coins, 119 ; of copper Gupta coins, 138.
- Catalogue of Chinese books in R.A.S. Library, 1890, 1.
- Arabic MSS. in R.A.S. Library, 1892, 502.
- Persian MSS. in R.A.S. Library, 508.
- Hindustani MSS. in R.A.S. Library, 546.
- Turkish MSS. in R.A.S. Library, 547.
- Census of 1737 in Tibet, 1891, 13.
- Cerebral letters, Dravidian origin of, 1890, 455.
- Ceylon coins, 1891, 696.
- embassy to Egypt, 479.
- Ceylonese originally Hinayānists, 1891, 417.
- Ch'ando, people of, 1891, 125.

- Chalmers (R.), parables of Barlaam and Joasaph, 1891, 423.
 — Ceylon coins, 1891, 696.
 — Lineage of "The proud king," 1892, 39.
- Chālukya kings, inscriptions, 1889, 1113.
- Chandra Gupta I., founded greatness of his house, 1889, 7;
 struck coins only in gold of a single type, 9; King and
 Queen type of, 63.
- Chandra Gupta II., inscriptions dated 82, 88, and 93 G.E. of,
 1889, 7; conquered Guzerāt and Kāthiāwār, 9; struck
 coins in gold, silver and copper, 10; gold Couch type of,
 76; gold Javelin type of, 77; gold Archer type of, 80;
 gold Horseman to Right type of, 84; gold Horseman to
 Left type of, 85; gold Lion Trampler type of, 87; gold
 Combatant Lion type of, 89; gold Retreating Lion type
 of, 89; gold Umbrella type of, 91; silver Vikramānka
 type of, 119; silver Vikramāditya type of, 121; copper
 Umbrella type of, 138; copper Standing King type of,
 139; copper Vikramāditya Bust type of, 140; copper
 Chandra Head type of, 141.
- Chashtana, Kshatrapa, coins of, 1889, 643.
- Cheremiss tribes, 1889, 590.
 — bibliography, 1889, 644.
- China, Northern Frontagers, pt. viii; the Kirais and Prester
 John, 1889, 361.
- China, history of, 1890, 513.
 — first historical ruler of, 1890, 518.
- Chinese antiquity, 1890, 511.
 — astronomy, antiquity of, 1890, 512.
 — inscriptions, 1891, 451.
- Chio-ma fruit, 1891, 284.
- Chitraratha, 1889, 189.
- Codrington (Dr. O.), Catalogue of Arabic, Persian, Hindus-
 tani, and Turkish MSS. in R.A.S. Library, 1892, 501
et seq.
- Coins of the Guptas, 1889, 1.
 — of the Western Kshatrapas of India, 1890, 639.
 — of Ceylon, 1891, 696.
- Conch, 1892, 163.
- Conder (C. R.), Lycian languages, 1891, 607.
 — Dusratta's Hittite letter, 1892, 711.
- Corbett (E. K.), history of Mosque of Amr in old Cairo,
 1890, 759.
 — life and works of Aḥmad ibn Tūlūn, 1891, 527.
- Cornucopiæ, on gold Gupta coins, 1889, 25.
- Cowell (E.), Cātaka, 1891, 599.

- Creation story, new version, 1891, 393.
 Croats, 1889, 789.
 Cuneiform inscriptions, 1891, 145.
 — texts, 1892, 337.
 Cup-marks, evidence of, in Neolithic monuments, 1890,
 727.
 Cust (R. N.), Indian scholars, 1892, 426.

- Daitya race, 1890, 424.
 Dānava race, 1890, 424.
 Dasyus, 1891, 374.
 Datta Devī, Queen of Samudra Gupta, 1889, 6.
 Davids (T. W. Rhys), Fa Hien's fire limit, 1891, 337 ;
 Buddha's residences, 339 ; sects of Buddhists, 409 ;
 Guhasena, Nagasena, 476 ; Ceylon embassy to Egypt,
 479 ; schools of Buddhist belief, 1892, 1.
 Demeter, adaptation of effigy of, on gold Gupta coins, 1889,
 24, *note* 1.
 Devi identified with the Nāginis, 1891, 362.
 Dewan of al Mutnabee, 1889, 650.
 Dhritarāshtra, a phallic god, 1890, 577.
 Dhruva Devī, Queen of Chandra Gupta II, 1889, 6.
 Diable Boiteux and story of Solomon, 1892, 41.
 Dinār, a gold Gupta coin, 1889, 24, 43.
 Djurtchen of Mandshuria, their name, language and litera-
 ture, 1889, 433.
 Dog, sacrifice of, 1890, 440
 D'Oldenberg (S.), Nepalese MS., 1891, 687.
 Dravidians, religion, 1889, 188 ; characteristics, 533 ; tribal
 government, 569 *et seq.* ; and Ural Altaic, 584 ; and Finns,
 584 ; totemism amongst, 1890, 336.
 Druhys, 1889, 269.
 Duka (Th.), Ugor branch of Ural-Altaic languages, 1889,
 583.
 Dūrḡa identified with Nāginis, 1891, 362.
 Dusratta's Hittite letter, 1892, 711.

- Early records anterior to alphabets, 1890, 697.
 Eden, garden of, 1889, 561.
 Egyptian Moon-god, 1889, 541 ; antiquities, 1892, 167.
 Embassy from Ceylon to Egypt, 1891, 479.
 Eraṇ, in Sāgar district of central provinces, inscription of
 Budha Gupta at, 1889, 8, 53.

Esth, Est or Eesti tribe, 1889, 588.

— bibliography, 1889, 641.

Etbai, derivation of, 1892, 812.

Ezelis, 1889, 505.

Fa Hien's fire limit, 1891, 337 ; mentions Nāga temple, 387.

Father and mother worship in Western Asia and Europe, 1890, 395 *et seq.*

Fāṭimy Caliph Al-Hākim, 1891, 538.

Festival, pongal, 1889, 581.

Finance regulations in Tibet, 1891, 7.

Finn bibliography, 1889, 639 ; languages, 585 ; and Dravidian, 584 ; Ugor languages, 586 ; Ugor philosophy, 631.

Fire-god, 1889, 545.

Fleur de lis derived from Trisula, 1890, 310.

Flood, story of, in India, 1890, 751.

Floyer (E. A.), mines of the Northern Etbai or of Northern Æthiopia, 1892, 811.

Foulkes (Rev. T.), early Pallavas of Kānchipūra, 1889, 1111.

Franks and Avars, 1889, 731.

Fleet (J. F.), determined initial date of Gupta Era, 1889, 5.

Forgeries of coins at Kanauj, 1889, 104.

Gāhs, 1890, 559.

Gāmi 'al 'Askar mosque, 1891, 527.

Gandhāri, 1889, 293.

Garuda, on gold and copper Gupta coins, 1889, 16, 23.

— 1891, 344.

— enemy of the Nāgas, 1891, 369.

— ensign of Krishna, 1891, 370.

— in Mahābhārata, 1891, 370.

Gayā, forged inscription of Samudra Gupta from, 1889, 7, *note 1.*

Genesis, genealogies in, 1890, 581.

Geok Tepe, description of, 1891, 580.

Gesta Romanorum and story of proud king, 1892, 40.

Ghatotkacha, Mahārājā, name of, 1889, 6, *note 2* ; probably did not issue coin, 1889, 9, 75.

Greek legends, corrupt, on silver Gupta coins, 1889, 28.

Grierson (G. A.), Sir Monier-Williams on transliteration, 1890, 814.

Guhasena, 1891, 476.

Gujerati poems, 1892, 164.

Gupta Coinage, 1889, 1; authorities on, 57; bibliography of, 57; Chandra, vase copper type of, 143; copper, list of types of, 13; reverse device of, 16; catalogue of, 138; rarity of, 51; Gupta dynasty, early or imperial, seven princes of, 6; extent of empire of, 56; Gupta dynasty, later, of Magadha, duration of, 8; Gupta era, A.D. 320–321 was year 1 of, 6; gold, list of types of, 11; reverse devices of, 13; catalogue of, 63; Gupta, Mahārājā, progenitor of Gupta dynasty, 5; probably did not issue coin, 9, 75; mints of, 50–55; noose or fillet on gold, 28; obverse devices of, 16; reverse devices of, 16; silver, list of types of, 13, 52; reverse devices of, 15; catalogue of, 119; mints of, 51; types of, 11; weight, of gold, 41; of silver, 43; of copper, 44; of Persian coins, 119.

Haihayahs, 1889, 265.

Hāji Mirzā Jāni, lost work of, 1892, 441.

Hammamat, inscriptions at, 1892, 831.

Harsha Vardhana, king of Kanauj, reigned from A.D. 606–7 to A.D. 648, 1889, 8.

Harvard Oriental series, 1892, 164.

Hasht Bihisht, 1892, 685 *et seq.*

Hermes, myth, 1890, 444.

Herodotus on the Magians, 1890, 821.

Hewitt (J. F.), notes on early history of Northern India, pt. ii, 1889, 187, *n.s.*; pt. iii, land of four rivers, 527; pt. iv, essay on the pre-vedic history of India and the identity of early mythologies of Europe and Asia founded on a study of the Brāhmaṇas and of sacrificial observers, 1890, 319; pt. v, succession of the Hindu priesthood, Bhrīgu, Angīras, and Atharvans, and the historical evidence thence derived, 527; pt. vi, historical value, origin, and growth of early methods of record anterior to alphabets, 697.

Hindu priesthood, succession, 1890, 527.

— months, 1890, 603.

Hinayāna sects, Tibetan notices of, 1892, 5.

Hinayānists and Mahāvaiṣṇa, 1891, 417.

Hiouen Thsang on universal alphabet in India, 1891, 138.

— and Nāga temples, 1891, 387.

Hirschfeld (H.), contribution to study of Jewish-Arabic dialect of the Maghreb, 1891, 192.

History of Kannaḍa literature, 1890, 245.

- History of early N. India, pts. 2–6. See Hewitt.
 Holt (H. F.), Catalogue of Chinese Books in R.A.S. Library, 1890, 1.
 Horse-intoxicating grass found in Tibet, 1891, 48.
 Howorth (H.), northern frontagers of China, pt. viii; the Kirais and Prester John, 1889, 361; Sabiri and Saroguri, 1892, 613.
 Human sacrifices, 1890, 537.
 Hūnas, attacks on Skanda Gupta by, 1889, 8.
 Hung-wu period of Tibet (1368), 1891, 198.
 Hungarian nation and language, 1889, 594.
 Huns and Avars, 1889, 731.
 ——— destruction of, 1889, 802.
- Ibrāhim Agha, mosque of, 1891, 538.
 Iḍaḥ as rainy season, 1890, 343.
 Īdā, the universal mother, 1890, 343.
 Īlīsa-jātaka, chronology of, 1892, 44.
 ——— and Talmud, 1892, 44.
 ——— Qur'ān, 1892, 45.
 ——— Gesta Romanorum, 1892, 46.
 ——— story of, 1892, 46.
- Index for the years 1889–92 inclusive, 1892, 1–22.
 India, Pre-vedic, 1890, 319.
 Indian names for English tongues, 1889, 159.
 Indian scholars, 1892, 426.
 Indo-Scythian dynasties, duration of, 1889, 5.
 Indra worship, 1890, 411.
 Indra, standard of, on Gupta coins, 1889, 19.
 Indrajī (P. B.), Western Kshatrapas, 1890, 639.
 Inscriptions, Cuneiform, 1891, 145.
 ——— Chinese, 1891, 451.
 Isāna Varmā (Varman), silver coins of, 1889, 11, 136.
 Istar, worship of, 1889, 539.
 ——— description of statue of, 1892, 338.
- Jade, 1890, 467.
 Jade Axes, evidence of, in Neolithic monuments, 1890, 727.
 Japanese sailor in the Malay Archipelago, 1890, 157.
 Jātaka Valāha, 1889, 179.
 ——— Bhūridatta, 1892, 77.
 Jayadāman, Kshatrapa, coins of, 1890, 645.
 Jayakar (A. S. G.), Omānee dialect of Arabic, pt. i, 1889, 649; pt. ii, 811.

- Jenāb-i-Kuddūs, writings of, 1892, 483.
 Jivita Gupta II., king of eastern Magadha, began to reign
circa A.D. 720, 1889, 8.
 Jñāneṣvara, 1892, 423.
 John of St. Saba, 1890, 119.
 Jok'ang, *i.e.* Lh'asa, 1891, 70.
 Jones (Sir William), scheme of alphabet, 1890, 620.
 Justinian and Avars, 1889, 724.
- Kācha, king, probably identical with Samudra Gupta, 1889,
 21, 37, 76; standard type of, 1889, 74.
 Kailāsanātha, temple, 1891, 337.
 Kalasa, or water pot, 1889, 689.
 Kālidāsa, date of, 1891, 330.
 Kammavācās, 1892, 53.
 Kanauj, not the Gupta capital, 1889, 50; named Kusuma-
 pura, 1889, 56.
 Kanchipura, early Pallavas, 1889, 1111.
 Kang-desh and Kāndesh, 1890, 541.
 Kannada literature, 1890, 245.
 Kathā Vatthu, questions discussed in, 1892, 8 *et seq.*
 Kavi Kings, 1890, 539.
 Kayyūmu'l-Asmā, 1892, 262.
 — identity of with Sūra-i-Yusuf, 1892, 266.
 Kennedy (J.), Serpent-worship, 1891, 480.
 Khakas subjugated by Uighers, 1891, 453.
 King's son and the ascetic, 1890, 119.
 Kirais, 1889, 361; their home, 337; nationality, 379;
 history, 383.
 Kirman MS., 1892, 284.
 Kistna alphabet, 1891, 137.
 Koch (E.), Chinese inscriptions, 1891, 451.
 Kshatrapas, western, 1890, 639.
 Kshatrapa, use of term, 1890, 640.
 — dynasties, 1890, 640.
 — coins of, 1890, 640 *et seq.*
 Kramāditya, a title of Kumāra Gupta (later), and of Skanda
 Gupta, 1889, 38, 113.
 Krishṇa Rājā, Rāshṭrakūta, silver coins ascribed to, 1889,
 11, 138.
 Krishṇa Gupta, succeeded Skanda Gupta in Eastern
 Magadha, *circa* A.D. 480, 1889, 8.
 Kṛitānta or Yama, Samudra Gupta compared with, 1889,
 20, 78.
 Kumāra Devī, queen of Chandra Gupta I., 1889, 6, 16, 55.

Kumāra Gupta, of early or imperial dynasty, duration of reign of, 1889, 7, 10 ; gold swordsman type of, 93 ; gold archer type of, 95 ; gold horseman to right type of, 100 ; gold horseman to left type of, 103 ; gold peacock type of, 105 ; gold lion-trampler type of, 106 ; gold combatant lion type of, 107 ; gold two queens type of, 109 ; gold Aśwamedha type of, 110 ; silver winged peacock type of, 123 ; silver trident type of, 126 ; silver fantail peacock, 126 ; copper umbrella type of, 142 ; copper standing king type of, 143 ; copper coins following silver types of, 144.

— later or Magadha, coins ascribed to, 1889, 99, 100.

Kurratu'l 'Ayn, 1889, 934.

Kurus, 1889, 235.

Kush, the men of, 1892, 833.

Kushite-Semite races and Ural Altaic race, 1890, 720.

Kuṣikas, early home of, 1890, 539.

Kuṣika, invasion of N. India, 1890, 332 ; religious ideas, 332.

Kutrigurs, 1892, 635.

Lacouperie (T. de), Djurtchen of Mandshuria, their name, language, and literature, 1889, 433 ; On Hiuen-Tsang instead of Yüan Chwang and the necessity of avoiding the Pekinese sounds in the quotations of ancient proper names in Chinese, 1892, 835.

Lakshmi, goddess, on gold Gupta coins, 1889, 24, 26, 83.

Lālchandra, Marwari weather proverbs, 1892, 253.

Langa or linga, 1889, 538.

Land of four rivers, 1889, 527.

Languages, Lycian, 1891, 607.

— Ural Altaic, Ugor Branch, 1889, 583.

Lapp tribe, 1889, 589.

— bibliography, 1889, 642.

Lawḥ-i-Akḍas of the Bābis, 1889, 495.

— Behā, 1889, 972.

Lawḥ-i-Naṣīr, 1889, 949.

Law in Tibet, 1891, 11.

Lawḥ-i-Ra'is, passages from, 1892, 310.

Legends on Gupta coins, alphabet of, 1889, 34 ; phraseology of, 36.

Lh'ari, people of, 1891, 125 ; products of, 273.

Lh'asa, residence of Talē Lama, 1891, 71 ; description of, 71 *et seq.* ; meaning of word, 75 ; boundaries of, 200 ; products of, 273.

Lho-yul, savage tribes of, 1891, 128.

Lichchhavi clan, Gupta alliance with, 1889, 38, 55, 64.

- Linga, first use of word, 1889, 538.
 Lit'ang, people of, 1891, 124 ; products of, 271.
 Lombards, 1889, 135 *et seq.*
 Lunar months in Mahābhārata, 1889, 551.
 — Roman, 1889, 555.
 — Cycle, 1889, 557.
 — origin of Hindū months, 1889, 575.
 — year in India, 1889, 532.
 Lycian languages, 1891, 607.
 — and Zend, 1891, 608.
 — alphabet, 1891, 610.
 — sculpture, 1891, 612.
 — inscriptions, 1891, 617.
 — and Vannic, 1891, 610.
 — gods, 1891, 644.
 Lyon (H. T.), proposed method of transliterating languages
 in Arabic character, 1890, 631.
- Macedonian, influence on Gupta coinage, 1889, 17.
 Mag, root in Greek and Latin, 1890, 475.
 Magadha, Eastern, later Gupta dynasty of, 1889, 8.
 — Western, Maukharī (Mukhara) kings of, 1889, 8.
 Maghreb dialect, 1891, 293.
 Magians, Herodotus on, 1890, 821.
 Magyar nation and language, 1889, 594.
 — bibliography, 1889, 646.
 Mahābhārata, story of, 1889, 193 *et seq.* ; 1890, 436.
 Mahāvamsa and Hīnayanists, 1891, 417.
 Mahāvastu, 1892, 2.
 Maḥbū-bu'sh-Shuhadā, Bābī martyr, 1889, 489.
 Mahendra, special personal title of Kumāra Gupta, 1889, 39.
 Malay Archipelago, Japanese sailor in, 1890, 157.
 Mandasor inscription, 1891, 325.
 Mandshuria, Djurtchen of, 1889, 433.
 Map of ancient India, 1889, 526–527.
 — of Finn Ugor languages, 1889, 582–583.
 — of Lh'asa, 1891, 70–71.
 Margoliouth (D. S.), book of the apple, 1892, 187.
 — Was the Book of Wisdom written in Hebrew ? 1890,
 263.
 Māristān built by Aḥmad, 1891, 531.
 Marwari weather proverbs, 1892, 253.
 Maukharī (Mukhara) kings of Western Magadha, rivals of
 later Gupta dynasty, 1889, 39.
 Maurya, new variety of southern alphabet, 1892, 602.

- Maritime trade, early, 1889, 563.
 Merv, description of, 1891, 582.
 Merial sacrifices, 1890, 430.
 Metres, Sanskrit and Zend, 1890, 457.
 Mihirakula, a Hūna chief, 1889, 39.
 Mines of the Northern Etbai, 1892, 811.
 Mingai Sanskrit MSS., 1891, 689, 694.
 Mining in Mysore, 1890, 839.
 Mirzā 'Ali Muhammad, date of, 1889, 507; training of, 881; doctrines of, 892; works of, 1000.
 Mirzā Yahyā, writings of, 1889, 939.
 Mitra (Sunga) Dynasty, coins of, associated with copper Gupta coins, 1889, 51.
 Mngari-k'asum, people of, 1891, 126.
 Monier-Williams (Sir M.), duty of English speaking Orientalists with regard to adhering to Sir W. Jones' principles of transliteration, 1890, 607.
 Monograms, or monogrammatic emblems, on Gupta coins, lists of, 1889, 30; Gupta compared with Indo-Scythian, 31; religious or mythological significance of, 33.
 Moon sacrifices, 1890, 337.
 Moon symbol on Gupta coins, 1889, 84; worshippers in India, 530; god Egyptian, 549; Bel, 543.
 Mordvin tribe, 1889, 589; bibliography, 643.
 Morgan (E.), Chinese inscriptions, 1891, 451.
 Morris (Dr. R.), the Garuda, 1891, 344, 694; Bimbohana, 1892, 602.
 Mosque, Gāmi 'al 'Askar or Camp, 1891, 527; Faṭimy Caliph al Hākim, 538; of Baibars, 538; of Ibrāhīm Agha, 538.
 Mother-worship and measurement of time, 1890, 390 *et seq.*
 Mother and father worship in Western Asia and Europe, 1890, 395 *et seq.*; worshippers, 718.
 MSS., Chinese in R.A.S. Lib., 1890, 1.
 — Bābī, 1892, 433.
 — Arabic, Persian, Hindustani and Turkish in R.A.S. Library, 1892, 501.
 — Tibetan, 1892, 570.
 Mugh tribes in India, 1890, 427; identity of Indian and Accadian, 429.
 Mukāmas of al Hareeree, 1889, 650.
 Murghab, irrigation by, 1891, 566.
 Muru-ussu country, people of, 1891, 127.
 Mustaykīdh, 1892, 262.
 Mysore mining, 1890, 839.

Mythologies of Europe and Asia, founded on Brāhmaṇas and sacrificial observances, 1890, 319.

Myths, rules for interpretation of, 1890, 741; specimens of Indian nature, 741; of Rāma and Sita, 742; Nala and Damayanti, 745; religio-historical, 750.

Nabīl, chronological poem on Behā, 1889, 983.

Nabū-šumu-iškun, 1892, 350.

Nāga, 1891, 361; descent of Buddha, 386; and phallic worship, 363; and Asoka, 387; legends, 364.

— kings of Narwār, coins of, 1889, 132.

— temple mentioned by Fa-Hian, 1891, 387.

— temple mentioned by Hiouen Tshang, 1891, 387.

— temples and Triṣṭula, 1891, 390.

Nāgas connected with Tākhas, 1891, 366; an Asura tribe, 371; colonized in Ceylon, 383; in Burma, 384; in India, 384; a sun-worshipping people, 391.

Nāga-nanda, 1891, 365.

Nāgasena, 1891, 476.

Nāginis identified with Devi or Dūrḡa, 1891, 362.

Nahapāna, the Kshaharāta, 1890, 642.

Nahusha, 1889, 263.

Nakshatra month, 1890, 552.

Naimans, chief identified with Prester John, 1889, 370.

Nara Bālāditya, gold coins of, 1889, 117.

Neolithic monuments, evidence of, in N. India, 1890, 725 *et seq.*

— Lake dwellings and language, 1890, 730.

Nepāl, Lichchavi, or Sūryavansī, and Thakurī dynasties of, 1889, 6, *note* 3.

Nepal, people of, 1891, 129.

— sects of Buddhists, 1891, 421.

Nepalese MSS., 1891, 687.

Newman (F. W.), transliteration, 1891, 341.

Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, 1892, 855.

Northern Frontagers of China, pt. viii, Kirais and Prester John, 1889, 361.

Northern India, early history, pt. ii, 1889, 187; pt. iii, 527.

— early trade and commerce, 1889, 199 *et seq.*

Note on ancient remains of temples on the Bannu Frontier, 1892, 877.

Notices of Books—

Adyar Lib. Catalogue, 1892, 400.

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Saho-Sprache, 481.
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Nug, or great snake, 1889, 537.
 Numerals, ancient Indian, notation of, 1889, 128.

Obituary Notices—

- Ahlquist (Prof. A. E.), 1890, 218.
 Ahmed Vefik Pasha, 1891, 700.
 Austin (S.), 1892, 420.
 Baber (E. C.), 1890, 827.
 Beal (Prof.), 1889, 1128.
 Bellew (Surg.-Gen. H.), 1892, 880.
 Bertin (G.), 1891, 493.
 Burton (Sir R.), 1891, 162.
 Caldwell (Bp.), 1892, 145.
 Campbell (Sir G.), 1892, 386.
 Colebrooke (Sir E.), 1890, 498.
 Davies (Rev. J.), 1890, 830.
 Fryer, (Col. G. E.), 1891, 698.
 Gorresio (G.), 1891, 495.
 Hunfalvy (Paul), 1892, 149.
 Kremer (Prof.), 1890, 220.
 Lagarde (P. A. de), 1892, 384.
 Lees (Major-Gen. W. N.), 1889, 463.
 Minayeff (Prof.), 1890, 687, 1891, 166.
 Ouseley (Col. J.), 1890, 217.
 Pelly (Gen. Sir L.), 1892, 418.
 Powis (Earl of), 1891, 494.
 Priaulx (O. de B.), 1891, 348.
 Rājendralāla Mitra, 1892, 146.
 Redhouse (Sir J.), 1892, 160.
 Rehatsek (E.), 1892, 157.
 St. John (Col. S. O.), 1891, 495.
 Tseng (Marquis), 1890, 685.
 Wright (Dr. W.), 1889, 708.
 Yule (Col. Sir H.), 1890, 220.
 Oldham (C. F.), *Serpent-worship in India*, 1891, 361.
 O'mānee Dialect of Arabic, pt. i, 1889, 649; pt. ii, 811.
 On Hiuen-Tsang instead of Yüan Chwang and the necessity
 of avoiding the Pekinese sounds in the quotations of
 ancient proper names in Chinese, 1892, 835.
 Ostjak tribe, 1889, 593; documents of Reguly, 628;
 bibliography, 646.
 Oxus, irrigation by, 1891, 566.

- Palæography, of legends on Gupta coins, 1889, 34.
 Pallavas of Kānchīpūra, 1889, 1111.
 Paṇa, weight of, 1889, 44, *note* 1.
 Panchālas, 1889, 299.
 Pan-ch'en Buddha, revered in Uterior Tibet, 1891, 81.
 — incarnation of the Vadjra, 1891, 81.
 Pāṇini, 1891, 311.
 Parables, Barlaam and Joasaph, 1891, 423.
 Parthians and Pallavas, 1889, 1119.
 Pātaliputra, probably the Gupta capital, 1889, 55; named
 Pushpapura, 56.
 Patanjali, poet and grammarian, 1891, 322.
 Peacock, special emblem of Kumāra Gupta, 1889, 21, 106;
 on Romans coins, 22.
 Persia, Bābīs, pt. i, 1889, 485; pt. ii, 881.
 Persian standard of weight, probably followed in coins of
 Vira (Sena?) Kramāditya, 1889, 119.
 Peterson (P.), Pāṇini, 1891, 311.
 Phallic gods, 1890, 577; as gods of time, 411.
 Phallus worship, origin of, 1890, 412.
 Pig, sanctity of, 1890, 439.
 Pinches (T.), new version of creation story, 1891, 393.
 Pincott (F.), note on ancient remains of temples on the
 Bannu Frontier, 1892, 877.
 Pongal, Tamil festival, 1889, 581.
 Poseidon and Pushan, 1890, 443.
 Prāchīna Kāvya Mālā, 1892, 164.
 Prajāpati, not Aryan god, 1890, 322; the moon god, 322.
 Prakāśāditya, king, identity of, 1889, 114; gold coins of,
 115.
 Prester John, 1889, 361.
 Pre-vedic India, 1890, 319.
 Priam, phallic god, 1890, 577.
 Proud king, 1892, 39.
 Proverbs, Marwari weather, 1892, 253.
 Purus, 1889, 192, 213,
 Pushan, 1890, 443.

 Ratī, weight of, 1889, 42.
 Rea (A.), methods of archæological excavation in India,
 1890, 183.
 Redhouse (Sir J.), modern name of Ur of the Chaldees,
 1890, 822.
 Reguly, Anton, 1889, 615–627.

- Rehatsek (E.), book of the king's son and the ascetic, 1890, 119; life and labours, 1892, 581.
- Rice (B. L.), early history of Kannāḍa literature, 1890, 245.
- Ring, or camp of Avars, 1889, 796.
- Robert of Sicily and story of proud king, 1892, 40.
- Rockhill (W. W.), Salar vocabulary, 1892, 598.
- Tibet, 1891, 1 and 185.
- Roman coins, peacock on, 1889, 22; weight of *aureus*, 40.
- Romans and Avars, 1889, 727.
- Rudra as winter, 1890, 347.
- Rudradāman, Mahākshatrapa, coins of, 1890, 646.
- Rupert, bishop of Worms and Avars, 1889, 792.
- Russian central Asia, 1891, 563.
- rule in Bokhara, 1891, 572.
- Sabiri and Saroguri, 1892, 613.
- neighbours of Avars in Asia, 1892, 614.
- a Hunnic race, 1892, 617.
- subdued by Avars, 1892, 621.
- Turks of the Uighur branch, 1892, 635.
- Sabœans, 1892, 190.
- Sacred fires of the Zend-Avesta, 1890, 533.
- Sacrificial forms, antiquity of, 1890, 328 *et seq.*
- animals, 1890, 433.
- Sacrifices, human, 1890, 537.
- Sākā, 1890, 422.
- era, 1890, 642.
- Sakhr and Asmodeus, 1892, 43.
- Salar vocabulary, 1892, 598.
- Sālwāhana era in South India, 1889, 1118.
- Samantabhadra, account of, 1890, 248 *et seq.*
- Samarcand, description of, 1891, 565; inhabitants of, 571; line of rail to, 573.
- Samidhs as spring, 1890, 338.
- Samudra Gupta, extensive dominions of, 1889, 7; forged Gayā inscription of, 7, *note* 1; struck coins in gold only, 9; accomplishments of, 18; probably identical with Kācha, 21, 37, 76; gold tiger type of, 64; gold Aśwamedha type of, 65; gold lyrist type of, 67; gold javelin type of, 68; gold archer type of, 71; gold battle-axe type of, 72.
- Sanskrit MSS., Tod and Whish collections of R.A.S., 1890, 801; from Mingai, 1891, 689, 694
- Saroguri, derivation of name, 1892, 620; and Akatziri, 621; history of, 622 *et seq.*

- Saurāshtran silver coins, origin of, 1889, 29.
 Sāyana-Mādhava list of Buddhist schools, 1891, 422.
 Sayce (A. H.), Ur of Chaldees, 1891, 479.
 Scythians and Aṣvamedha, 1890, 416.
 Seasons, divisions of in India, 1889, 1117.
 Seleucid coins, Apollo on, 1889, 24.
 Serpent carried at funeral of Kshatriya, 1891, 384.
 Serpent-worship, 1891, 361, 480.
 — in Burma, 1891, 384.
 Sewell (R.), Kistna alphabet, 1891, 135.
 Shi Hwangti orders destruction of books, 1890, 511.
 Shrine, symbol for, 1890, 708.
 Simhanandi, account of, 1890, 251.
 Simpson (W.), correspondence on Kalasa, 1889, 689; Tri-
 sula symbol, 1890, 299.
 Sinclair (W. F.), Indian names for English tongues, 1889,
 159; correspondence on Kalasa, 690.
 Sirōzahs originally stellar or lunar, 1890, 555; sacred days, 557.
 Siv tribe, 1889, 588; bibliography, 642.
 Śivaskanda-varman, king of Pallavas, 1889, 1111.
 Śkanda Gupta, extent of dominions of, 1889, 8; duration of
 reign of, 10; gold king and queen type of, 110; gold
 archer type of, 111; silver winged peacock type of, 128;
 silver bull type of, 131; silver ? Chaitya type of, 132;
 silver fantail peacock type of, 133; copper coins re-
 sembling silver types of, 144.
 Slav tribes, 1889, 599.
 Smith (V. A.), coinage of the early or Imperial Gupta
 dynasty in Northern India, 5 plates, 1889, 1.
 Snow maggot, 1891, 284; tea, 283.
 Soma sacrifice, Uranian origin of, 1890, 417.
 Spring as the Samidhs, 1890, 338.
 Star, symbol for, 1890, 717.
 St. John (R. F. St. A.), Bhūridatta Jātaka Vatthu, 1892, 77.
 Strong (S. A.), Cuneiform inscriptions of Sennacherib and
 Aššurnasirpal, 1891, 145.
 — four Cuneiform texts, 1892, 337.
 — two edicts of Assurbanipal, 1891, 357.
 Subh-i-Ezel, writings of, 1892, 483.
 Śultānī'sh-Shuhadā, Bābī martyr, 1889, 489.
 Summer in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa as Tanūnapāt, 1890, 339.
 Sun, on Saurāshtran and Gupta coins, 1889, 18, 20, 84, 121.
 Sunahṣepa, sacrifice of, 1890, 536.
 Sung Yun, translation of his book on Tibet, 1891, 15.
 Sūra-i-Heykal, 1892, 283.

- Sūra-i-Yūsuf, commentary on, 1889, 904.
 — commentary on, 1892, 261, 699.
 — identity with Kayyūmu'l-Asmā, 1892, 266.
 Sūrātu'l-Bakara, Bāb's commentary on, 1892, 493 *et seq.*
 Sūrātu'l-Mulūk, 1892, 268.
 Suvarṇa or Sauvira, 1889, 257.
 — weight of, 1889, 43.
 Suzubu the Chaldæan, 1891, 146.
 Syēna, name of the eagle, 1891, 345.
 Symbol for altar or shrine, 1890, 708 ; for star, 717 ; woman, 714.
 Symbolism, Trisula, 1890, 299.
 Syrian coinage, related to Gupta, 1889, 24.
 Syrjaen tribes and dialects, 1889, 590, 591.
 — bibliography, 1889, 644.
- Ta-chien-lu, short account of, 1891, 35 ; people of, 121 ; products of, 271.
 Tākhas, a remnant of the Nāgas, 1891, 366.
 — wickedness of, 1891, 380.
 — had Kshatryias for priests, 1891, 380.
 Takhasilā, a solar capital, 1891, 377.
 Talē Lama, residence of, 1891, 71.
 — doctrine of, 1891, 72.
 — Lamas, of Lh'asa, 1891, 285.
 Tamil months, 1889, 580 ; pongal festival, 1889, 581.
 T'ang Mu Tsung and King of Tibet, treaty between, 1891, 5.
 Tangutu, name given Tibetans by Mongols, 1891, 6.
 Tanūnapāt as summer in Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, 1890, 339.
 — the moon-god, 1890, 341.
 Tārīkh-i-Jadīd, basis of, 1892, 441.
 Taxation in Tibet, 1891, 9.
 Telloh inscriptions, 1890, 701 *et seq.*
 Tibet, 1891, 1, 185.
 — history of, 1891, 188.
 Tibetan, finance regulations, 1891, 7 ; taxation, 9, 218, 243 ; law, 11, 216 ; population, 13 ; census of 1737, 13 ; ethnography, 121 ; chronology, 206 ; annual feasts, 209 ; army, 215, 219 ; criminal laws, 216 ; administration, 219 ; dress, 222 ; food, 226 ; forms of politeness, 227 ; marriages, 228 ; funerals, 231 ; dwellings, 233 ; divination, 235 ; markets, 237 ; officers, functions of, 242 ; monetary system, 243 ; tribute sent to China, 244 ; mountains and rivers, 247 *et seq.* ; monasteries, 259 *et seq.* ; military depôts, 277 ; inscriptions, 1891, 281.

- Tibetan MSS. and printed books of R.A.S., 1892, 570.
 Time, measurement and mother-worship, 1890, 390 *et seq.*
 Tistrya, god of fire, 1890, 411.
 Todd, Sanskrit MSS., 1890, 801.
 Toramāṇa, a Hūṇa chief, 1889, 8; silver coins of, 11, 136.
 Totemism amongst Dravidians, 1890, 336.
 Toumanský's (Lieu) researches, 1892, 318, 442.
 Transliteration, duty of English-speaking Orientalists with regard to, 1890, 607.
 — of languages written in Arabic character, 631, 814, 820, 1891, 340.
 Transmigration of souls, belief of Bābīs, 1889, 931.
 Triad, Accadian, Egyptian, Hindū, Greek, and Latin, 1889, 535.
 Trisūla, an universal symbol, 1890, 300; identified with Delphic *Ei*, 300 *et seq.*; in Greece, 306; early form of fleur-de lis, 310 *et seq.*; combination of solar and lunar symbols, 313; on sceptre of Tibetan Lamas, 304; a warlike weapon, 1891, 389; in Nāga temples, 390; in Buddhist sculptures, 390.
 — symbol, 1890, 299.
 Tr̥tsus, 1889, 190.
 Tsonkhapa, 1892, 141.
 Tūla-purusha, 1891, 349.
 Turkomans, character of, 1891, 585.
- Ugor affinities, 1889, 583; languages, Asiatic origin of, 585.
 Ugor branch of Ural-Altai languages, 1889, 583.
 Ugrians and Dravidians, 1889, 584.
 Uighers subdued Khakas, 1891, 453.
 Ur of Chaldees, modern name, 1890, 822; 1891, 479.
 Ural Altai languages, Ugor branch, 1889, 583.
 — race and Kushite Semite races, 1890, 720.
 — and Dravidian affinities, 1889, 584.
 — languages, classification of, 1889, 585.
 — bibliography, 1889, 638-9.
 Uras of Adan and India, 1889, 547.
 Utigurs, 1892, 635.
- Vadja, Pan-ch'en Buddha, an incarnation of, 1891, 81.
 Valabhi, coinage of, 1889, 137, 145.
 Vannic and Lycian, 1891, 640.
 Varuṇa, Samudra Gupta compared with, 1889, 20.
 Valāha Jātaka, *note*, 1889, 179.



- Vatsabhāṭṭi, 1891, 327.
 Veps tribe, 1889, 588; bibliography, 641.
 Vikrama era, 1891, 483.
 Vikramāditya, a title of Chandra Gupta II. and Skanda
 Gupta, 1889, 29, 38.
 Vīra (? Sena) Kramāditya, gold coins of, 1889, 118.
 Vishnu, the snake sun-god, 1890, 322.
 Viṣṇu Chandrāditya, gold coins of, 1889, 116.
 Vogul tribe, 1889, 592; documents of Ruguly, 627;
 bibliography, 645.
 Votjak bibliography, 1889, 645.
 Vot tribe, 1889, 587; bibliography, 640.
 Vyādi, poet and grammarian, 1891, 323.
 Vyāsakāra Sataka, 1892, 162.
- Weather proverbs, Marwari, 1892, 253.
 Wei Chi, 1892, 421.
 Wei Ts'ang t'u chih, translation of, 1891, 21 *et seq.*
 Wends, 1889, 787.
 Wenzel (H.), list of Tibetan MSS. and printed books of
 R.A.S., 1892, 570.
 — Tsonkhapa, 1892, 141; Valāha Jātaka, 1889, 179, *note.*
 Western Kshatrapas, 1890, 639, *n.s.*
 Whish, Sanskrit MSS., 1890, 801.
 Winter as Agni Svishtakrit or Rudra, 1890, 347.
 Woman, language signs for, 1890, 704.
 Worms, bishop of, and Avars, 1889, 792; diet of, and Avars,
 795.
- Xanthus monument, 1891, 614.
- Yadu Turvaṣu, 1889, 241.
 Yasna sacred days, 1890, 557.
 Year (The), history of, 1890, 544; reckoning of original,
 567; Roman, 569.
- Zarafshan, irrigation by, 1891, 566.
 Zend and Lycian, 1891, 608.
 Zend Avesta, gods of, 1890, 551; sacred fires of, 533.
 — Vazista and Vashistha, 1890, 535.
 Ziyārat-Nāmē, analysis of, 1889, 900.
 Zoroastrian ideas in the Beyān, 1889, 929.

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